

235

THE
JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.



NEW SERIES.

N.S.
Vol. 1
188



A. D. MDCCLXXXI. N. S.

VOLUME THE THIRTEENTH.

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE FIFTY-EIGHTH

ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,

Held on the 30th of May, 1881,

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR H. C. RAWLINSON, K.C.B.,

D.C.L., F.R.S., PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR, IN THE CHAIR.

Members.—The Council of the Royal Asiatic Society have to report to the Members of the Society that, since the last Anniversary Meeting, held in the Society's House on Monday, May 24, 1880, there has been the following change in, and addition to the Members of the Society.

They have to announce, with regret, the loss by *Death* of their *Resident* Members—

Colonel Sir William Merewether, K.C.S.I.

Major-Gen. Sir George Le Grand Jacob, K.C.S.I., C.B.

W. E. Frere, Esq.

Right Hon. Sir J. Macpherson Macleod, K.C.S.I.

Major-General E. Tuite Dalton, C.S.I. ;

E. Guest, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., for twenty-eight years
Master of Caius and Gonville College, Cambridge.

of their *Non-Resident* Member,

S. W. Fallon, Esq.

On the other hand, they have much pleasure in announcing that they have elected : as *Resident* Members,

William Amhurst Tyssen Amherst, Esq., M.P.

Howel Wills, Esq.

Guy Le Strange, Esq.
 George Crawshay, Esq.
 Sir Wm. Robinson, K.C.S.I.
 Captain William Gill, R.E.
 Rev. Marsham Argles, M.A.
 Alfred H. Haggard, Esq.
 J. W. McCrindle, Esq.
 E. H. Man, Esq.
 Major-General E. C. Law.
 J. T. Thornton, Esq., C.S.I., D.C.L.
 Colonel Malleson, C.S.I.
 Captain Dumergue.
 Samuel Stubbs, Esq.
 W. Bramsen, Esq.
 Mrs. Chambers.
 The Rev. B. Hale Wortham.
 The Right Hon. The Earl of Lytton, G.C.B.
 Dr. Mackenzie, M.D.
 Walter Morrison, Esq., M.A.
 M. V. Portman, Esq.
 Rev. W. H. Jones ;

and as *Non-Residents*,

Major Trevor J. C. Plowden.
 J. K. Birch, Esq.
 J. W. Best, Esq.
 S. E. Peal, Esq.
 S. W. Fallon, Esq.
 Professor C. W. Lanman.
 M. Fardunji Jamshadji.
 W. R. Phillips, Esq.
 E. Satow, Esq.
 The Lord Bishop of Lahore.
 S. S. Thorburn, Esq.
 Lieut. H. E. McCallum, R.E.
 S. W. Bushell, M.D.
 Abderrahman Moulvie Syed, Barrister-at-Law.
 The Rev. C. Swinnerton.
 Vidhyaswari Prasad.
 M. Vinson.
 Rev. James Long.
 Herbert J. Allen, Esq.
 The Rajah of Beshwan.
 Thomas T. Fergusson, Esq.
 Rev. Mr. Cain.
 Atmarain Jayakar, M.D.
 Rev. Thomas Russell Wade.
 Lieut. A. F. Barrow.
 Major-General Sir Michael Biddulph, K.C.B.
 Capt. H. Wilberforce Clarke, R.E.
 C. J. Rodgers, Esq., of Umritsur.

The Society has, therefore, elected twenty-three *Resident* Members, against a loss of seven *Resident* Members, and twenty-eight *Non-Resident* against a loss of one *Non-Resident* Member; in other words, the gain to the Society since the last Anniversary has been sixteen *Resident* and twenty-seven *Non-Resident* Members, in all, forty-three, or the same number as last year.

On the personal history of some of those we have lost, a few words will now be said.

Major-General Sir G. Le Grand Jacob, K.C.S.I., C.B., for many years a highly distinguished Member of this Society, was born April 24, 1805, at Roath Court, near Cardiff, being a son of John Jacob, Esq., by his wife Anna Maria Le Grand, the descendant of a French family exiled on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He was, in early life, educated at Elizabeth's College, Guernsey, and by private tutors in France and England. At fifteen, he went to London to study Eastern languages under Dr. Gilchrist, then the East India Company's authorized Instructor, and, a year later, received a Cadetship in the Bombay Infantry, and sailed for India, with Mr. [afterwards Sir Alexander] Burnes. At Bombay Sir G. Jacob passed as interpreter in Hindustani with such unusual speed as to be complimented by the Commander-in-Chief in a general order. Soon after this he also passed in Marathi and Persian.

In active service, he was engaged in 1828 in some petty local outbreaks of the Bhils—a service chiefly dangerous from the pestiferous nature of the “Nerbudda Jungles,” in which it took place, and this, too, at the most unseasonable period of the year. From 1824 to 1831, he was on the staff of his Regiment, during which period he took the opportunity of acquiring a good colloquial knowledge of many of the dialects of Western India, and of the general habits of native society. In 1831 he returned to England, where his linguistic attainments and general fitness secured him a place for three years on the Staff at Addiscombe. On his return to India he was

selected for a Post in the Political Department of Bombay, and, from this time onward, *i.e.* 1836 to 1859, he occupied various posts of prominence and responsibility in Kattywar, Sawant-Warree, Kutch, Sind, and the Southern Mahratta country, commanding different native contingents, as Acting Political Agent,—suppressing an insurrection in Kattywar in 1842,—and serving with the Southern Mahratta Field Force in 1841–45. The general details of his military services will be found in numerous General Orders and Despatches; but his own admirable work, “Western India Before and During the Mutiny,” affords the best and most graphic picture of the more stirring scenes and incidents of his later career. During the intervals of his military duties, Major Jacob was detached on confidential duty in Sind, and on a commission charged with the investigation of Departmental abuses in Bombay. In each of these cases his worth and services were in the end duly recognized by Government, though at times the plain expression of his opinions on the subject of the rights of the natives of India, gave offence to some of the officials with whom he had to do.

In 1857, with the rank of Colonel, he accompanied his friend Sir James Outram, in the expedition of Persia, and, on his return thence, was able to take a most valuable part in the suppression of the Mutiny or rebellion which had just broken out in Northern India, and which threatened to infect the whole Empire. Two of the European Regiments which had returned were at once despatched to Caunpore; and, although it was at first hoped that the Mutiny would be confined to Bengal and the North-western Provinces, it broke out at Kolapur in the Bombay Presidency on the night of the 31st July, 1857, only a little more than two months after its original commencement. Colonel Jacob was at that time nominally Resident in Cutch, though he had been lent for a time to the Commander-in-Chief of the Expedition in Persia. Fortunately he had not gone to his post, so he was

at once selected as the fittest man to quell the outbreak. "I have confidence in your judgment," wrote Lord Elphinstone, then the Governor of Bombay; "do your best to meet the present emergency, and rely on my full support." The result, as is well known, was, that the 27th Regiment, which had led the Mutiny in those parts, was disbanded, and order completely restored by his energetic action; and the Government in 1858 placed the remaining States of the Southern Mahratta country under him as Commissioner. Shortly after this, Sir G. Jacob returned to England, and, after one more visit to Bombay in 1862, finally retired from the service, receiving in 1869 the distinction of K.C.S.I.

Sir George Jacob was throughout his life a zealous student of Indian literature, and endeavoured, whenever he had the opportunity, to promote research into the History and Antiquities of India. Thus he was among the earliest copiers of the Girnar-Asoka Inscription—his original pencil and pen and ink copy being preserved in the Library of the Society. This copy is stated by Major-General Cunningham, in his introduction to the first vol. of his "*Corpus Inscriptionum*" (Calcutta, 1877), to have been the one used by James Prinsep for his account of this monument in the *Journ. Beng. Asiatic Society*, vol. vii. p. 219, 1838. The same volume also contains copies of many inscriptions on Copper Plates, found at different places in West India. In or about the year 1834, he was requested by the Committee of the Oriental Translation Society, through Sir Alex. Burnes, to undertake for them the translation of the *Ajaib al Tabakat* (or *Wonders of the Universe*), which had been purchased in the bazaar at Bokhara by that traveller. This work he conscientiously carried out, and Sir G. Jacob's MS. is now in the Library of the Society. It is not known why—having been translated—it was not printed; but a letter from Sir G. Jacob (dated Kutch, June 20, 1853) now pasted into the fly-leaf of the book, shows clearly that, in his opinion, the work he had translated was not worth printing. Quite recently,

having understood that some valuable papers on the Island of Bali had been published in Dutch by the late Rev. R. Friederich, Sir George gave £20 to pay for their translation. These were sent to the Secretary of this Society, and have been printed in your Journal, in Vol. VIII. p. 157, Vol. IX. p. 59, and Vol. X. p. 49.

The following papers were contributed by the late Sir George Jacob to different Journals, but there are, probably, several others which have escaped detection :—

Report on the General Condition of the Province of Katteewar. Bomb. Geog. Soc. vol. vii. p. 1, 1842.

Report on the District of Babriawar. *Ibid.* 1843, p. 200.

Notice of Borneo, the Eastern Archipelago, a lecture delivered before the Bomb. Geog. Society, Sept. 20, 1855. *Ibid.* vol. xiii. 1855.

Inscriptions from Palitana, J. Bombay As. Soc. vol. i. p. 36, 1841.

Inscription on a black stone to the left of the Eastern Entrance of Ray Khimgal's Mahal of Girnar. *Ibid.* p. 94, 1842, 1 pl. 8 pages of the text of the Palitana Inscription.

Copy of the Girnar Asoka Inscription. By Capt. L. G. Jacob and N. L. Westergaard. *Ibid.* p. 257, 1843, with 12 plates.

Correction of the Girnar Asoka Inscription. *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 410, 1845, 8 plates.

Observations on Inscriptions on Copper Plates dug up at Nerúr in the Kúdál Division of the Sa'want Wári State, in April, 1848. *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 203, 1851, with 18 plates.

Observations on three Copper Plate charters granted, respectively, A.D. 933, A.D. 1261, and A.D. 1391. With facsimiles, transcripts, and translations. *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 97, 1852, 4 plates.

Genealogical and Historical Sketch of the Gohel Tribe of Rajpoots. Translated from a document in the possession of Bhownugger Raja. *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 112, 1857.

Correspondence between Col. Le Grand Jacob and the Rev. R. Friederich. *Ibid.* Append. pp. lxxiv. 1861.

In the Journal of the *Royal Asiatic Society*—

An account of Gumti (or more correctly Bhumli), the ancient Capital of Jetwar. Vol. V. p. 73, 1838.

And Report on the Iron of Kattiwar, its comparative value with British Metal, the mines and mode of melting the ore. Vol. VII. p. 98, 1840.

Major-General Edward Tuite Dalton, C.S.I., who died during the last winter at Cannes, was born in 1815, and entered the army in 1835, since which period he saw much active service in India. His chief duties there were as Chief Commissioner of Chota Nagpore, where he lived many years, engaged, at all possible intervals of necessary business, in collecting the materials for the work, on which his literary reputation mainly rests, "The Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal," which was printed in Calcutta in 1872, by order of the Government of India. The book is illustrated by a large number of lithograph portraits copied from photographs. General Dalton contributed to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal the following papers:—

1. Notes of a tour made in 1863-4 in the Tributary Mehals under the Commissioner of Chota-Nagpore, Bonai, Gangpore, Odeypore, and Sirgooja. vol. xxxiv. p. 1, 1865.

2. Notes on a Tour in Maunbhoom in 1864-65. vol. xxxv. p. 186, 1866.

3. Rude stone monuments in Chutiá Nágpúr and other places. vol. xlii. p. 112, 1873.

4. Letter by, On a large picture representing the Conquest of Palámau in 1660 by Dáud Khan, Aurungzebe's General. vol. xliii. p. 240, 1873.

This remarkable picture, which is 30 feet long by 12 wide, was first made known to General Dalton by Mr. L. R. Forbes, in 1871. His letter was printed by the General in the *J. Asiat. Beng.* vol. xl. p. 129, 1871.

William Edward Frere, the third son of Edward Frere, of Clydach House, Brecknockshire, was born June 6, 1811. He was educated at the Swansea Grammar School, and afterwards at the East India College, Haileybury, having obtained a Writership through the interest of Mr. Canning, at that time President of the Board of Controul. During his career at Haileybury he obtained the Law Prize, and, in 1829, the gold medal for Mathematics. In 1830 he went to Bombay, and held in succession the appointments of Assistant Registrar of the Sudder Adawlut, Assistant Judge at Ahmedabad, and First Assistant to the Collector at Poona. He married, in March, 1838, Eliza Jane, daughter of General H. S. Osborne, came to England on furlough in 1841, and, on his return to India in 1844, became Acting Collector of Belgaum, Collector and afterwards Judge of Dharwar and of the Sudder Adawlut, which appointment—till in 1860 he became a member of the Bombay Council, with the exception of the year 1854-5 which he spent in England on sick leave—he retained till 1865, when he finally retired, taking the opportunity, on his way home, of making a journey round the world, and visiting Ceylon, New Zealand, Australia, China, Japan, Panama, United States, and Canada. On his return to England, he settled at Bilton, in Gloucestershire, and acted as a Magistrate for the Counties of Gloucester and Somerset, where he took a great interest in the condition of his poorer neighbours. In August, 1870, he was appointed Commissioner to inquire into the health of the Coolies in Demerara, and in March of 1872 he accepted a similar appointment at the Mauritius. He finished this work in November, 1873, but returned to England with his health completely broken down. For his services he was created a C.M.G. in January, 1875. He died at Littlehampton on March 23, 1880.

Mr. Frere always took a lively interest in the manners, customs, and antiquities of India, collecting everywhere specimens of antique carving, implements, arms, etc. He for some

years employed a native artist to make copies for him of the beautiful carvings in the old Temples at Belgaum and in other parts of the Southern Mahratta country. These copies still exist, and, also, a very curious book by the same artist consisting of drawings of the various Gods of India painted in their proper colours and with all their attributes.

The loss we have received by the unexpected death of *Mr. Fallon* will be appreciated by all who have watched from month to month the work he accomplished in the bringing out of his Hindustani Dictionary. It is well known that this labour extended over several years, and competent scholars assert that the work he has thus inaugurated and finished is, of its class, the most complete that has been done by any scholar. It is a matter of regret that M. Garcin de Tassy, who for forty years devoted himself to this language, should not have survived to witness the completion of a labour to which he had himself called early attention. It is, in the interests of science, worthy of mention that, before Mr. Fallon left India, to enjoy, as we all hoped, a few months of rest, he had planned a second Dictionary—a Supplement, so to speak, of his previous one, two parts of which have already been published by his daughter, under the title of “English-Hindustani Dictionary.” We hope that due support will be given to this posthumous work.

Among other scholars whom we may be allowed to commemorate on this occasion, but who were not actually members of our Society, no one is more entitled to our record than the *Rev. Mr. Sherring*, who, devoting himself mainly to missionary work, which was his chief duty during his valuable life, never failed, when he had the opportunity, to extend, as far as he could, the scientific knowledge of the races with whom he was brought in contact. Thus he was enabled to add greatly to our knowledge of tribes, whose history had been but slightly investigated previously. Mr. Sherring’s work was in this matter strictly his own; and the

great work he commenced, but failed to carry out completely, will always remain a monument of true scientific labour, accomplished, as it certainly was, under no ordinary difficulties.

Mr. Sherring, in early life, was trained at the Coward College, and after graduating in the University of London, entered the Ministry in 1852. His chief earlier works have been "The Indian Church during the Rebellion," "The Sacred City of the Hindoo Pilgrims," "The Tribes and Castes of India as represented at Benares," and the "History of the Protestant Missions in India." That, however, by which he will be best remembered is his account of the "Hindu Tribes and Castes," the first portion of which was printed in 1872. It is understood that, only a short time before his lamented death, he had placed in the hands of his printers a considerable mass of matter carrying up his researches to the most recent period. It is to be hoped that these *notanda* may sooner or later become *publici juris*. It has been thought by some that his treatment of these matters has been too technical, but the observations of a scholar so specially trained as he was cannot fail to be of value—even if they should be open to some question in matters of detail. What is wanted is honest and thorough research, and we must not quarrel with the researcher if, occasionally, he imports into his researches some opinions with which other students do not and cannot be expected to agree.

The *Rev. Dr. Wenger*, who was born near Berne in Switzerland, was early distinguished by his zeal in the promotion of Oriental studies, and, above all, by his labours in making the Scriptures intelligible to the Hindus, among whom it was his privilege to work for many years. Dr. Wenger was sent out by the Baptist Society to India, in 1839, where he devoted himself to the great object which had been partially carried out by his eminent predecessor, Dr. W. Carey, and the other Serampore Missionaries. Apart from other matters, his especial literary work has been the translation of the Holy

Scriptures into the Bengali language. His labours closed with his lamented death on August 20, 1880. But what he has accomplished is not lost to those who watch over the scholarship of the East, however exercised. It is enough to state here that his translation of the Book of Job into Sanskrit elicited from the most competent judge on such matters, the late Prof. H. H. Wilson, the most marked approbation. It may be added that, besides his translation of the Book of Job, Dr. Wenger was able to translate the Historical and Prophetical books of the Old Testament, together with the Gospel and Acts, into Sanskrit, at the same time turning the Poetical portions of the Hebrew into Sanskrit verse. In the vernacular Bengali he executed two revisions of the Translation of the Bible, his version being at present accepted throughout Bengal by all denominations of native Christians.

M. Mariette, the greatest of all modern explorers of Egypt, was born in 1821, at Boulogne, and, while yet a young man, was entrusted with the task of arranging the papers of his deceased friend and cousin, M. Nestor l'Hôte, one, as may be recollected, of the companions of Champollion in 1827-9, a duty which naturally led him to take the greatest interest in Egyptian Archæology, and also early gave him such marked knowledge of matters Egyptian, that he obtained an appointment in the Louvre, in 1849, in the Egyptian Department. Not long after this, at his own suggestion, he was despatched to Egypt for the purpose of seeking out and purchasing Coptic MSS. among the decayed or decaying Coptic Monasteries.

Shortly after his arrival in Cairo, he made the famous discovery—which will ever be associated with his name—of the long-lost Serapeum, the burial-place of the “Sacred Bulls,” and, on this most interesting research, he employed four years in the sands and tombs of the Egyptian Desert. How he worked, and what were the difficulties his

patient perseverance enabled him to overcome, are fully told in his own work, "Le Serapéum de Memphis," Paris, 1857. From this time, onwards, he devoted himself to the same studies; and, thanks to the liberality of the Ex-Khedive, and his own unwearied exertions, a long series of the most important excavations have been carried out in various parts of Egypt. The magnificent temples of Denderah and of Edfoo have been completely disinterred, and hundreds of inscriptions have been thus brought to light. The famous Sphinx has been laid bare; the mysterious building, known as the Temple of the Sphinx, has been discovered; and extensive works have been carried out at Karnak, Deir-el-Bahari, Medinat Haboo, and Abydos. The Pyramid fields of Memphis and Sakkárah have been thoroughly examined, and the unsuspected treasures of the Necropolis of Megdooom have been restored to light after a repose of six or seven thousand years. Apart from his excavations, the Museum of Boulak is the best record of M. Mariette's services to Archæology; but it is worth while to add here a brief list of the chief volumes he has published in connexion with his own special work. These are: Denderah (1873-5) in five folio vols.; Monuments Divers, 1872; Abydos, 1870, and since; Karnak, 1875; Deir-el-Bahari, 1877; Liste Géographique des Pylones de Karnak, 1875; with a number of miscellaneous papers contributed by him from time to time to the Scientific Journals of Europe, all of them showing the unabated interest he took in his first and long-continued studies. A letter from Miss Edwards to the *Academy* gives, from the pen of his brother, M. Alphonse Mariette, some interesting particulars of his last days, and also of his usual course of life, which was that of an indefatigable student. M. Mariette was, quite recently, created Pasha for his services.

The Council has the pleasure of reporting to the Members of the Society that during the last year they have received three valuable presents to the Library.

The first is a gift from the *Marquis Tséng*, the Chinese Minister at the Court of St. James's, and an Honorary Member of this Society, of 107 volumes, being the works of his late father, and consisting of despatches, rescripts, etc., with a large number of poetical and other literary compositions. This collection has been catalogued by Mr. Holt, and placed with the other Chinese books in the Chinese Library of the Society.

The second is the gift of a Member of this Society, *Mr. Basil Hall Chamberlain*, of the Imperial Naval Academy of Yeddo, Japan, consisting of 205 printed volumes, being a complete collection of Japanese poetry, of which the following is a brief notice, drawn up by Mr. Chamberlain himself before he left England last January.

1. *Hiyiku-kin-Itsu-Shiu-Itsu-Sekiwa*: Evening Conversations on the Hundred Odes by a Hundred Poets. By Wozaki Motoyoshi. Printed 1833. This is a Commentary on the "Hundred Odes," and contains the text, as do all the Commentaries of the various poetical works hereinafter mentioned. 9 vols.

2. *Ko-kiu-Wa-ka-Shifu Toho-Kagami*: i.e. Distant Mirror to the Japanese Poems, Ancient and Modern. By Enoto wori Ererinaga, the greatest scholar, excepting Kamono Mabuchi, whom Japan has produced. This Commentary on the "Odes Ancient and Modern" is one of the few books written in the colloquial dialect. 2 small vols. in case. Printed 1843.

3. *Ko-kiu Wa-ka-Shifu Uchi-Giki*: i.e. "Notes of my Master's Teaching of the Japanese Poems, Ancient and Modern." This Commentary contains Kamo us Mabuchi's views on the "Odes Ancient and Modern." 20 vols. Printed 1785.

4. *Man-Yefu-Shifu Riyallu-ge*: i.e. Abridged Exposition of the Collection of a Myriad Leaves. Printed 1812, but the work was completed in 1796. By Tachibana no Chikage.

This is the best edition of the *Man-Yefu-Shifu* or "Myriad Leaves," the earliest poems of the Japanese, first brought together by Imperial order in A.D. 740. This collection is revered in Japan, somewhat in the same manner as Homer was by the Greeks. We find in it the most archaic form of the Japanese language and the earliest ideas of the Japanese people. 30 vols.

5. *Méu-Yefu-Shifu Shifu-Ho-Seu*: i.e. "Critical Extracts and Commentary on the Collection of a Myriad Leaves." By Kitamura Kigin. This work is the second-best edition of the "Myriad Leaves." In point of time, it was the first Commentary on the entire body of the poems. Printed 1688.

6. *Wa-ka hi Zhifu tahi Dai Shifu*: i.e. "Poetical Collections of the One-and-Twenty Reigns," comprising the following works published from time to time by Imperial command:—

i. *Ko-kin-Shifu*: i.e. "Collection of Poems, Ancient and Modern." Compiled A.D. 905. There were four compilers, the most celebrated of whom was the great Ki no Tsuruyaki, many of whose odes appear in the Collection, and whose Preface to it is esteemed as a model of classical prose. This, the first in date, is likewise the first in merit, of the One-and-Twenty Imperial Collections; in it the Japanese language is seen in its highest point of perfection.

ii. *Go-Sén-Shifu*: i.e. "Later Selection." Compiled A.D. 951, by Ohonakatomi Yoshinsbu and four coadjutors.

iii. *Zhifu-wi-Shifu*: i.e. "Poetical Gleanings." Compiled between A.D. 995 and A.D. 999.

iv. *Kin-Yefu-Shifu*: i.e. "Collection of Golden Leaves." Compiled A.D. 1075, by Minamoto no Toshiyori no Asón.

v. *Go Zhifu-Wi-Shifu*, i.e. "Later Poetical Gleanings." Compiled A.D. 1086, by the "Chiyunugôn" Michitoshi.

vi. *Zhi-Kuca-Shifu*: i.e. "Collection of Verbal Blossoms." Compiled A.D. 1144, by the "Sakiyan no Daibu" Akisake.

vii. *Sén-zai-Shifu*: i.e. "Collection of the Poems of a Thou-

sand Years." Compiled A.D. 1187, by the Monk and Prime Minister Toshinari.

viii. *Shin-ko-Kin-Shifu* : i.e. "New Collection of Poems, Ancient and Modern." Compiled by the "Sangi Wemôn no Kami" Michitomo, and early coadjutors.

The above are known, collectively, under the name of *Hachi Dai Shifu* : i.e. "The Collection of the Eight Reigns."

ix. *Shin-Chiyoku-Sên Shifu* : i.e. "New Imperial Poetical Selection." Compiled A.D. 1232, by the celebrated poet, the "Saki no Chyuunagoû" Faika.

x. *Toku Go-Sên Shifu* : i.e. "Appendix to the later Selection." Compiled A.D. 1251, by the "Min bukhiyan" Reizân Tameihe.

xi. *Toku Ko-Kin Shifu* : i.e. "Appendix to the Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern." Compiled A.D. 1265, by the "Saki no Naidai-Zhîn," Fujihara no Motonichi, and three coadjutors.

xii. *Toku Zhifu-Wi-Shifu* : i.e. "Appendix to the Poetical Gleanings." Compiled A.D. 1276, by the "Gôn Dainagôn," Tamenji (son of Tameike).

xiii. *Shin Go-Sên-Shifu* : i.e. "New Later Collection." Compiled A.D. 1303, by the "Dainagôn Tameyo" (son of Tameugi).

xiv. *Giyoku-Yefu Shifu* : i.e. "Collection of Jewel Leaves." Compiled A.D. 1313, by the "Saki-no Dainagôn," Tamekane (grandson of Tameike).

xv. *Toku Sen-Zai Shifu* : i.e. "Appendix to the Collection of the Poems of a Thousand Years." Compiled by the "Saki no Gôn Dainagôn Tameyo" (same as the compiler of No. xiii.).

xvi. *Toku Go Zhifu-Wi-Shifu* : "Appendix to the Later Poetical Gleanings." Compiled A.D. 1325, by the "Minbukiyou" Tamefugi (said to be the son of Tameyo).

xvii. *Fuu-Ga-Shifu* : i.e. "The Elegant Collection." Compiled A.D. 1346, by the "Mikado" Hanazono.

xviii. *Shin Sên-Zai Shifu*: i.e. "New Collection of the Poems of a Thousand Years." Compiled A.D. 1359, by the "Dainagôn" Tamesada.

xix. *Shin Zhifu-Wi-Shifu*: i.e. "New Poetical Gleanings." Compiled A.D. 1364, by the "Mînbukyau" Tameakira.

xx. *Shin Go Zhifu-Wi-Shifu*: i.e. "New Later Poetical Gleanings." Compiled A.D. 1384, by "Chiyunnagôn" Tameton.

xxi. *Shin Toku Ko-Kin Shifu*: i.e. "New Appendix to the Collection of Poems, Ancient and Modern." Compiled A.D. 1438, by "Zou Dainagôn Asu-Kawi" Tsuneyo.

[N.B.—Nos. ix. to xxi. are known collectively under the name *Zhifu Sên Dai Shifu*, i.e. "The Collections of the Thirteen Reigns. Altogether 56 vols.]

7. *Shin Dai-hin Wa-ka-Shifu*: i.e. "New Collection of Japanese Poems arranged according to their subjects." The date of this copy is unknown. Another copy in Mr. Chamberlain's possession bears date A.D. 1706. 16 vols.

8. [*Haushiyan kin*] *Yeu-Kiyoku Shifu*: i.e. Collection of Lyric Dramas, according to the Haushiyan School. This Pocket Edition is dated A.D. 1859, and the only title the volumes bear is that of the plays they contain. 21 small volumes. In all 205 vols.

The third is a work, unfortunately wholly in Russian, which has been sent from Tiflis to this Society, and for the following notice of which the best thanks of the Society are due to Mr. E. Delmar Morgan, who undertook to prepare the following notes at the request of Mr. Cust. The book is entitled "*Akti Sobranniye Kawkazkoyu Archéologicheskoyu Kommissseyu*," i.e. Acts collected by the Caucasian Archaeological Commission; Archives of the Viceroy of the Caucasus, edited by Adolphe Bergé, President of the Commission, vols. i.–vi., Tiflis, 1866–75. It would be impossible in this brief sketch to give more than the barest outline of the contents of these splendid volumes, which are made up from

reports from Generals and other responsible officers in Trans-Caucasia, and comprise a period remarkable in Russian Annals, from the subjugation of the warlike independent tribes, on either side of the Caucasus, to the complete annexation of their country by Russia.

The honour of having been the first to collect and publish these valuable historical documents belongs to Baron Nicholai, the able coadjutor of the Grand-Duke Michael, the Patron and President of the Commission, M. Adolphe Bergé, an accomplished Orientalist, having undertaken the task of editing. Under the combined auspices of these gentlemen, and of other members of the Commission, the archives of Tiflis, Stavropol, Georgiefsk, Kizliar, and other places were ransacked. In that of Tiflis, alone, no less than 128,000 folios in MS. had to be examined, those worth keeping to be separated from those to be destroyed, and the contents of the former duly sifted. The result of this work will be found in the first six volumes.

Vol. i. is divided into two parts, the first containing the *gudjari* or acts (76 in number) of the Grusian or Georgian Kings in the native language of that district, firmáns or edicts of the Sháhhs of Persia, and other curious documents in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, the native texts being in all cases accompanied by a Russian translation revised by M. Bergé himself. These documents possess some literary and considerable historical interest, embracing a period extending over four centuries from 1398 to 1799. The second part of vol. i. deals with the latter half of the eighteenth century, and with the governorship of Lieut.-Gen. Carl Feodorovitch. A map to illustrate the political divisions of the Caucasus previously to the present century accompanies vol. i.

Vol. ii. refers to the years 1802-6, rendered remarkable by the vigorous and successful administration of Prince Tsitsianof, who was killed at Baku, in 1806. His portrait and that of

Prince David Georgevitch, heir of the overthrown Dynasty of Georgia, are given in this volume, which would have been of far greater interest than it really is, were it not that many important documents relating to the war between Russia and Persia are missing, having been sent by order of Alexander I. to Lieut.-Gen. Michailofsky-Danilofsky, who was charged by His Imperial Majesty to write a history of the war, no copies of these having been preserved.

Vol. iii. continues the series down to the 5th of March, 1809, at which period Count Ivan Vassilievitch Gudovitch held the reins of government in Georgia, the relations of Russia with her Muhammedan neighbours being, at this period, in an unsettled state. Hence, much of this volume relates to Persia and to Turkey; but, unfortunately, for the reason above given, many reports on Persian affairs are absent. It is interesting to read, among other papers, a report by Major-General Felkersam, of the Engineers, of his expedition in the autumn of 1805 into the Turkoman country.

Vol. iv., published in 1870, is devoted to the comparatively brief tenure of office of General Tormasoff, an energetic and skilful administrator, with whose Governorship the first decade of the supremacy of Russia in the Trans-Caucasus draws to a close. The most important event chronicled in these pages is the fall of the State of Imeritia. This kingdom, after seven centuries and a half of independent existence under two dynasties, the Abkasian from A.D. 786 to A.D. 985, and the Bagratidian from A.D. 1259 to A.D. 1810, became for ever part of the Russian Empire.

Vol. v. opens with the recall of General Tormasoff, and closes with the year 1816. To this period belongs the final overthrow of the Persian Empire on the Western Littoral of the Caspian, and the storming of the fortress Lenkoran; appendices in the French language are added. The perusal of these, especially of one entitled "*Idées sur expédition dans*

l'Inde," by an unknown author, written in 1807, would interest some of our Indian officers.

Vol. vi. is in two parts, each forming a bulky volume, published in 1874 and 1875, and extending over the Governorship of General Yermolof from A.D. 1816 to A.D. 1827. They also contain an exhaustive monograph on the Caucasus, viewed by the light of early Christian monuments, from information collected by Demetrius Bakradje during his tour in 1873.

All the volumes are illustrated with portraits of some of the chief actors in these scenes. Some have illuminated title-pages as well, with vignettes of Tiflis; and each has an index. There can be no doubt that these volumes contain vast stores of information on a hitherto closed page.

The Council has also the pleasure of reporting to you that Mr. Holt has completed the Catalogue of the Chinese books belonging to this Society; and he has done so on a plan briefly alluded to in the Report of last year, which will, we believe, be accepted as advisable in the case of any future catalogues of similar collections, his plan having been to arrange the works in various bookcases named respectively after China itself, or eminent persons who have been connected with that country. The letters and the figures accompanying these names indicate the exact position of each work in its respective case; and an ample series of cross-references has been, also, provided; especially to other Chinese Libraries in London, as to those of the British Museum, the India Office, and of the University College, Gower Street. These are respectively indicated by the letters B.M. for British Museum, I.O.C. for India Office, and L.U. for London University. By these means the student, finding an imperfect copy of the work of which he is in search on the shelves of the Library of this Society, can tell where other, and, perhaps, more perfect copies may be found.

Printed copies of the Catalogue of the India Office, and of

the British Museum Libraries, are already in this Library, and Mr. Holt has copied for it that of University College, in 140 pages folio, each page containing five slips.

The Library of the Society, with its 5000 volumes, does not, of course, compare in bulk with that of the National Library at the British Museum, but, at the same time, it may, nevertheless be stated that every branch of Chinese Literature is adequately represented, while it also contains many works not to be found in any other collections in this country.

The Council also beg leave to report that your Secretary has now nearly completed a MS. Catalogue of the Society's Library — indeed, but from failing eyesight, would have completed it long ago — and that the slips have been provisionally pasted down under certain leading headings, namely, the languages treated of in the different volumes, as, for example, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, etc., or subjects, such as Voyages and Travels, Miscellaneous Indian, including biographies, and the reports from time to time sent to the Society by the India Office or the Governments of the several provinces of India. Some progress has been made also in a general catalogue of the papers and essays to be found in various journals, English and Foreign, bearing on matters of Oriental research. At the present time, the papers in the Asiatic Researches, in the Old and New Series of the Society's Journal, and in that of the German Oriental Society, have been finished. Your Secretary hopes, by the end of the long vacation, to be able to announce the completion also, of those of the Journal Asiatique, and of the Bengal and affiliated Societies in India and of the East generally. It may be added that, during the last long vacation, all the MSS. in your Library which are represented in the MS. and printed catalogues drawn up, forty years ago, by Mr. W. H. Morley, have been so far as possible identified, though several works described by him would seem to be no longer on your shelves, and that steps have been taken to secure Catalogues

of the Sanskrit, Turkish and Malay MSS., which at present have been only partially described.

The Council further beg leave to report that during the last year they have had means and matter sufficient to publish a fourth part of their Transactions, and that they hope that the zeal and energy of their members will enable them to do so in future ; at the same time, this must, of course, mainly depend on the funds at their disposal, as well as on the quality of the papers offered for publication.

AUDITORS' REPORT.

The Auditors are happy to be able to report that the financial position of the Society continues even more prosperous than they anticipated when they last examined the accounts eleven months since. The balance at the Bankers is considerably in excess of what it was last year, notwithstanding the publication of a fourth number of the Journal, and they see no reason for doubting that a sufficient number of interesting papers will be forthcoming to render it desirable to continue it as a permanent quarterly publication.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1880.

	RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.			
	Dec. 31, 1880.	£ s. d.	Dec. 31, 1880.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balance at Bankers', January 1, 1880	...	243 7 4	Rent	...	300 0 0	...
134 Resident Members	...	422 2 0	Water Rate	...	10 10 0	315 10 0
65 Non-Resident Members	...	68 5 0	Fire Insurance	...	5 0 0	...
Arrears paid up	...	13 16 5	Salaries—Secretary	...	150 0 0	...
Compositions—Three Resident, Three Non-Resident Members	...	126 0 0	Bedford (pension)	...	25 0 0	187 10 0
Donation from Council for India	...	210 0 0	Stewardson	...	2 10 0	...
Dividends on Consols	...	20 11 4	Messrs. Vambery and Holt	...	20 0 0	...
Rents—	...	117 0 0	Allowances—Royal Asiatic Society	...	30 0 0	52 0 0
British Association (including £17 allowance)	...	30 0 0	British Association	...	17 0 0	...
University Extension (including £5 allowance)	...	25 0 0	University Extension Society	...	56 2 3	...
Royal Historical Society	...	3 6 0	Journal—Trübner for Vol. XII. Part 1	...	59 18 0	252 8 1
Sale of Journal	...	1279 8 1	" " " Part 2	...	31 2 6	...
Total Receipts	...	5 15 7	" " " Part 3	...	87 1 4	...
	...		" " " Part 4	...	18 4 0	...
Balance in Treasurer's hands, Jan. 1, 1880	...		Quaritch for books	...	0 16 0	...
	...		Trübner (including subscriptions)	...	18 8 4	84 3 4
	...		Vaton for book	...	1 10 0	...
	...		Williams and Norgate	...	13 9 0	...
	...		Stationery—Messrs. Harrison, Harding, Klaber	...	20 18 7	...
	...		Cooper	...	2 5 0	29 19 1
	...		Netherclift, Diploma, Chinese Minister	...	2 2 0	...
	...		Palaographical Subscriptions—Three years	...	2 5 0	...
	...		Advertisements and Reporter	...	2 8 6	...
	...		Book binding and repairs to books and Oriental	...	20 1 11	25 5 11
	...		MSS. - Partridge & Co.	...	5 4 0	...
	...		Repeating Pictures—Chapman	...	14 6 1	43 13 4
	...		House Expenses	...	29 7 3	21 16 0
	...		General Repairs—including redecorating front	...	...	...
	...		room and new glazed bookcases	...	...	...
	...		Postage and parcels	...	...	...
	...		Total Expenditure	...	...	972 5 9
	...		Balance at Bankers'	...	...	310 10 6
	...		In Treasurer's hands	...	...	1282 16 3
	...		Examined and found correct,	...	...	2 7 5
	\$1285 3 8

JAMES FERGUSON.
M. J. WALHOUSE.
JOHN DAVIES, M.A.

Amount of Society's Funds,
Three per cent. Consols, £700.

Proceedings of Asiatic Societies.—Royal Asiatic Society.—Papers.—The following Papers have been read at different meetings of the Society since the last Anniversary of May 24, 1880.

1. By Professor Abel. On the Origin of Language, as traced through the Egyptian. Read June 7, 1880.

2. Revised translation by Professor Kern of the additional Edicts of King Asoka at Dhauli and Jaugada. Read June 7, 1880.

3. Second Paper On the Comparison between the Gaurian and the Romance Languages. By E. L. Brandreth, Esq. Read July 5, 1880.

4. On Indian Theistic Reformers. By Professor Monier Williams, C.I.E., D.C.L. Read November 15, 1880.

5. On the Invention of the Indian Alphabet. By Professor Dowson. Read December 20, 1880.

6. On the Identification of Nagarahara, in the Valley of Jelalabad, with reference to the Travels of Hiouen-Tsang. By William Simpson, F.R.G.S. Read January 24, 1881.

7. On the Koi or Ghond of Central India. By the Rev. Mr. Cain. Read February 21, 1881.

8. On the Lesghian or Avâr Language. By Cyril Graham, Esq., M.A.

9. On the Chinese Inscriptions lately discovered at Buddha Gâya. By Professor Beal. Read March 22, 1881.

10. On "Tartar" or "Turk." By the Rev. S. W. Koelle. Read April 25, 1881.

Of these papers, as Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8, have been already printed in the Society's Journal, it is not necessary to say anything more here. Only those, therefore, will be noticed which are not at present in type, viz. those by Professor Abel, Mr. Beal, and Mr. Koelle.

Professor Abel, in his paper "On the Origin of Language as traced through the Egyptian," pointed out that, in the most ancient hieroglyphical period, the Egyptian language was to a

large extent the language of homonyms and synonyms, in which many of the roots had a great variety of meanings, while many of these meanings could be expressed by a great variety of roots. Dr. Abel, then, compared the primitive stage of the language with the late Coptic, and, finding the synonyms gone or replaced by distinct derivatives, came to the conclusion that language was only gradually developed into an intelligible state. The general nature of this process, he urged, divested it of much of its surrounding mystery, as numerous sounds are invented for every conception, or tentatively used by succeeding generations. A continuous choice must then have been made, until a sound most responsive to the national sense was fixed upon, and more or less extensively adopted, each root having no doubt a variety of significations.

Dr. Abel then proceeded to demonstrate two important facts in the gradual evolution of sense and sound, viz. the intellectual and phonetical inversion of roots. In Egyptian, many roots, he remarked, mean one thing and its opposite, too; and, where there is no variation in sound, the context can alone decide which signification is required in the particular case. In other words, two opposite notions, each expressed by separate words, are formed into a compound denoting neither the one nor the other of two conflicting meanings.

Prof. Beal contributed a paper "On the Chinese Inscriptions lately discovered at Buddha Gaya," and, in connexion with this subject, referred to the travels of fifty-six Buddhist pilgrims or priests from China to India, whose history had been written by I-tsing, a Chinese Priest, in the sixth century A.D. The account I-tsing has left shows clearly that the route of the pilgrims must have been by the "Southern Sea," i.e. by the Straits of Malacca, and the Coast of Pegu, to Tamralipti, as well as by the northern way of Tibet and Nipal. Sri-Bhoja seems to have been a great centre of trade at the time spoken of, and this, probably, represents the part of Java, bordering on Surabaya.

To the Rev. S. W. Koelle, we owe a paper entitled "Tartar or Turk," in the first portion of which he discussed the question whether "Tartar" or "Tatar" was the correct spelling of the name, and gave a good deal of evidence in favour of the first being the truly original form of the word, the meaning being that of "wanderer," "nomad," etc. The latter form, he suggested, was probably due to the influence of the Arabs, who are known to have changed many words, as "Mongol" into "Mogol." Both names, Tartar as well as Turk, he considered to be mere appellations, and not proper names of distinct tribes; he held, also, that the two words were, undoubtedly, of common origin.

Journals.—*Royal Asiatic Society.*—Since the last Anniversary of May 24, 1880, Parts III. and IV. of Vol. XII. and Parts I. and II. of Vol. XIII. have been issued, and contain the following articles:—

Thus, in Vol. XII. Part III. are papers—On the Gaurian compared with the Romance Languages, Part II. By E. L. Brandreth, Esq., M.R.A.S.

———— On the Uzbeg Epos. By M. Arminius Vambéry.

———— On the Separate Edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada. By Prof. H. Kern, of Leiden.

———— A Grammatical Sketch of the Kakhyen Language. By the Rev. J. N. Cushing, of the American Baptist Mission, Rangoon, Burma.

———— Notes on the Libyan Languages, in a letter addressed to R. N. Cust, Esq., Hon. Secretary R.A.S. By Prof. F. W. Newman, M.R.A.S.

In Vol. XII. Part IV. are papers—On the Early History of Tibet, from Chinese Sources. By S. W. Bushell, M.D., Physician to H.B.M. Legation, Peking, M.R.A.S.

———— Notes on some Inedited Coins, from a Collection made in Persia, during the years 1877–9. By Guy Le Strange, Esq., M.R.A.S.

——— Buddhist Nirvana, and the Noble Eight-fold Path. By Oscar Frankfurter, Ph.D.

At the close of the volume are given the Index, Annual Report, and List of Members.

Vol. XIII. Part I. contains :—

1. Indian Theistic Reformers. By Prof. Monier Williams, C.I.E., D.C.L., Hon.M.R.A.S.

2. Notes on the Kawi Language and Literature. By Dr. H. N. Van der Tuuk (communicated by Dr. Rost).

3. The Nirvana of the Northern Buddhists. By the Rev. Dr. Eddins, D.D., Hon.M.R.A.S.

4. On the Account of the Malay "Chiri," a Sanskrit Formula. By W. E. Maxwell, M.R.A.S., Colonial Civil Service.

5. The Invention of the Indian Alphabet. By John Dowson, Esq., M.R.A.S., late Professor of Sanskrit, etc., at the Staff College.

Vol. XIII. Part II. contains :—

6. The Northern Frontagers of China, Part V. The Khitai or Khitans. By H. H. Howorth, F.S.A.

7. On the Identification of Nagarahara, with reference to the Travels of Hiouen-Thsang. By W. Simpson, F.R.G.S.

8. Hindû Law at Madras. By J. H. Nelson, M.A., Bar.-at-Law, Madras.

9. On the Proper Names of Mohammedans. By Sir T. E. Colebrooke, Bart., M.P., V.P.R.A.S.

10. Supplement to a Former Paper on Indian Theistic Reformers, published in the January Number of this Journal. By Prof. Monier Williams, C.I.E., D.C.L., Hon.M.R.A.S.

Asiatic Society of Bengal.—Vol. xlix. parts 1, 2, 3, 4, edited by the Philological Secretary, contains, in *part* 1, papers by Lieut.-Col. Branfill, Description of the Great Siva Temple of Gangai Kondapuram (see *Archæology*)—and Rude Megalithic Monuments in N. Arcot (*ibid.*) ;—by C. J. Rodgers, The Coins

of the Maharajahs of Kánga (see *Numismatic*);—by Major H. S. Jarrett, B.S.C., On an Inscription found in Kashmir (see *Epigraphy*);—by H. Rivett-Carnac, C.I.E., Coins of the Sunga or Mitra Dynasty (see *Numismatic*);—by C. R. Stulpnagel, Coins of Ghiás-ed-din, etc. (*ibid.*). In part 2, by A. F. R. Hoernle, On a Collection of Hindi Roots;—by C. J. Rodgers, Coins Supplementary to Thomas's Pathan Kings (*Numismatic*);—by H. Rivett-Carnac, Memorandum on Coins of the Sunga Dynasty (*ibid.*). In part 3, by Lieut. R. C. Temple, Remarks on the Afghans along the Route of the Tal Chotali Field Force, 1879;—by Dr. G. Thibaut, On the Suryaprajnapti;—by H. Rivett-Carnac, On the Clay-disks called Spindle-whorls, etc. (*Archæology*). In part 4, are R. C. Temple's Remarks on the Afghans found along the Route of the Tal Chotali Field Force in the spring of 1879, with 3 plates and 2 maps;—second article, by Dr. Thibaut, On the Suryaprajnapti;—and two further papers on Indian Numismatics, by Mr. C. J. Rodgers. The majority of these papers will be noticed under their own special subjects; but it may be well to notice, here, Dr. Hoernle's paper in part 2—"On a Collection of Hindí Roots, with remarks on their derivation and classification"—is an essay of much interest, as supplementary to the writer's recently published "Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages." In this paper, Dr. Hoernle discusses the value of the study of "Roots" in "Hindí," meaning by the term "root," to use his own words, "the constant element in any series of sense-related words. Thus, in Hindí, words *bol-i* 'speech, *bol-áhat* 'calling,' *bol-aná* 'speaking,' *bol-á* 'spoken,' *bol-ai* 'he speaks,' etc., where the constant element *bol* is the root; the remainder being simply suffixes, and liable to constant variation A root may be determined in Hindí by detaching the suffix of the 3rd pers. sing. present *ai* (or *e*) from the word, when the remainder will be the root. Thus in *bol-ai*, *kar-ai*, *bujh-ai*, *bol*, *kar*, and *bujh* are the roots respectively.

It must be recollected that a large number of Hindí roots are not derived from the pure Sanskrit root, but from that modified form of it, which is confined to the present tense (or the so-called special tenses generally). Roots, as a rule, do not undergo any change when entering into conjunction with suffixes, except in the formation of the causal verb, in which case a long vowel is always shortened." In the Proceedings of the Society are a large number of short notices of papers, many of which will appear in future parts of the Journal. Those, which include many references to coins and antiquities recently found in different places of India, will be noticed under their respective heads.

The Madras Journal of Literature and Science for 1879, under the able administration of M. Gustave Oppert, has the following papers, all of considerable interest and importance:—They are, by Surg.-Gen. C. A. Gordon, M.D., On the Hygiene of Ancient India;—by M.C.S., On the Antiquities of Mámandúr in the North Arcot District;—by Lieut.-Col. R. B. Branfill, G.I.S., On the Names of Places in Tanjore;—by the late Director of Public Instruction, A brief sketch of the Yerukala Language, as spoken in Rajahmandry;—by the compiler, Historical Notes concerning the Presidency of Fort St. George;—by Surg.-Maj. J. J. L. Ralton, M.D., On the ultimate source of Common Salt;—and, by M. Gustave Oppert, On the Weapons, Army Organization and Political Maxims of the Ancient Hindus, with special reference to Gunpowder and Fire-arms, and On the identification of Mañipura with Mañaluru near Madura.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.—Vol. xiv. No. 37, contains four papers by Mr. E. Rehatsek, On the use of wine among the Ancient Arabs;—On the Arabic Alphabet and early writings (with a table of Alpha-

bets);—On Magic;—and, Notes on some old Arms and Instruments of War, chiefly used among the Arabs (with drawings);—Mr. J. C. Lisboa adds: A list of some Plants undescribed in the “Bombay Flora” by Dr. Gibson and Mr. Dalzell.

Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

—In vol. i. part 4, are the following papers:—The Maritime Code of the Malays, by Sir Stamford Raffles (continued from No. 3, p. 84);—by H. C. W. Leech, LL.B., F.C.D., About Kinta, and, About Slim and Bernam;—by W. E. Maxwell, On the Aboriginal Tribes of Perak;—by E. W. Birch, On the Vernacular Press in the Straits;—by A. Hart Everett, On the Guliga of Borneo;—On the Name Sumatra, anon. In vol. ii. part 1 (No. 5) are the following papers:—By Hugh Low, C.M.G., Selesilah (Book of Descent) of the Rajas of Bruni, with a History of the Sultans and Mahomedan Sovereigns of Bruni, and the Translation of an “Historical Tablet”;—by C. P. Pogson, An Account of Acheh, commonly called Acheen;—by F. A. Swettenham, the Honorary Secretary of the Straits Branch, From Perak to Slim, and down the Slim and Bernam Rivers;—by N. B. Dennys, M.R.A.S., A contribution to Malay Bibliography, the last a very valuable and, at present, unique list of works on the languages of what the late Mr. Logan called “Indonesia,” and comprising, not only Malay proper, but the Javanese, Tagala, Bugi, Macassar, etc.;—and, by F. A. Swettenham, A comparative Vocabulary of the Dialects of some of the Wild Tribes inhabiting the Malayan Peninsula, Borneo, etc., with some good suggestions on the best mode of collecting such words. In this case, the Committee selected one hundred words, and had these printed in the form of a pamphlet, with the German, French, Dutch and Spanish equivalents for each word, and a blank column for the new Dialect to be supplied by the

Collector. The part concludes with a paper by Mr. A. H. Everett, On the Tiger in Borneo.

Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.—No. xiii. contains a very interesting Address to the Members, drawn up by Mr. Kingsmill, their President, and good papers, by A. A. Fauvel, On Alligators in China, derived from the earliest records, as those of the Doctrine of the Mean, etc., with two curious plates, one of a Crocodile carved on a stone;—by F. W. Schultze, On Periodical change of Terrestrial Magnetism;—by P. G. von Möllendorff, Esq., On the Family Law of the Chinese, and its comparative relations with that of other nations; a brief but able statement of the outline of the case;—and, by Mr. Kingsmill, The Story of the Emperor Shun. No. xiv. contains papers by J. W. Kingsmill, Esq., On the Intercourse of China with Central Asia in the Second Century B.C.;—by J. Rhein, Esq., On the Rock Inscriptions at the North side of Yental Hill;—and, by Joseph Haas, Esq., On Siamese Coinage. The first paper is the following up of researches to which Mr. Kingsmill has paid great attention, and on which he has published many papers in the Chinese Journals, as well as in that of this Society. It consists, chiefly, of a Translation from the 123rd Chapter of the Shi-ki, or “Book of History,” by Szema Ts’ien; and is preceded by a brief but clear introduction.

Asiatic Society of Japan.—In vol. viii. part 2, are papers by Mr. J. C. Tarring, “On the land provisions of the Teihô Riô,” the text and notes of which now form a work called the Riôno Gige, or the Commentaries on the Law, [the whole being written in the Chinese], in use among the Japanese at about A.D. 763, any inconsistencies being mainly due to the fact that, in such an early code, the same scientific accuracy and completeness can hardly be expected;—by Dr. Edkins,

D.D., "On the Japanese letters 'Chi' and 'Tsu,'" the syllabaries used in the schools of Japan having been invented at a time long enough ago for changes to have entered in the interval between then and now;—by Mr. Ernest Satow, containing a reply to the previous paper, on the 'Chi' and 'Tsu';—by T. Blakiston and H. Fryer, "On the birds of Japan," and by P. V. Dickins, "On the 'Kana' transliteration system," a document of the highest importance for future students, the more so that it sets forth grave objections to the Romanizing scheme urged by Mr. Satow. Mr. R. W. Atkinson adds some valuable notes "On the Porcelain Industry of Japan," and Mr. Basil Hall Chamberlain "A short memoir from the Seventeenth Century," being "Mistress An's Narrative." The paper is a translation from a small volume containing the memoirs of two women, which Mr. Chamberlain met with, while preparing a paper "On the Mediæval Colloquial Dialect of the Japanese Comedies."

In vol. viii. part 3, Mr. B. H. Chamberlain gives a paper entitled "Suggestions for a Japanese Rendering of the Psalms," in which he points out the difficulties attending any translation of them at all adequate to their real meaning, at the same time offering translations of several of them in verse and prose. Papers are, also, contributed by E. Satow, "On Ancient Sepulchral Mounds at Khandzuke;" by Josiah Conder, "On the History of Japanese Costume"; by Edward Kinch, Esq., Prof. of Chemistry, "Contributions to the Agricultural Chemistry of Japan"; and by Prof. Brauns, "On the Systematic position of the Itachi."

In vol. viii. part 4, are papers by Carlo Puini, "On the Seven Gods of Happiness," translated by P. F. Dickins:—by K. Ota, "On the Manufacture of Sugar in Japan":—by Dr. Edkins, "On the influence of Chinese Dialects on the Japanese Pronunciation of the Chinese part of the Japanese Language."

And in vol. ix. part 1, are "Notes on the Dialect spoken at Ahidzu," by B. H. Chamberlain, M.R.A.S., and by Mr. W. G. Aston, "Hideyoshi's Invasion of Japan, ch. 2, The Retreat," with a considerable number of other papers on subjects specially scientific.

Journal Asiatique.—7th series, vol. xv. part 3, May and June, 1880, contains papers by M. Maspero, "Etudes sur quelques peintures et sur quelques textes relatifs aux funeraillles":—by M. Sauvaire, "Matériaux pour l'histoire de la Numismatique et de la Métrologie Musulmanes":—by M. Sénart, "Etude sur les Inscriptions de Piyadasi (suite)":—by M. Guyard, "Notes de Lexicographie Assyrienne (quatrième article)":—and, in the "Procès-verbaux des Séances de 9 Avril et 14 Mai, 1880," "Les Inscriptions de Van," by M. Guyard, and "Les Tablettes Juridiques de Babylone," by M. Oppert.

Vol. xvi. part 1, as usual, is fully occupied by the long and able report drawn up by M. Renan, as Secretary to the Society.

Vol. xvi. part 2, contains the sixth and last article by M. C. de Harlez, "Sur les Origines de Zoroastrisme":—and, also, papers by M. J. A. Gatteyrias, *Sur les Malheurs de l'Arménie*:—by M. Senart, *Etude sur les Inscriptions de Piyadasi* (continued).

Vol. xvi. part 3, Oct. Nov. and Dec. 1880, has papers by M. Senart, *Etude sur les Inscriptions de Piyadasi* (continued):—by M. Cl. Huart, *Notice des livres Turcs, Arabes et Persans*;—by M. Rodet, *Sur la veritable signification de la Numerique inventée par Arya-bhatta*;—by M. L. Feer, *Comment on devient Buddha*;—with many other miscellaneous notices it is not necessary to deal with here.

In vol. xvii. part 1, are papers by M. Cl. Huart, entitled, "La Poetesse Fadhl—scènes des mœurs sous les Khalifes Abbassides," and by M. Halevy, "Essai sur les Inscriptions

du Sa'fa (suite)," with other notes of more or less importance by M. Halevy, on M. Schlumberger's "Trésor de Sa'nâ," and by M. Siouffi on a MS. imperfect at the beginning and end, but containing memoirs of Nestorian Patriarchs from A.D. 49 to A.D. 1318. In vol. xvii. pt. 2, for Febr. and March, are papers by M. Senart, being his fifth *Essai sur les Inscriptions de Piyadasi*;—by M. K. Pichl, *Sur une Inscription de l'Epoque Saite*:—by M. Halevy, a further article *Sur les Inscriptions du Sa'fa*;—with notices by M. C. Imbault-Huart of the "*Chronique Litteraire de l'Extrême Orient*," and by M. de Harlez on Jamaspji Dastur's Pahlavi, Gujarati and English Dictionary.

German Oriental Society.—Since the last Report, vol. xxxiv. parts 2, 3, and 4, and vol. xxxv. part 1, have been issued, and contain, as usual, a large quantity of valuable matter. Among those on general subjects may be mentioned M. L. Strack, *Ueber Abraham Firkowitsch u. d. werth seiner entdeckungen*:—and a paper by Prof. Weber, *Zur Klarstellung*;—the rest are mostly special, and will be noticed under the heads to which they refer.

Archæology.—Among the more important archæological works which have made their appearance since the last anniversary, are Messrs. Fergusson and Burgess's "*Cave-Temples of India*," the second volume of Babu Rajendralala Mitra's "*Antiquities of Orissa*," the second and greatly enlarged edition of Mr. F. S. Growse's "*Mathura, a district Memoir*," and the ninth vol. of Major-General Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*—a "*Report of a Tour in the Central Provinces in 1873-4 and 1874-5*."

The elaborate work on "*The Cave-Temples of India*" is the natural outcome and the result of the various archæological researches which have been conducted during the last forty years with so much success, in the early period of which

Mr. Fergusson, himself, was one of the chief pioneers. Though not complete in all its parts, as the authors themselves avow, it may be considered as the crowning apex of these researches, the more so that the writing of a general account of Cave Architecture in India was one of the objects sanctioned by the Duke of Argyll, when Secretary of State for India, in 1871. The work itself consists of two main divisions. First, the Eastern Temples, Barabar, Kutak, Undavilli, Mahavallipur, etc., by James Fergusson, pp. 1-161; secondly, the Cave-Temples of Western India, Ajanta, Elura, Aurungabad, the Brahmanical and the Jaina, by J. Burgess, pp. 165-523. In an appendix is given a notice of the discovery, at Bhâja, of a very ancient Vihara, the interior sculptures of which have been preserved uninjured, owing to the fact of the cave itself having been completely filled up with mud. The date of this cave is, probably, from B.C. 250-200.

Mr. Fergusson, in his Preface, gives a concise but clear account of the progress of the study of the Cave architecture from the days of Capt. Kittoe and James Prinsep to the present time, and states, that if the Survey be allowed to go on for two years longer, all will have been completely done for the Bombay Presidency; he, then, sketches rapidly what may be called the historical development of the caves themselves, whether Buddhist, Brahmanical or Jaina, adding that, in some of the Caves at Barabar near Gaya, inscriptions have been found of the 12th and 19th years of Asoka, B.C. 251 and B.C. 244, and, further, that there are no caves in Eastern India, later than the first century after the commencement of the Christian era. Asoka, he thinks, was probably the first to excavate a cave. All building was in the earliest times of wood—hence, when stone was adopted, wooden types were copied, as we see clearly in the case of the Lycian tombs. The whole endurance of cave excavations was nearly 2000 years. Mr. Burgess, in the part of the volume he has

written, gives, like Mr. Fergusson, an Introduction, in which he traces the geographical distribution and the chronology of the caves of *Western India*, at the same time estimating the number of those yet discovered at about 900, divided, as in the case of the Eastern, among the Buddhists, Brahmans and Jains, fully 75 per cent. of the whole belonging to the first of the three. Mr. Burgess adds a useful sketch of the various objects of Buddhist Architecture, with the origin and meaning of the names commonly used.

The whole work is illustrated by 98 plates and plans, and 73 woodcuts.

The work by Babu Rajendralala Mitra is the second volume of "The Antiquities of Orissa," the first of which was published at Calcutta in 1875, under the patronage of the Government of India. In the first volume, the architectural details of the Temples in Orissa, the sculptural indications of the condition of the Temple builders and their religion was dealt with, the volume being illustrated by thirty-six lithographed plates and fifty-five woodcuts: the second treats of the antiquities existing at Khandagiri, Bhuvanesvara, Puri, Konarak, Yajapur and Cuttack; and is illustrated by sixty-one plates, many of these being excellently done photographs, and twenty-three woodcuts. It would have added much to the comfort of those who may use this book had the names of the places represented been invariably printed under the plates, instead of being only occasionally given.

Mr. Growse's work, "Mathurá—a District Memoir," was originally published in two thin quarto volumes, in 1874, with only a map and a few plans for its illustration; it has now (1880) been extended to a portly 4to., with a large number of photographs, in illustration of the more important places described, as the Siva Tál, the Visvánt Ghát, and the City Gate of Mathurá, a curious Bacchanalian group of sculpture from Páli-khera, resembling one found in the same neighbour-

hood by Col. Stacy, in 1836, and now in the Museum of Calcutta, the Temple of Gobind-Deva, of Madan Mohan, Gopi-náth, Jugal-kishor, and Seth's Temple, Brindá-ban, the Manasi-gangá and Chattri of Maharaja Baladeva Sinh Gobardhan, together with copies of numerous inscriptions. Mr. Growse is an enthusiastic antiquary, and rarely fails to notice anything of archæological or historical interest, in the different parganas he describes. As is well known, Mr. Growse has been for some time engaged on the publication of the Ramáyana of Tulsi Das, now, we believe, nearly completed.

General Cunningham's Tour in 1873-4 and in 1874-5 extended from Bharhut between Allahabad and Jabulpur, to Asir and Burhanpur on the West, and to Chânda and Markanda on the South, thus covering nearly the whole of the Western half of the Central Provinces. It was at the commencement of this tour that General Cunningham discovered the magnificent ruins, which he described at length in 1879 under the title of the "Stupa of Bharhut." The principal other places he has visited and more or less fully described, are the great mound at Kho, called Ataritekra or Atariya, containing the remains of a brick temple, some remarkable fragments of statues, and a considerable number of pedestals on which other statues have once stood: Pataini Devi, with a small but interesting temple which he believes to be as old as the Guptas—standing on a low projecting hill, the quarries of which supplied the stone for Bharhut:—Mahiyar, with a famous temple of the Goddess Saraswati, whose shrine crowns an isolated and lofty conical hill to the W. of the town:—Bilhari, with its celebrated tank, called Laksman Sâgar: Tigowa, with its low rectangular mound only 250 feet long by 120 broad, but covered entirely with large blocks of cut stone, the ruins of many Gupta temples, of which he was able to trace the foundations of thirty-six—the largest of which was only fifteen feet square. The whole of these curious buildings

were recently destroyed by a ruthless railway contractor, named Walker; and he is, unfortunately, not the only man of the same profession who has done irreparable mischief in this part of India:—Singorgarh—a great ruined fortress, near to which was the scene of a memorable conflict between the famous Chandel Prince Durgâvati and Asaf Khan, the Muhammedan governor of Karâ, which has been recorded in the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* and the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, under A.D. 1560–63:—the old City of Tripura, some notice of which has been given by Colonel Yule in vol. xxx. of the *Beng. As. Journ.* for 1861:—Bhera Ghat, with its Chaunsat Jogini Temple, containing no less than 80 standing and seated female figures, arranged around a circular corridor, most of them being inscribed with their name. The Temple, General Cunningham thinks, must have been constructed between A.D. 900 and 1200—but that the inscriptions belong rather to the earlier of these dates. Only two other similarly constructed buildings are known. He examined, also, Kandwa—probably the Kognabanda of Ptolemy and Kandwaho of Abu Rihan:—Burhanpur, with its two famous mosques, the Bibi Masjid and the Jâmi Masjid, the one built in A.D. 1520–40, the other in 1589:—the celebrated fortress Asirgarh, which Akbar was so pleased with his success in taking, that he struck a gold coin, now preserved in the British Museum, to commemorate the event:—Bhandâk, in the judgment of Mr. A. C. Lyall “indubitably the site of an ancient City of the pre-Muhammedan era,” with its remarkable caves and Brahmanical temples. Near to Bhandak, also, he visited the caves of Wijasan, which differ from all other caves in having no large halls, or chaityas. The three principal works consist entirely of long passages leading through small chambers up to small shrines of Buddha. The excavations are in the shape of a cross, and from the characters of some inscribed letters may be as early as the 3rd century A.D.

In the neighbourhood of the town of Chanda, at a place called Lâlpét, General Cunningham met with a very curious collection

of colossal figures (of no great beauty in execution) arranged in a rough circle 150 ft. across from E. to W., and 120 from N. to S., around a large Lingam. There appear to be twenty-three figures (one weighing 57 tons), which must have been carved on the spot as too heavy to be moved, possibly having been, also, in some cases first rudely shaped from detached rocks into symmetrical forms. They are nearly all dedicated to the worship of Siva. At Kaljhar, General Cunningham noticed two small cromlechs, which have been already mentioned by Colonel Meadows Taylor; and, at Markanda, a singular group of more than twenty temples enclosed in a quadrangle 196 feet long from N. to S. and 118 broad. Their date is, probably, the 10th or 11th century B.C.

Besides the above, which comprehends the most important subjects of General Cunningham's new volume, he deals at more or less length with several other subjects of interest—as, for instance, the true date of the Gupta era, the Gupta style of architecture, Gupta coins, of which he gives a plate, the Rajas of Chedi, the Gonds or Gandas, and translations of a considerable number of Inscriptions. The work is illustrated by thirty Plates, containing Maps, Plans, drawings of Temples, etc., etc. Gen. Cunningham's ninth volume has been noticed in the *Indian Antiquary* for October, 1880. Where are the remaining volumes promised by General Cunningham in his Report of February 2, 1878? It will be observed that this ninth volume only brings the details of his work down to 1875—that is to *six years ago*.

The Secretary of State for India in Council has printed the Report drawn up by Mr. Robert Sewell, "On the Amravati Töpe, and Excavations on its Site in 1877."

In this Report, which is an amplification of the views urged by Mr. Sewell in his paper printed in the Society's Journal, N.S. Vol. XII. p. 98, 1880, with what may be called "*pièces justificatives*" of the theories therein put forth. The Report

is divided into the following seven sections:—1. The Introduction, a portion of which was given in the Report of the Council for last year; 2. Notices of Amravati, by writers preceding Mr. Fergusson, such as Colonel Mackenzie, Prof. H. H. Wilson, Sir Walter Elliot and others; 3. On the excavations made at this site, previously to his own, in 1877, with “a sketch of Depauldinna at Amrawutty, in its present state, March, 1816,” made by Col. Mackenzie; 4. On the Mackenzie Drawings and the Slabs now in England, with a plan of the site of the tope at Amravati, as it existed in April, 1817 (by Col. Mackenzie); 5. Mr. Sewell’s own Excavations in 1877; and 6. Detailed description of the Marbles then excavated, and others in India, with a plan of these excavations. In Appendix I. Mr. Sewell gives an interesting account of his discovery at the British Museum of one of Col. Mackenzie’s Inscribed Stones, which had been missing since 1816, with a Transliteration and Translation of it by Dr. Eggeling, Professor of Sanskrit at Edinburgh, a work of great difficulty, as no individual line is perfect. The date of the Inscription, as derived from the form of the characters on it, is believed to be between the 5th and the 8th centuries A.D.

It will be remembered that, in the Report of last year, a hope was expressed that the tenth Report, by Mr. Burgess, “Of the Archæological Survey of Western India, for May, 1880,” would be issued before the Society’s Report was sent to press. This, however, did not happen, and there seems to have been some unusual delay in sending home from India the drawings which are to be photographed here. Mr. Burgess has, however, been so good as to supply the contents of this long-looked-for document—and these are, therefore, given in his own words: “The principal contents are—the Inscriptions from the Caves of Kuḍā and Mahār, Bhāja, Bedsā, Karlé, Sailarwādi, Pitalkhora, Junnar, Ajanta, Ghatotkachha and Elura; the Pahlavi Inscriptions at Kanheri; Dr. Bird’s Kanheri

Copper Plate; Pâli Inscription at Bavanâsi; a Silahâra Copper Plate, by Mr. J. F. Fleet; *facsimiles* and transcriptions presented by Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall from three Inscriptions to the American Oriental Society; and transcriptions of some modern Gujarati copper-plates. Kanheri and Nânâghât Inscriptions only remain to be done—the latter has been done in *facsimile*, and Kanheri will be completed this month, and a revised transliteration will be published by and by: meanwhile Bhandarkar's versions in the Transactions of the Oriental Congress are *generally* most satisfactory." Besides this, the Survey of Western India has been occupied especially on the cave temples of the Island of Salsette, and among the structural temples in the Dhârwad district, while very large numbers of inscriptions have been photographed or otherwise copied in *facsimile*. The number of these is now so great, and their historical and philological importance so considerable, that it is much to be regretted that no provision has as yet been made for a systematic investigation of their contents. The time seems fully ripe for carrying out the objects of the despatch of the Secretary of State for India of January, 1870 (see Pali, Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, p. 5), on this subject.

Mr. Fleet has done all that a single scholar, engaged in constant and onerous official duties, could possibly do, in such leisure hours as he can devote to this subject, during the last nine or ten years, and still continues the series of his admirable translations in the pages of the Indian Antiquary; but the inscriptions are so numerous, especially in Southern India, that they might well occupy the whole time and energies of an able scholar deputed for this purpose only.

Indian Antiquary.—The Indian Antiquary, which has now reached its tenth year, under the able management of Mr. Burgess, has continued its useful career, and has been

the vehicle for the publication of many valuable and interesting memoirs, which, but for it, would very likely not have seen the light of day. Indeed, the names of the chief contributors to its pages, Messrs. Walhouse, J. Muir, Beal, Thomas, Sanford, Col. Branfill, Howorth, Lieut. R. C. Temple, E. W. West, Fleet, etc., are sufficient warranty for the excellence, as well as the originality of the work accomplished. To Mr. Walhouse we owe two papers: 1. entitled Rag Bushes in the East; 2. Irdhi-Pada. In the first, Mr. Walhouse gives a curious account of a practice very universal in the East, of tying bits of rags to bushes and trees at spots held to be sacred or to be haunted by some supernatural presence. After giving his own experience in this matter, he brings forward corroborative evidence from the writings of Sir John Chardin, Mrs. Burton, James Morier, Eugene Schuyler, Sir John Davies and others, and shows that similar customs prevail in the remotest parts of N. and S. America, as, also, in Africa. In his second paper, Mr. Walhouse remarks that Irdhi-Pada, *i.e.* the Divine Foot, specially characterizes the power of instant locomotion and of flight through the air from place to place; and that Brahmanical and Buddhist books, when alluding to this power, always speak of it as something familiar and well known. Thus Fah-hian, the Chinese pilgrim to India in the fifth century, says, apparently as a matter of course, "Rahats continually fly," and adds that the "Religious," who occupy the upper chambers of temples, are continually "on the wing." Buddhist books describe the power of Irdhi, as a miraculous energy of the purified will. Apollonius of Tyana and Ibn Batuta alike affirm that such deeds were done in their presence. Remarkings that such beliefs are found among peoples far away from India, and wholly differing from the Indians in religion and language, Mr. Walhouse justly adds "that it is unfortunate that the prepossessions of Englishmen, in general, so completely deter them from seeking any acquaintance with

the occult sciences and customs of the Hindus, for in these rests one of the keys which unlock the popular mind, and disclose its controuling influences."

To Colonel B. R. Branfill we are indebted for two papers: 1. The Gangai-Kondapuram Saiva Temple; 2. On the Sâvandurga Rude Stone Cemetery, Central Maisur. In the first of these, he gives a graphic account of this remarkable building in the N.E. part of the Trichinopoly district, the enormous size of which may be gathered from the fact that it is a nine-storeyed *stûbe* (steeple-tower) or *vimana*, 99 feet square at the base and 165 feet high. The wall of the outer court is 610 feet long. As a structure, it is, roughly speaking, a *facsimile* of the great Saiva Temple at Tanjore, but it is larger in plan, built of better stone, and less spoilt by stucco and whitewash. The entire temple is constructed of hard stone, which must have been conveyed from a distance, as there is none in the neighbourhood. The sculptured figures that occupy abundantly the various niches are good in design and execution; they are carved in very hard fine-grained light-coloured stone, occasionally approaching a cream colour. The same court contains several subsidiary temples, with the remains of a double-storeyed arcade or cloister, which once ran round the whole of it. The temple may have been commenced about A.D. 1000, and Col. Branfill thinks it must have taken nearly fifty years to construct it. There is a brief notice of Col. Branfill's paper in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Col. Branfill's second paper—which is illustrated by four plates of Kistvaens, pottery and iron implements found by him at Sâvandurga—will be found very interesting for comparison with similar remains thousands of miles away from India. Circles of stones, of all sizes, up to 30 feet in diameter, surrounding buried or half-buried *Kistvaens*, are met with in great abundance around Sâvandurga, about twenty-two miles W. of Bangalore, the *Kistvaens* themselves

varying very much in size and appearance, their length being generally double their breadth, and their direction usually more or less east and west. The cap-stones of some of these *Kistvaens* were nearly 13 feet long by 10 broad, and of great weight; and one of them, with projecting flanges, represents almost accurately the form of the well-known Swastika symbol. Only one skeleton, or the parts of one, were found, and this so much shattered that little could be learned from it beyond the fact that the individual belonged to the dolicho-cephalic type. The whole paper is worth reading, and shows careful research. It should be added that on some of the pottery were a number of scratches or angular lines, which cannot, however, be considered as the copy or the shadowings of any alphabet.

Mr. E. Thomas has contributed a paper (the continuation of one in the earlier part of the volume for 1880), "On Buddhist Symbols," etc., in which he has advanced some views of their origin and meaning at variance with what has, hitherto, been the accepted explanation, in that he considers the sculptures from the Amravati Tope (most of which have now been taken from the India Museum, where they were in their appropriate place, to the British Museum) refer, at least originally, to Solar worship. Thus, he considers the usually termed "Buddhist Wheel" or "Wheel of the Law" to be simply a conventional symbol of the sun, in the form of a wheel, as indicating his onward revolution, the felly of the wheel being in some cases ornamented by a succession of arrow points, recalling "the arrows of Apollo" or the "blaze of the sun's rays." Mr. Thomas's argument is that, while there is no evidence in the "Legend of the Buddha" of the wheel, *as an object of worship*, the theory of his religion was entirely adverse to it. 2ndly, Mr. Thomas thinks with Capt. J. Low and Rajendralala Mitra that the Phrabat or Buddha-pad has more resemblance to the Hindu than to the Buddhist religion, and that the stone popularly

called the "Foot of Buddha" was really carved by followers of the Hindu system of religion. 3rdly, Mr. Thomas insists on the importance of the Horse, in his connection with Solar worship, the coursers of Apollo finding their equine representatives in the mythology of the Vedas, as shown by Prof. H. H. Wilson, Dr. Muir, and Dr. Goldstücker. The Sacred Horse is represented on the Amravati Sculptures in various attitudes, but always guarded or overshadowed by the conventional Imperial Chhatra.

Professor Beal contributes three papers. 1. Remarks on the word Sramana. 2. On the Eighteen Schools of Buddhism. 3. The Chong-lun or Pranyamûla-Sâstra-tika of Nâgârjuna. In the first, he examines General Cunningham's arguments and inferences from Megasthenes, Kleitarchos, etc., his own view being that the well-known division of the people into Brahmans and Sramans (noticed by the Greek writers) was one generally accepted at the time, and meant no more than Brahmans and Non-Brahmans, the name Sramans being evidently used of others than the special followers of Buddha. In his second paper, he shows how far a knowledge can be obtained on the intricate subject of the "Eighteen Schools of Buddhism," from the Northern copy of the *Tripitaka*, still common in the monasteries of China and Japan, and which contains three translations from the Sanskrit of Vasumitra on this subject, written about the time of Kanishka, i.e. about B.C. 42. The aim of Vasumitra was obviously to reconcile the differences existing in Traditions, Customs, and acknowledged Scriptures, and three translations of his treatise into Chinese are extant; while Vassilief, in his History of Buddhism (2nd Suppl. p. 222), gives a parallel translation from the Tibetan. Mr. Beal adds a translation from the anonymous Chinese writer, which stands first in the Buddhist Canon. His third paper is a translation from the 25th section of the Chong-Lun Sûtra or Pranyamûla-Sâstra-tika, which seems, generally, to deal with the con-

ception of Nirvana, and, as such, will no doubt be acceptable to professed students of Buddhism.

Mr. Sandford has given an interesting account of his excavations in the Khangah Mound, near Manikyala, confirmatory of a previously stated idea of General Cunningham that the site, now rising but little above the level of the surrounding country, and covered with traces of walls and fragments of stone, is that of a Buddhist Monastery. A few copper coins were found, apparently those of Kanerkes, and some pottery resembling the saucers discovered in the Sarnath Tope at Benares. Mr. Sandford, also, excavated another mound called the Chaondra Mound, a few hundred feet from the former. Though nothing of importance was met with, sufficient cells were cleared out to determine the original purpose of the monument. Mr. Sandford has supplied two plates, containing plans of his excavations and representations of the objects he found.

Bhagvanlal Indrajī Pandit supplies a brief notice of the Saiva Parakramā, as performed in its fulness in former days, though much of the ceremony has now fallen into desuetude all over India.

To Mr. E. B. Eastwick, C.B., F.R.S., we owe a valuable account of two places in the Baroda District, Champanir and Pawagadh, which have been little visited by Europeans, though by no means inaccessible. The former contains what is called the Juma Masjid, a Hindu Temple, converted by the Muhammedans into a Mosque, the court of which measures 187 feet N. and S., and 122 E. and W., its height being about 95 feet. The hall of the Mosque has 88 pillars of Hindu Architecture, and the roof is covered by seven large cupolas, with several smaller ones. The great hall, which measures 169 feet from N. to S. by 80 from W. to E., is almost certainly one of those halls of Hindu Temples technically called "Halls of a Thousand Pillars." It much resembles, but is smaller than the hall of the Temple of

Kâlchand at Kalbarga. The further account of Mr. Eastwick's ascent of the Mountain of Pawagadh, 2800 ft. high, is very interesting.

Mrs. M. A. Steel, who has devoted much attention to this subject, has published three papers on "Folk-lore in the Panjab," accompanied by many useful notes by Lieut. R. C. Temple. The chief stories told are those of Bôpô Lûchi or Bopo the Trickster, the Sparrow and the Crow, the Lord of Death, the King of the Crocodiles, Baingan Badshahzadi and Sir Bumble. Those who are interested in following up such matters will find many analogies in these tales with well-known European legends. Mr. H. H. Howorth has contributed three papers in succession, "On Chingiz Khan and his Ancestors," the by-notes he has probably made during the preparation of his important volumes on the Mongols; but, also, to a great extent founded on the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi or "Secret History of the Mongol Dynasty," which was translated into Russ by Palladius. According to Dr. Bretschneider this work was originally written in the Mongol language, and finished about the year A.D. 1240. It is quoted so early as A.D. 1382, and Mr. Howorth believes it to be the main source of the matter contained in the First Book of the Yuan-shi, or "Imperial Annals of the Mongol Dynasty." In the most recent Number for May, 1881, are continuations of several of the papers noticed above, as *e.g.*, those by Mr. H. H. Howorth, by Mrs. Steel and Lieut. R. C. Temple, and by K. Ragunathji, On Bombay beggars and criers. M. Oscar Frankfürter contributes a paper On Buddhist Chronology, and Dr. Morris On Buddhaghosa and the Milinda-pañha. There are, also, brief reviews of Mr. E. G. Lyall's Sketch of the Hindustani Language, and Benfey's *Vedica u. Linguistica*. So much will, perhaps, suffice as an analysis of the chief archæological papers in the Indian Antiquary of May 1880 to May 1881. Notices of papers on special subjects, as those on Inscriptions by Dr. Bühler, Mr. J.

F. Fleet, Bhagyanlal Indrajī, M. Sénart, etc., will be found under "Epigraphy."

There are, however, a considerable number of papers on archæological subjects in other Journals, to some of which it may be worth while to call attention here.

Thus, in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. xlix., Col. Branfill gives an interesting account (with a plate) of some rude megalithic monuments in North Arcot, the size, shape and arrangement of which are unusual. The usual kistvaen or megalithic sepulchral cell is enclosed by three concentric rings of upright stone slabs, each slab having its top rudely worked into a semicircular or rectangular shape. The outer tier generally consists of some twenty-four slabs, 3 feet wide, the whole forming a ring fence or enclosing wall, about 30 feet in diameter. The second tier has sixteen slabs, and the third or inner wall is composed of four prominent round-topped slabs, 8 or 10 feet broad, and 12 to 15 high, above the cairn. The kistvaen or sepulchral chamber nearly fills the internal space. There are many examples, perhaps a score or more, of this pattern, still partly standing; and, dividing the whole of them into three classes according to size, and counting fallen and half buried, as well as those standing, there are about 170 of the largest, 210 of the second, and 200 of the third and smallest size. The excavations produced the usual sepulchral relics, except that iron weapons are scarce, or entirely absent. Some of the coffers, sepulchral troughs or trays were ornamented with a chain ornament in festoons. The present name of this remarkable *Tomb-field* is Iralabanda Bāpanattam, and it is situated in the Palmanūr talūk of North Arcot.

To the same Journal Mr. Rivett-Carnac contributes a paper, "On Clay Disks, called 'Spindle Whorls,' and votive seals found at Sankisa, Behar and other Buddhist ruins in the N. W. Provinces of India" (with three Plates); the resemblance of the former of which to those described and figured in Dr.

Schliemann's "Troy and its Remains," is undoubtedly striking. Moreover, Mr. Rivett-Carnac thinks that the construction of many of the buildings at Kanauj, Ramnuggur, etc., have been formed on the same principle as the Trojan ruins dug through by Dr. Schliemann, and that, if shafts were sunk through them in the same way that Dr. Schliemann sank his, the traces of several distinct periods of construction would likewise be detected. Of these Discs, there would seem to be four well-marked classes: 1. Terra-Cotta, plain and unornamented; 2. Ditto, with a hole through them; 3. Ditto, "in the form of a top, and the crater of a volcano" (Dr. Schliemann's words); 4. Clay balls, plain and unornamented. The first are all of red or black clay well baked, with a rough ornamentation on the edges only. Mr. Rivett-Carnac obtained, also, at Sankisa several stone discs, in form exactly like the terra-cotta ones, in black or red marble, and crystal, and also highly polished. Beads are also found in large numbers, in glass, onyx, carnelian and crystal. All or most of these objects, Mr. Carnac considers to be votive offerings. It appears, also, from Gastaldi's work that many similar objects have been found at Campeggine di Tontanellato, while others occur in the Museum at Parma—or have been collected from the Roman City of Velicia—the point of interest being that these objects, whether found in India, Troy or Italy, are exactly alike, and of the same materials. There is no doubt that Sankisa was essentially a place of Buddhist pilgrimage and, as such, was visited by Fa-Hian and Hiouen-Thsang: its ruins have been fully described by General Cunningham (Arch. Rep. vol. i.).

In the Proceedings of the same Society, are papers by Mr. Rivett-Carnac, on a Metal Celt, with a letter from Dr. Hoernle, inclosing one from Dr. Hildebrandt, to Mr. Rivett-Carnac, "On the resemblance between the Swedish and the Prehistoric Tumuli of India":—by Dr. Leitner (a communication from Pandit Rishikish), "On the identity of a place called Upello,

near Dehli, with the Upuplavan mentioned in the Mahabharata": by the Rev. C. Swynnerton, "On a Celt of the Palæolithic type found at Thandiani in the Punjab at 8400ft. above the sea":—from the same, on a small Yusufzai sculpture in his possession and on some cup-marked stones at Attock. In the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, is an interesting paper by Mr. Ernest Satow, "On some ancient Sepulchral Mounds at Kandzuhe," and, in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, three important papers by M.C.S., Lieut.-Col. Branfill, and M. Gustav Oppert (its Editor) respectively. In the first paper, M.C.S. describes "the Antiquities of Māmandūr in the South Arcot District," consisting as these do of rock-cut chambers, dolmens of a peculiar construction, with inscriptions on the rocks of various ages. The rock-cut chambers are four in number, the dimensions of the two larger ones being 20ft. broad by 10ft. deep and 7ft. high, with pillars 2ft. square, ornamented with lotus flowers in low relief. In the middle of the rock behind them, is a small doorway two feet broad leading into a cell about a yard square and 5 ft. high, at the back of which is a low ledge, with a hollow in the centre. Within are very rude carvings of men and women about 4 ft. high. The caves are probably the works of the Jainas, who were the ruling race in Conjeveram, many centuries ago. The ordinary Indian dolmen is constructed of six flat quarried stones, forming a cubical chamber with a circular aperture in the eastern wall about 18 inches in diameter. On the other hand, those at Māmandūr are rectangular, with a chamber about 10 ft. square and a height above the present soil of about 3 ft. The roof is one gigantic mass of unquarried granite, measuring 12 ft. each way, 1 ft. thick at the edges and more than 2 ft. thick in the middle. This enormous mass has been raised on several upright stones, some 10 inches thick, and buried in the soil to an unknown depth. Nothing is really known of the origin of these dolmens, but it is a remarkable fact

that the Kuruba shepherds of the neighbourhood still erect dolmens on a small scale.

M. Oppert's paper "On the weapons, army organization and political maxims of the Ancient Hindus, with special reference to gunpowder and fire-arms," shows great research. The information he has put together having been, chiefly, derived from two ancient Sanskrit works, the Nitiprakasika of Vaisampayana and the Sukraniti of Usanas or Sukracarya—indeed, his essay may be considered as the complement of a former one by Prof. H. H. Wilson. M. Oppert claims as one of the strongest supports for the view he takes of the early use of gunpowder in India, that the country is peculiarly rich in its three chief constituents, saltpetre, charcoal and sulphur, the uses of which, whether compounded or uncompounded, he believes to have been known from remote times. His further idea, that, on several buildings of S. India the representations of figures carrying fire-arms are really of great antiquity, will not be generally accepted. At the close of his paper, he gives the text and translation of part of the 4th Book of the Sukraniti.

Colonel Branfill's paper is a comprehensive account of "The names of places in Tanjore," drawn up by him during the camping season 1877-8 while conducting the Madras Coast Series of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India—and will be found of value to those who are studying the dialects of S. India. The lists are arranged under various heads, as Topography, Population and Religion, Common-place Names, Particular Names, etc., and the compiler has never failed to note any modern names, which seem to be identifiable with those mentioned in ancient authors. The general results derivable from the study of these names are—1. That there are few rivers sufficient for irrigation in this part of India. 2. That there are no hills of any considerable elevation. 3. That there is much jungle. 4. That along the road to Ramesvaram, there are traces of the presence of a more civilized

people, with evidence of trade, agriculture, and Brahmanical influence.

In concluding this part of the Report it may be added that, in the N. China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, part 12, a paper by the late Mr. W. F. Mayers is given "On stone figures at Chinese Tombs and the offering of Living Sacrifices;" and that in the Academy (Oct. 30) there is an appreciative review by Mr. Simpson of the "Cave Temples of India," and of the same work in the Athenæum for Sept. 25; and, further, of Mr. Growse's "Mathurá" in the Ind. Ant. for March. In the Proc. of the Bibl. Arch. Soc. for February is a valuable letter from Dr. W. Wright, of Cambridge, "On Jirbâs, Jerâbus and Jerâblus," in which he shows that Jerâblus is an invention of European travellers—the true existing name being Jerabîs.

Inter alia, it may be noted, that an Archæological Department is to be created at Madras, according to a Madras Administrative Report, and that a considerable sum has been set aside for this purpose:—that Capt. Cole has been appointed Curator of the Ancient Monuments of India, and is to frame a scheme for their future protection:—and that the French Government has decided to establish at Cairo, a school of Oriental Archæology, similar to those at Rome and Athens. M. Maspero has been charged with its organization.

The great Buddha temple at Sarnath, near Benares, is reported to be too much injured for restoration, but the necessary details of it are to be carefully recorded by the aid of Photography.

This will, perhaps, be the fittest place for a very important note Sir H. C. Rawlinson has been so good as to furnish. His words are: "The most interesting event of the year, in connexion with Archæology, has, probably, been the discovery, by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, of the site of the Ante-Diluvian City of Sippara, where, according to the most ancient Babylonian traditions, preserved by Berossus, though not yet confirmed by the Inscriptions, the records of the early

world were supposed to have been deposited before Xisuthrus entered the Ark, and whence they are said to have been exhumed on his return from Ararat to Babylon. The remarkable mounds at Abú Habba, which are found at the point where the Nahr-Malka, or Royal River, leaves the old bed of the Euphrates, at a distance about twenty-two miles S.S.W. of Baghdad, have been visited and described by several former travellers, and a plan of the ruins was published by Lieut. Collingwood in 1865; but, as no excavations had been attempted on this site, the clue was wanting to an identification of the City in Ancient Geography. It was Mr. Rassam's good fortune, when taking in hand, a few months since, a systematic examination of the ruins of Abú Habba, to light on the remains of the ancient Temple of the Sun, which gave to the City of Sippara its Greek title of Heliopolis, and the excavations, he has since directed within and around the particular mound in question, have been attended with the most marked success. Already a very early stone tablet, with a dedicatory Inscription and a bas-relief representing the worship of the Sun-God, have been brought to light, together with memorial cylinders of the time of Nabonidus, and a large assortment of miscellaneous objects.

"Mr. Rassam reports that the style of Architecture at Abú Habba is quite different from anything yet discovered in Assyria or Babylonia, and adds that it will require at least a year's continuous labour to dig out all the chambers belonging to the Temple of the Sun. At Babylon, Borsippa, and especially at Cutha, he has, also, carried out extensive excavations, during the past spring and winter, with very fair results, the number of clay tablets found being sufficient to fill some ten or twelve large cases, though, owing to the inferior clay used in early times, in Babylonia, and to the imperfect baking to which the tablets were originally subjected, it is to be feared that very

few of these invaluable relics of the past will reach England in a state admitting of their being deciphered. Mr. Rassam is, however, now on his return to England, and, on his arrival, the best method of continuing the excavations in the rich fields he has now opened out to us, will be seriously considered."

Imperial Gazetteer and Statistical Survey of India.—The first of these great works, which have been regularly noticed in the Reports of this Society, is now published, though the copy has not actually reached the Society; it seems, therefore, worth while to give some idea of its general character from the brief Preface drawn up by Dr. Hunter. In this Preface Dr. Hunter states that so long ago as 1769, an effort was made to collect the materials for the single province of Bengal, only four years after it came into the possession of the H.E.I.C., and, from this period for about ninety years, various schemes tending to the same object, have been started and partially carried out, their chief defect being, that, with abundance of willing workers, there was no one controuling chief to superintend and enforce the necessary detail-work. During, however, this interval many able and zealous men have laboured at this undertaking, manuscript materials of great value have been collected, and some important volumes published. The decade, however, succeeding the transfer, in 1858, of the Government of India to the Crown, initiated the efforts that have been, now, crowned with success, one of the foremost workers in this direction being our Vice-President, Sir Richard Temple, in 1866 the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces; the final step being the order of the Viceroy in 1867, acting on instructions from the Secretary of State in Council, requesting "an account to be drawn up for each of the twelve great provinces of India." As, however, it was not found possible to get the different schemes suggested into regular working order, the Viceroy, at length, directed Dr. Hunter "to visit the various Provincial Govern-

ments with a view to submit a comprehensive scheme for utilizing the information already collected, and for prescribing the principles to be hereafter adopted for the consolidation into one work of the whole of the available materials."

Accordingly, in 1869, Dr. Hunter submitted to the Governor-General in Council, "a plan for a Statistical Survey and Imperial Gazetteer of India," his objects being, generally, to secure an uniform scheme, with local mechanism and a central controul;—to obtain a clear definition of the intended undertaking, the main points being the securing the most reliable information "for the use of the Controuling Body in England, of Administrators in India, and of the outside public." His plan, further, claimed for it, the co-operation of Provincial Governments—the uniform scheme being modified to suit the special circumstances of individual provinces—together with the enlistment of the unpaid District Officers throughout India, the only persons who could collect the materials, at once, systematically and cheaply. It was presumed (see the official minute on the subject) that the operations proposed would extend over ten separate Governments, which administer a territory of $1\frac{1}{2}$ million square miles, with a population of probably 240 millions of souls,—the whole area being little less than that of all Europe, excepting Russia.

Dr. Hunter adds that, with the view of securing uniformity in the materials, he drew up six sets of leading questions to illustrate the topographical, ethnical, agricultural, industrial, administrative and medical aspects of an Indian district, and that during the last twelve years the Statistical Survey has been carried throughout the whole of British India. The District forms the Administrative Unit in India, and the Statistical Survey furnishes an elaborate account of the 240 Districts. The Province is the Administrative Entity in India, and the Statistical Survey groups the whole of the District materials into fifteen Provincial accounts

or Gazetteers. The operations have now been completed throughout 12 Provinces and 210 Districts, representing a population of about 190 millions of souls. It was found impracticable, as a rule, to carry out these inquiries among the purely native states, as the Princes would, almost certainly, have misunderstood the object of them, and could easily frustrate them; but a very considerable amount of information has been obtained from those States, which are more or less in dependence on the Provincial Government, as in the case of the two valuable volumes of the "Rajputana Gazetteer" collected by Mr. A. Lyall, C.B., when the Governor-General's agent there, and published in 1879-80. On the whole, therefore, it must be confessed, that the confidential relationship between the Government of India and its Feudatory States, the dislike of the native Princes to inquiries of a social or economic character, and the scrupulous delicacy of the Foreign Office to avoid grounds of offence, have rendered the complete treatment of such territories impossible. Obviously the hundred volumes which will be ultimately demanded for the Survey, though by no means too elaborate for Administrative purposes, are practically within the reach of but a small official class. For the "use of the public" great condensation was necessary; hence the nine volumes of the Imperial Gazetteer.

In order to obtain the greatest accuracy, and, moreover, that each place noted should be adequately, while not too fully, described, circulars were sent to the Provincial Editors and District Officers, calling for a return, upon clearly stated principles, of every river, mountain, historical site, fair, harbour, etc., and this list was then checked by Dr. Hunter from the Statistical Survey, the final number of names selected being about 8000. It should, however, be added that, as a guide to administration, its value is slightly impaired by the impossibility of its figures being in all cases brought up to date. The basis of Indian statistics is still the census of

1872, and Government decided not to delay the publication of the Gazetteer till the result of that of 1881 can be known. It has been possible, however, to add the Administrative statistics in most cases to 1879 and in some to 1880. The latitudes and longitudes have, with a few exceptions, been tested in the Surveyor-General's Department, under the careful superintendence of Lieut.-General Sir H. Thuillier and Colonel J. T. Walker.

General Progress of Oriental Studies.—Aryan Languages.—Sanskrit.—A large number of valuable essays and reviews on Oriental Research have appeared during the last year at home or abroad, together with many independent works. Of the former may be specified, in the Journal of this Society, Vol. XII., the Megha-Sûtra, by Mr. Cecil Bendall, this Sûtra having been selected by Mr. Beal, in his "Catena of Buddhist Scriptures," as a type of the latest phase of Buddhist Literature. In the Journ. Asiat. M. Sénart has continued his valuable Etudes sur les Inscriptions de Piyadasi:—M. Rodet has a paper, "Sur la véritable signification de la Notation Numérique inventée par Aryabhata" (in the Lyons Congress, vol. i. and Journ. Asiat. vol. xiii.):—Mr. Gaspar Bellin writes "Sur l'antiquité de la langue Sanscrite:"—in the D.M.G., R. Garbe gives, Die Pravargja Cereemonie nach dem Apastamba-Çrauta-Sutra mit einer einleitung über die bedeutung derselben:—A. Holtzmann, Die heilige Agastya nach d. Erzählungen des Mahabharata:—H. Oldenberg, Bemerkungen zur Theorie des Çloka:—and M. J. Klatt, Indische Drucke. In the Academy, Mr. Robert Atkinson has given an elaborate review of Prof. Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar, and has pointed out, without reserve, where he thinks the Professor is in error, at the same time giving him due commendation for the general excellence of his work, as manifesting thoroughness of treatment, breadth and accuracy of knowledge and clearness in the presentation of

the facts. Dr. John Muir, to whom we owe so many excellent metrical translations from the Sanskrit, has not been idle, and has printed, *inter alia*, two selections from the Mahabharata, entitled, "The Story of Savitri," with an extract called the "Necessity of Government":—Prof. F. Max Müller has reviewed, at great length, in two papers, Acad. Sept. 25, and Oct. 2, "Kasikâ—a Commentary on Panini's Grammatical Aphorisms," which has been recently edited by Pandit Bala-sastri, Professor of Hindu Law in the Sanskrit College, Benares, in which he gives well-deserved praise to the ability with which this Hindu gentleman has performed his arduous task:—Mr. G. A. Grierson, so well known for his various antiquarian researches, has communicated to the Indian Antiquary, March, 1881, what he calls "An American Puzzle," in which he shows that the problem, published in the "Pioneer," is not a modern one, but is, substantially, found in the Jyotis-tattwa, which he quotes and describes:—Dr. Kielhorn has published in the same Journal, March, 1881, a very learned paper, "On the Jainendra-Vyakarana," its substance being a list of the MSS. deposited in the Library of the Deccan College, and attributed with more or less reason to this famous writer: the subject is, however, too technical for the present Report.—An admirable review by A. B., of Hillebrandt, "Alt-Indische neu- u. vollmonds-opfer" (Jena, 1880), is in the Indian Antiquary for November:—In the Bengal Asiatic Society's Proceedings, a paper by Mr. Thibaut, "On the Surya Prajñapta, a well-known work on the Cosmological and Astronomical Systems of the Jains":—In the Revue Critique is an ingenious paper by M. Paul Regnaud, Sur la legende Indo-Européene de l'Androgynisme Primitif:—and, in the Revue Critique for Dec. 6, is an excellent notice, by M. Barth, of Anundoram Borooah's "Companion to the Sanskrit-reading Undergraduates of the Calcutta University, being a few notes on the Sanskrit texts selected for examination":—In the American Orient. Congr., Prof. Lanman

writes, On Catalectic Vedic verses of seven Syllables:—and Prof. Whitney, On the rules of external combination in Sanskrit:—Under the title, “Sanskrit as a living language,” in the Academy, Oct. 23, Professor M. Williams gives the translation of a letter in Sanskrit from Dayânanda Sarasvati Swâmî, a well-known Indian Reformer, to his pupil, Syâmaji Krishnavarma, now a member of Balliol College, Oxford, himself, so excellent a Sanskrit scholar, that the title of Pandit has already been accorded to him. Prof. Williams adds that he constantly receives similar Sanskrit letters from learned Hindus who live in districts as widely apart as Kashmîr and Travancore. The letter in question shows clearly enough that the educated classes of India can and do use Sanskrit as a medium of inter-communication.

The following books may be noticed, as having come out recently, if not strictly, within the last year.

The 2nd part has been issued by Professor Bohtlingk of his Sanskrit Worterbuch in Kurzerer fassung:—M. Soupé, Etude sur la Literature Sanskrite:—Ram Das Sen, Hemachandra's Sanskrit Dictionary:—Bollensen, F., Die recensionen des Sakuntala:—Jacobi, Kalpasutra of Bhadrabahu with notes and introduction and Prakrit-Sanskrit Glossary:—a collection of papers by Prof. Benfey, which it is not easy to place in their exact order, but, of which, may be specified Die quantitâts-verschiedenheiten in der Samhitâ- u. Pada-Texten d. Veden, and numerous papers under the head of Vedica u. Linguistica—many or all of which are reprints from the “Gotting. Nachrichten:”—Schiefner, A., Ueber des Bonposûtra, “des weisse Nâga-Hundert-tausend”:—Mandlik Râo ahib, Translation of the Vyavahâra Mayukha:—Peile, J., Notes on the Nalopakhyanam, or Tale of Nala, for the use of Classical Students:—Poor, Miss L. A., Sanskrit and its kindred Literature—Studies in Comparative Mythology:—Tawney, Mr., Translation of Kathâ Sarit Sagara (the “Ocean of the Streams of Story”), the only accessible translation of

this storehouse of Indian fable having hitherto been that brought out in German by Mr. Brockhaus, the Editor of the Text:—Ludwig, A., *Rigveda zum ersten male ins Deutsch übersetzt*, vol. iv.:—Jogesh Chander Dutt has translated the *Raja Tarangini* by Kahlana Pandit, and this work has been printed at the Stanhope Press, Calcutta; the first six cantos of it having been translated many years ago by Prof. H. H. Wilson in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv.:—M. Van der Gheyn has printed *Note sur la 8^e Classe des verbes sanskrites*:—Pincott, F., *A new literal Translation of the Hitopadesa*, from the Sanskrit text of Prof. F. Johnson:—Mr. Peterson, *Bana's Kadambari*, part 1:—Kielhorn, F., *The Vyakara-Mahabhashya of Patanjali*, vol. i. pt. 3:—Prof. Taranatha Tarkavachaspati, *Vachaspatya*, a comprehensive Sanskrit Dictionary, in 20 parts, parts xiv.-xv.:—*Manusmriti Satika*, or the *Institutes of Manu*, with a Commentary by Kuluk Bhatta:—Prof. Avery, *Contributions to the History of Verb-Inflection in Sanskrit* (reprinted from *J. Amer. Orient. Soc.*):—Bergaigne, A., *Quelques observations sur les figures de Rhétorique dans le Rig-veda* (*Ext. de la Soc. Linguist.*):—Frize, L., *Indische Sprüche*, aus d. Sanskrit Metrisch übersetzt:—Gädecke, C., *Der Accusative in Veda dargestellt*:—and by the same writer, *Meghaduta d. i. Der Wolkenbote*, aus d. Sanskr. metrisch übers.:—Thiessen, J. H., *Die Legende von Kisâgotami*, eine Literarhistor. Untersuchung:—Cappeller, C., *Vâmana's Stil-regeln*:—The *Amarakosha* with the Commentary of Mahesvara (enlarged by Raghunath Shastri Talekar) has been issued under the superintendence of Prof. Kielhorn:—and Dr. A. M. Kunte has printed *Astangahridayam*, a compendium of the Hindu System of Medicine—composed by Vâgbhata. The Rev. John Davies, M.A. Cambr., and M.R.A.S., who has for years devoted himself to this special study, has printed the *Sankhya Karika* of Iswara Krishna—an exposition of the system of Kapila—with an appendix on the *Nyaya* and *Vaiseshika* Systems (*Trübner's Or. Series*).

Among the works which may possibly, if not probably, be out, before the Report is printed, we may notice—an edition by Dr. Hillebrandt of the Sankhya Sutra from MSS. in the India Office and Bodleian Libraries :—Kaegi, A., *Der Rigveda*—die älteste Literatur d. Inder. 2 aufl. :—that Mahendra Lal Circar is to bring out, with an English translation, the *Karaka*, or text-book of Native Medicine :—that Rajendralala Mitra, having completed the last fasciculus of the *Agni Purana*, has now commenced the *Vayu Purana* for the *Biblioth. Indica* :—and that we are promised, in the 12th vol. of the American Oriental Society, an *Index Verborum* to the published text of the *Atharva-Veda*, by Prof. Whitney—a promise which every Sanskrit scholar will hope may be realized, the more so, that no man could be more certain to execute it as all Sanskritists would wish it should be executed :—Dr. Julius Jolly, of Würzburg, is engaged in preparing a new critical edition of the Code (so called) of Manu, the recovery of some of the older MSS. being due to Dr. Bühler :—the first fasciculus of Prof. Jolly's critical edition of the *Visnumriti*, with extracts from the commentary of Nandapandita, in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, will soon be ready.

On the subject of MSS., Rajendralala Mitra has issued a Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of H.H. the Mahārājā of Bikānir, published by order of the Government of India, a large volume of 737 pages. This Catalogue consists of the materials collected by Harischandra Sāstri, and is mentioned by Dr. Bühler in his tour in Rajputana in search of MSS. as a list and abstract of the contents of about 1200 works ;—and M. Gustav Oppert, vol i. of *Lists of Sanskrit MSS. in Private Libraries of Southern India* printed at the expense of the Government of India :—Dr. Bühler has sent in a Report of the work he did during 1879-80 in the search for MSS., from which it appears that he directed his attention chiefly to the ancient Bhandārs of Anhilwad Pāthan and of Cambay, as the collections of the 12th—14th centuries mostly

contain copies written on palm-leaves, of great age and accuracy. Thus, in the Samghavinâ Pâda Bhandâr at Pâthan, a very ancient copy was discovered of the oldest Sanskrit Dictionary, the Sâsvata Kosha, of which only one other copy is known to exist, viz. in the Bodleian at Oxford. Much interest belongs to a Collection of 10 MSS. of the Matrayaniya Sâkhâ, containing the greater part of the Samhitâ, a Padapâtha of the Mantras, the Mânvagrihyasûtra, partly with a commentary, and six treatises of the sacrifices and funeral rites of the Vedic School :—Mr. Trübner published in his “Record,” for December, a list of thirty ancient palm-leaf MSS. written between the 12th and 14th centuries, drawn up by order of the Government of Bombay. It may be added that the Government Collection of Sanskrit MSS. in the Dekkan College has given Dr. Kielhorn the means of writing a very interesting paper on the works of the so-called Jainendra-Vyâkarani, in the Indian Antiquary for March, 1881.—In the Calcutta Review Prof. A. E. Gough has published the fifth part of his paper entitled the Philosophy of the Upanishads.—It is understood that an effort has been made to establish a new Sanskrit bi-weekly Journal, to be called Piyasha Sekara, “Drops of Cream,” but, if published, a copy of this has not at present reached the Society’s Library.

Bibliotheca Indica.—The Library of the Royal Asiatic Society has received during the last year the following parts or sections of works belonging to this series. The Nirukta, edited by Pandit Ramasvami, vol. i. pts. 1 and 2 :—Lalita Vistara, edited by Rajendralala Mitra, Fasc. i. :—Prakrita Lakhshanam, Chandra’s Grammar of Ancient Prakrit, edited by A. F. Rudolph Hoernle, Fasc. i. :—Names of Persons and Geographical Names occurring in the Akbar-namah, vol. ii. :—Tabakat-i-Nasiri, edited by Major Raverty, fasc. xi. and xii. :—Biographical Dictionary of those who have known Mu-

hammad by Ibn Hajar, Fasc. xviii. :—Bhamati, a gloss on Sankara Acharya's commentary on the Brahma-sutras, Fasc. viii. :—Vaya Purâna, a system of Hindu Mythology, edited by Rajendralala Mitra, Fasc. viii. :—History of the Khalifs, by Jelaledin A's-soyuti, translated and edited by Major H. S. Jarrett, Fasc. i.-vi. :—Katha Sarit Sagara, or the Ocean of the Streams of Story, translated from the Sanskrit by C. H. Tawney, Fasc. v.-vi. ; a work first noticed by Prof. H. H. Wilson in 1824 in the Calcutta Quarterly Magazine :—Mimamsa Darsana, Fasc. xv. :—Gobhiliya Grihya Sutra, edited by Chandrakanta, Fasc. xi.-xii.

Prakrit.—From the Proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society, we learn that Dr. Hoernle has exhibited at one of the meetings a MS. of an hitherto unknown Sanskrit Grammar called the Prakṛtananda by Raghunatha. The work contains no more than Vararuchi's rules, but is not, for this reason, without interest, inasmuch as it completely rearranges Vararuchi's Sutras, doing, in fact, for him what the Laghu Kaumudi has done for Panini. Mr. Hoernle, also, exhibited at one of the meetings a palm-leaf MS. of the Setubandha, 672 years old, and containing 86 folios measuring 14×2 inches, with 5 lines of writing in each page, in the Bengali character. The notes are in Sanskrit. The publication by Dr. Goldschmidt, of Strassburg, of the Setubandha, Pt. 1, was noticed in the Report of last year: the 2nd part is now out—the whole forming a most important addition to our knowledge of Prakrit. The language in which the poem is written is Mâhârâshtri Prakrit, a dialectic form which was especially reserved for poetical compositions, and had no corresponding Apabhramsa, or every-day language of the people, running parallel with it. Maharashtri was, in fact, an arbitrary creation of the poets. Mr. Hoernle stated that the date (which is given in Prakrit) is the oldest he has met with in the Bengali character.

Rajendra Mitra, on the same occasion, read a long essay on the character itself. Dr. Jacobi has given a paper in the *Zeitschr. f. Sprachforsch.*, "Das quantitäts-gesetz in den Prakrit-sprachen":—In the *D.M.G.* xxxiv. 4, Dr. Oldenberg has given a review of Prof. Jacobi's *Kalpa Sutra* of Bhadrabahu:—Mr. Hoernle has, also, given in the *Calcutta Review* for last October a very interesting "Sketch of the History of Prakrit Philology," with references to F. Haag, 1869, *Vergleichung des Prakrit mit d. Romanischen Sprachen* and to Mr. Brandreth's two papers in the *J.R.A.S.* Aug. 1879, and July, 1880. Mr. Hoernle thinks that the study of Prakrit may supply us with the means of determining the vexed question of how much there is of the Non-Aryan element in the Sanskrit language. The last great Prakrit grammarian wrote his grammar at the instance of Siddhi Raja, the Chalukya King of Gujarat, A.D. 1094-1143.

Pali.—In Vol. XII. p. 548, of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, M. Frankfurter has printed the text of "The Noble Eight-fold Path," and, M. V. Trenckner has issued the first part of his "*Pali Miscellany*," with the introductory portion of the *Milindapañho* in a Romanized text, an English translation and notes. The specimen just brought out, and the notes, lexicographical, etymological, and grammatical, are full of matter. It is the most important volume of its class since the *Dictionary* completed by the late Mr. Childers, six years ago. The *Royal Library at Copenhagen* has, as is well known, a very fine collection of *Pali MSS.* Dr. Morris in a letter in the *Acad.* Jan. 15, makes some objections to a portion of Mr. Trenckner's preface. Dr. Forchhammer has sent home a valuable report on what has been done by him for *Pali*, *Burmese*, and *Sanskrit Literature in Burmah*. Appointed, in 1879, Professor at the High School at Rangoon, he at once set to work, to get all the information he could about the *MSS.*

preserved in the Monasteries. In the course of his paper, he discusses the meaning of the word Pali, in Europe generally accepted as equivalent to Magadhi; in Burmah, however, it simply means "Sacred Text," like the Christian Bible. The account given by Dr. Forchhammer of the Sanskrit literature in Burmah is the first which has reached Europe, and researches after Sanskrit MSS. in Upper Burmah would probably be crowned with success. Mr. C. Alwis has published a second edition of his Sinhalese grammar in Romanized characters. Mr. J. H. Thiessen—a pupil of Prof. Pischel—has published "Die Legende von Kisagotami," the Pali text of which is printed for the first time:—In Acad. Jan. 22, Mr. Ralston reviews Mr. Rhys Davids's Buddhist Birth Stories or Jataka tales—the oldest collection of Folk-lore extant, in which he points out the value of Mr. Davids's Introduction. Mr. Oscar Frankfurter, also, announces his discovery, in the Bodleian Library, of the MS. of one of the so-called Abhidhamma books, the Dhamma-Sangani, and, in it, an interpretation of the "Noble Path," differing from the technical one usually quoted. He adds that he is preparing an edition of the Dhamma-Sangani, together with parts of Buddhaghosa's Commentary:—Dr. Pischel has written an article in Bezenburger Beitr. vi., entitled, Die Deçi-çabdas bei Trivikrama:—Dr. Oldenberg has also given to the Zeitschr. f. Sprachforschung, a paper called Bemerkungen zur Pali Grammatik:—In the Acad. for Aug. 21, Dr. Morris has written a letter on the division of the Buddhist Scriptures; and, in the same journal for the next week, Prof. F. Max Müller points out that a somewhat similar division, viz. into nine classes, is applied by the Brahmans to their own Sacred Literature:—In the Annales de L'Extrême Orient, May, M. Leon Feer gives an account of the new Pali MSS. recently sent to the Bibliothèque Nationale:—The third volume of Dr. Oldenberg's Vinaya Pitakam is just coming out:—and Dr. Morris is about to issue "The Six Jewels of the

Law." At the Lyons Congress (the Trans. of which have been recently published) M. Guimet gives (from the late Sir M. Coomara Swamy) an account of the Tooth Relic of Gautama Buddha. It may be added that the 10th volume of "Sacred Books of the East" contains two important works of the Southern Buddhist Canon; the Dhammapada, translated by Prof. F. Max Müller, and the Sutta-Nipâta, translated by Prof. Fausböll. Mr. C. Alwis has, also, given in the Trans. of the Musée Guimet "Visites de Bouddhas dans l'Ile de Lanka," from Poujavalaya and Sarvajna gounalankarya. It is proposed to start a Pali Text Society for the purpose of editing the Pali Texts of the Buddhist Canon.

Hindustani.—Two parts have appeared of a new English-Hindustani Dictionary, which had been commenced by the late Dr. Fallon before his lamented death last autumn, and the rest will follow, at intervals, under the superintendence of his daughter, who lives at Dehli. A favourable notice is given in the Calcutta Review for April, 1880, of the Rev. T. J. Scott's Kawaif-ul-Mantiq, yane Ilm i Mantiq ka Mufasssil Bayân: The Science of Logic—a Government Prize Book, 2nd ed. revised:—Mr. A. C. Lyall has printed a sketch of the Hindustani Language:—Messrs. Allen announce for publication "Mansukhi and Sundar Singh," Hindustani and English, by Mr. H. B. W. Garrick.

Bengali.—A good many Bengali books of interest have been issued during the past year. Among them may be noted the 4th part of Ram das Sen's Aitihâsika Rahasya:—*Banalâtâ*, by a Bengali lady named Prasannamaya Dabi, a volume of poems, partly original, partly translations from Cowper, Byron, and Wordsworth, the book itself being dedicated to her father:—in Proc. Beng. As. Soc. is a notice by Rajendra Mitra of Uday Chund Dutt's Nidana or Sanskrit system of Pathology translated into Bengali:—Other books in Bengali recently published are, Râncî Kâverî, or the

captive Princess, by Baboo Rungo Lal Banerjee:—Bhártiya Granthábali, by Rajendrenda Nath Dutta—a catalogue of ancient Sanskrit works, of much value, as the writer has honestly attempted to ascertain their dates, and gives a description of their contents with a running commentary:—Joaner Jiban brittantya, a sketch of the life of Joan, Maid of Orleans, by Koilas Chandra Singha:—Lyttoniana, by Adharlal Sen, B.A., a collection of a few of Lord Lytton's short poems, translated into Bengáli:—Bamabodha, by Nanda Krishna Basu, M.A., a Collection of Essays on a variety of subjects:—Lilábati Purbardha, translated by Gobinda Mohana Ráya Bidyábinod, a Bengali translation of the first half of Bhaskaracharya's celebrated Treatise on Arithmetic, entitled *Lilabati*—an excellent version by one of the best living Indian Masters of Mathematics:—Besantu-Utsuba, an Opera, by the authoress of Dipnirván, the subject being a well-conceived story of two male and two female lovers:—and Gocháráner Mátha, by Akshaya Chandra Sirkár—an excellent poem describing one day of a Shepherd's life. Krishna Chandra Roy is publishing "Phrases and Idioms," which will prove to be a useful book for Bengali students of English: and a Bengali writer, named Jogendara-nath Bidyabhushan, has recently published, in the vernacular, a life of Mazzini, together with a short account of Italian History.

Hindi.—In the Trans. of the Mus. Guimet, a posthumous paper by M. Garçin de Tassy has been published, entitled *Tableau du Kali-Young ou Age de Fer*, under the editing of F. de L'Oncle:—Mr. Growse has published the 2nd volume of his *Ramayana* of Tulsi Das, containing books iii.—vi. in a literal prose translation. The seventh and last books are almost ready for the press, and the whole is then to be republished in a single volume, copiously illustrated by real Native Art:—In the *Calcutta Review* for July, 1880, is an article

by Mr. G. A. Grierson, entitled "A Plea for the People's Tongue," in which he assents to the substitution of the Kayathí for the Persian alphabet in the writing official documents in Berar; but protests against the use of "the so-called Hindi language," "book-Hindi," as he entitles it, the true native tongue being "Maithili;" his general conclusion is that Hindi is not a vernacular language at all.

Marathi.—Mr. Elijah Shaldam, of Bombay, has translated a volume of Sermons with the title "Naphtaley Elohim," "Wrestlings with God," by the Rev. Dr. H. Adler, Gen. xxx. 6, in allusion to Naphtali, the author's name:—Kaumudi Mahotsáha has been issued by Ramachandra Bhikaji and Kasináth Pandurang, a publication, which, when complete, is to contain the text of the Siddhanta Kaumudi with a Marathi Commentary by the first-named editor; further Panini's Sutas have been printed continuously and, a second time, with the *anuscrittis* (or words supplied from the preceding *Sutas*) by the same scholar. Dr. Birdwood has printed in the Athenæum for March 12. a very curious *Kirtan*, or native ballad, from Bombay, lamenting the decay of the indigenous handicrafts of India owing to the competition with the imported manufactures of Europe. A previous one had been sent to him, and printed in the *Times* of October 14, 1880:—Mr. Pandurang's "Reflections" have been translated into Marathi, and Mr. Ganpatrao R. Navalkar has published, in two vols., The Student's Marathi Grammar. A representation of Shakespeare's "Comedy of Errors" has been lately given by the Tehalkaranjaker Hindu Dramatic Corps in the presence of the Governor and suite.

Gujarati.—Prof. F. Max Müller's Hibbert Lectures have been translated into Gujarati, and are being published in a Gujarati Journal, called the Onyân Vardhaka.

Panjabi.—A weekly Journal in Panjabi has been started by the Sikh Association at Lahore.

Baluchi.—M. Longworth Damas, C.S., has given in the Proc. Beng. As. Soc. "Specimens of Balochi Poems transcribed in Roman characters and translated, with explanatory notes." These Poems are widely spread over the Baluchi country, and are recited by bards called *Doms* or *Loris*. Many of them are probably of considerable age, as they contain many antiquated grammatical forms. The paper gives three of these poems, entitled severally, "The Wanderings of the kind Balochis," "The Quarrel of Mír Chakar and Gwakarám," and "Dostem and Shireni."

Tibetan.—M. Reichardt has given a notice in the D.M.Ges. xxxiv. 3 of the Tibetan and English Dictionary by H. A. Jaeschke.

Sinhalese.—The Rev. C. Alwis has published "The Sinhalese Handbook in Roman characters."

Uriya.—Mr. T. J. Maltby has published a "Practical Handbook to the Uriya Language."

Non-Aryan of India.—During the past year the Rev. Mr. Droek, a Missionary, has favoured the Honorary Secretary of this Society with a copy of a Reading Primer in the Rajmahali language, which belongs to the Dravidian family; a translation of the Gospel of St. Mark in that language is also in the press. With the exception of a small list of Rajmahali words, printed by Dr. Aufrecht in the D.M.G., these are the first specimens of the language spoken by the wild tribes, who occupy the mountains overhanging Bhagalpur on the Ganges.

The first translation of Milton's *Paradise Lost* into *Tamil*

by a native clergyman has been announced, at Madras, and the first two books have been brought out at the press of the Soc. Prom. Christ. Knowledge. A paper has been printed in the *Indian Antiquary* of Feb. 28, 1881, by Mr. A. M. Fergusson, in which he expresses a belief in the connexion between *Tamil* and Maori. In the Lyons Congress, vol. i. p. 137, a speech is printed of the Baron Textor de Ravisi, "On the *Tamil* songs of Mr. Savarayalonnaiker of Pondicherry;" and in the *Ind. Antiq.* for March, 1881, Mr. Ondatje contributes a paper by P. de Melho, containing a summary view of the castes of the *Tamil* nation. In the return of the Madras Registrar of Books, it is stated that some of Lamb's "Tales from Shakespeare" have been translated into *Tamil*. Lastly, in the *Ind. Ant.* for August, Dr. Pope continues his notes on the Kurral of Tiruvalluvar.

In the *Madras Journ. of Lit. and Science*, Colonel R. M. Macdonald, Director of Public Instruction at Madras, gives a brief sketch of the *Yerukala* language as spoken at Rajah Mandy.

Telugu.—Shakespeare's "Julius Cæsar" has been translated into Telugu, and a Telugu poem has been written in the style of Vasacharitra.

In the *Calcutta Review* several papers of interest and of value have been published during the last year, of which the following may be noticed here. By Mr. H. G. Keene, George Thomas, an episode of the Great Anarchy—Islam in India; Indian Military adventurers of the last century—and the Early Aryans and their invasion of India; by Mr. Robert Cust, the Geography of the Greeks and Romans; by Mr. Rehatsek, four papers on Oriental Folk-lore; by Charu Chandra Mukhopadhyaya, High Education in Bengal; by Seavy Chand Mittra, The Hindu Bengal; by H. C. Dutt, The History of Kashmira—a contribution towards ancient Indian History; by the late Rev. M. A. Sherring, The Natural History of the

Indian Caste, and, The Unity of the Hindu Race; by Mrs. Edwards, Christian Effort in India; by Jogendra Chandra Ghose, Caste in India; by E. E. Oliver, Financial Aspects of Indian Irrigation; and many others. Besides these principal papers, there are a considerable number of reviews, of more or less extent, on various works recently published.

Sacred Books of the East.—The Council desire to express the satisfaction they feel at the complete success of Prof. F. Max Müller, in his great adventure, the endeavour to present to the European public, even if in an English Translation, the whole of the Sacred Literature of the East. When the last Report of the Society was published, only three of these volumes had been issued, viz., vol. i. the translation by Prof. Müller of the Upanishads, etc., vol. ii. the translation by Dr. Bühler "Of the Sacred Laws of the Aryas," and the 7th vol. containing the Translation by Dr. Ferdinand Jolly of the "Institutes of Vishnu." Now, we have before us, as the publishing work of scarcely eleven months, no less than seven additional volumes, viz., vol. iii. Prof. Legge's translation of the Shu King, Shih King and Hsiâo King, "The Sacred Books of China—The Texts of Confucianism," Part 1;—vol. iv. The Zend-Avesta. Part 1. The Vendidad, translated by James Darmesteter; vol. v. Pahlavi Texts, translated by E. W. West, Part 1. The Bundahis, Bahman, Yast, and Shâyast Lâ-Shayast; vols. vi. and ix. a translation of the Qur'ân (Koran) by E. H. Palmer; [vol. vi. chaps. 1–16, vol. ix. chaps. 17–114;] vol. x. The Dhammapada, a collection of verses, being one of the Canonical Books of the Buddhists, translated from the Pali by F. Max Müller; and lastly, vol. xi. Buddhist Suttas, translated from Pâli by T. W. Rhys Davids. Prof. F. Max Müller may be well congratulated on his having been able to find such competent scholars to carry out his idea, and, at the same time, to produce the result of their labours with such rapidity.

Indian Institute.—The Council are glad to learn that Prof. Monier Williams has been able to overcome the opposition he has met with in the University of Oxford, and that Merton College has expressed its willingness at a College Meeting, held in March last, to sell to him, what he may well call, for his purpose, the choicest site in Oxford—the ground now occupied by some old houses at the East end of Broad Street. This ground he will be able to acquire for about £6000, exactly the same sum he would have had to pay the University for a site far less convenient in the “Parks.” The house he proposes to build will be of the simplest construction, containing Lecture Rooms for the Indian Professors and Teachers, and a Library which may serve as an Oriental “camera” to the Bodleian. There can be no doubt that an Institute, thus firmly founded, will become a rallying point and a place of meeting for all students looking forward to Indian careers, while there is, also, good reason for hoping that four Oriental Fellowships and Scholarships will, in time, be attached to it, in addition to the Sanskrit Scholarship already existing. It must be a satisfaction to Prof. Williams to feel that, in spite of a strongly organized resistance to the ideas he had persistently urged, viz. “that our possession of India involves University as well as National Duties,” and “that Indian studies ought, therefore, to form an integral part of our University work,” he has at length carried the preamble of the Statute which is intended to recognize these studies.

Further India and Malayo-Polynesia.—To the “*Annales de l'Extrême Orient*” we again owe much of our knowledge of what has been doing in the East during the last year, both in the way of books, and of inscriptions. The most important papers are, an account of the ancient empire of Atchin (Achin) by the Marquis d'Estrey:—the conclusion of the discussion noted in the last Report as to the discovery of the “*Voie commerciale vers les Provinces du S.O. de la Chine*,” being a notice, by M.

Esnard, of M. Feer's review of Mr. Wright's work on Nepal :—Prof. Veth "On the Languages and Literature of Java," the most famous poem in Javanese being the *Bhratâ* (*i.e.* Mahabharata) Joudâ, composed by Empou Sedah, about A.D. 1157 :—an interesting notice of the foundation of the "Société géographique de Rochefort" and of its first bulletin :—by the Abbé C. E. Bouillevaux, an account in four successive papers of Ciampa, the Cyamba of Marco Polo :—and a report on the murder at Kampong, by the Raja of the place, of two French Missionaries to Sumatra, M. Wallon and M. Guillaume, their death, however, having been, no doubt, mainly brought about by their indiscretion in attempting to penetrate a savage country against the advice of those who knew the nature of its inhabitants :—By R. Postel, "Une Reception royale au Cambodge" :—La Birmanie Anglaise, by Count Alphonse Dilhan :—notice of E. Cotteau's "Promenade dans l'Inde et à Ceylon," a very clear and interesting sketch :—notice by M. L. Feer of M. Aymonier's new Dictionary, the "Dictionnaire Khmer-Français" :—First and Second Reports of the "Central Sanitary Commission of the Imperial Japanese Government," valuable as showing the extent to which European views have been accepted by this remarkable people :—and an advertisement that M. L. Ewald, of Darmstadt (who has devoted himself during six years to the study of Chinese, Annamite, Cambogian and Siamese), is about to publish grammars for each of these languages; [the same writer, in 1876, published in the "Mittheilungen" of Petermann, an Essay on the Orthography of Geographical names, with special reference to the languages of the "Extreme East"] :—an appreciative notice by M. Léon Feer of R. N. Cust's "Sketch of the Modern Languages of the East Indies," which does not however satisfy Dr. Harmand :—a review by MM. Merzbacher and Falk of Lieut.-Gen. le Baron Labure's "Sur l'Ile de Celebes" :—final report by M. Emile Bouchet, on the dispute between M. Dupuis and those who have thought fit to doubt the value of his services as the discoverer of

the "Fleuve Rouge" in Tong-kin:—and a paper from Dr. Harmand, with the text and a plate of a "Prière Laotienne," its language being the same as Siamese, but with some differences of pronunciation. The Laotians cannot pronounce the letter R, but substitute for this, sometimes an L, sometimes an N, sometimes a simple aspiration,—thus, the Siamese *rûa*, *rûon* (respectively meaning ship, house) are rendered in Laotian by *hu'a*, *hu'on*.

There is, also, a notice of "Schets van den Inhoud van de Tjarios Soepêna,"—the history of Soepêna,—a Sundanese story of very ancient date. The text is to be published by the Société des Arts et d. Sciences d. Batavia:—an interesting account of the "Congrès National de Géographie de Nancy":—excellent notice by M. Léon Feer, of "Deux Ans dans le pays des Epices" (the Sunda-Islands), by the Count A. de Pina:—a long narrative by M. Millot (the second in command) of the "Expédition Dupuis du fleuve Rouge," with many plates:—a translation by M. Aristide Marré of a paper by M. J. E. Albrecht of Batavia, "Sur l'Instruction Primaire chez les Chinois dans l'Ile de Java":—a full notice of the valuable Dictionary of Corean and French, recently published by the French Missionaries of Corea, a work originating, it would seem, chiefly with M. Dallet, who published a history of the Church in Corea in 1874. Each Corean word is followed by its exponent, in Chinese characters, and the Dictionary comprises a notice of the Fauna, Flora, Ichthyology and of the Arts and Sciences of Corea. There is, also, a very interesting letter from M. Charles Courret, giving further details of the murder of M. Wallon and of his companion:—papers by Count Alphonse Dilhan, "Sur l'Administration des Postes dans les grands états de l'Extrême Orient" (with two plates of the postal stamps):—by A. W. Taylor, "La Colonie Européenne de Bangkok":—and a sketch by M. Aristide Marré, entitled "Sur l'œuvre scientifique de M. L'Abbé Favre":—lastly, M. E. Gibert gives a good account of "L'Inde Française en 1880."

To these may be added some books or papers, as Dupuis, J., *Voyage au Yunnan* (Ann. d. Musée Guimet, Tome i.):—Dutreuil de Rhins, *Resumé d. Trav. Géograph. sur l'Indo-Chine Orientale* (Bull. d. l. Soc. Géogr.):—Harmand, J., *Le Laos et les Sauvages de L'Indo-Chine* (Tour de Monde, Avril):—Keane, A. H., *Monograph on the Relations of the Indo-Chinese and Inter-Oceanic Races* (reprinted from *Anthrop. Inst.*):—Morice, A., *Notes sur les Bahnars* (Cochin-China), *Rev. Anthrop.*:—Romanet du Caillaud, *Notice sur le Tong-king* (Bull. Soc. de Géogr.):—Silvestre, *Etude sur l'Indo-Chine. Ibid.*:—Spooner, *Exploration aux ruines d. Mons. Religieux de la Province de Bali* (Cambodge), 2 pl. (*Rev. d'hist. d. Religions*):—Tru' ong-Vinh-Ky, *Cours d'Histoire Annamite*, vol. ii.:—P. Arriens, *Vocabulary in Dutch, Malay, and Atchinese, N. end of Sumatra*. This language belongs to the Sumatra-Malacca group of the Malayan family.

Besides the papers in the *Annales de l'Extrême Orient*, there are some others in other Journals to which attention may be called. In the Annual Report of the Straits Settlements Branch of this Society, to which allusion has already been made, is a valuable note of what the Society has done and proposes to do towards the investigation of the languages of the districts lying more or less within reach of Singapore. From this report it appears that a vocabulary of words has been selected and published to assist in the collection of the Dialects of Wild Tribes, and, after a list of 100 representative words had been settled, that this list was translated into German, French, Dutch, and Spanish, in the hope of extending the collection of these dialects over as wide a portion of Malaya as possible. Eleven dialects have already been collected, viz. 1. Ulu Kinta; 2. Chindariong; 3. Kenering; 4. Balan Dyak; 5. Land Dyak; 6. Samoi; 7. Ulu Achin; 8. Pulo Nias; 9. Kayan; 10. Pulan Malano; 11. Brabetan. It is also proposed to Index the late Mr. Logan's contributions to Philology. In the Trans. of the Lyons Congress

M. l'Abbé Favre has described a curious MS. from India, which appears to be written in one of the dialects of the Batak language of Borneo. To the same Congress, also, M. Aymonier sent some Khmer texts, with translations into French, one of which, called "Le Menteur," was read at one of the meetings by M. Guimet:—Mr. Trübner, in his "Record" (June, 1880), has given a list of the languages of the Philippine Islands; it is not, therefore, necessary here to mention more than the names of the respective writers, together with the special subject to which they have given their attention. They are, F. Andres, *Arte de lengua Bicol*:—Z. de San Joachim, *Bisaya*; and others:—Fr. Fausto de Cuera, *Arte nuevo de la lengua Ibanag*:—Fr. Naves, *Grammatico Hispano-Ilocana*:—Diego Bergano, *Arte de la lengua Pampanga*:—R. Lozano, *Cursos de la lengua Panayana*:—Fr. Campomanes, *Lecciones de Grammatica Hispano-Tagala*:—and Fr. Encina Calzado, *Arte de la lengua Zebuana*:—Mr. Trübner has also published a list of books relating to the East Indian Archipelago, some of which may be noticed here, such as, Arriens' *Maleisch-Holland-Atjehsche woordenlijst*:—Chijs, J. A. van der, *Proeve eener Nederlandsch-Indische Bibliographie, 1659-1870*:—Badings, *Nieuw Hollandsch-Maleisch woordenboek*:—Grashuis, *De Soedanische tolk; i.e. The Sundanese Interpreter, a Dutch and Sundanese Vocabulary*:—Halkema, W., *The Elements of Javanese Grammar*:—Jansz, P., *Kleine Javaansche Sprachkunst; Javanese Grammar, 3rd ed.*:—Meursinge, A., *Maleisch Leseboek, with additions by M. Grashuis*:—Morel, C. J., *Nieuw Nederlandsch-Maleisch Woordenboek*:—Oosting, H. J., *Soendasch Nederlandsch Woordenboek*:—*Vocabulary of the English and Malay languages, with the proper orthography for Englishmen*:—with a notice of various newspapers now in course of publication in Malay and Javanese. In the *Bulletin d. l. Soc. Geogr. d'Amsterdam*, are notices by M. van Langen, *Sur le pays Gaion de Sumatra*:—by M. Ufford, *Sur les Dayaks de Sarawak*:—and by M. Liefreink, *Sur l'état actuel d'Atjeh*.

A *Malay Grammar*, by W. E. Maxwell, M.R.A.S., is in type. *Inter alia*, it may be mentioned that the Rev. J. N. Cushing's *Vocabulary of the Shan Language* is now out, as, also, M. L. Ewald's *Grammatik der Tai oder Siamesische Sprache*:—and that Sir Thomas Wade has been for some time engaged on a complete *History of Siam*, for which his long residence (of more than thirty years) in these parts peculiarly fits him.

With regard to *Polynesia*, the Academy of Jan. 22 gives a brief notice by Prof. Sayce of the Rev. Mr. Gill's "*Historical Sketches of Savage Life in Polynesia*;" and in the same journal is an excellent review by Mr. Whitmee of the second volume of A. Fornander's *Account of the Polynesian race*. In the *Revue Critique* for March is an appreciative paper on A. P. Lesson's "*Les Polynesiens*," vols. i. and ii. Other references to this subject, which may be cited, are, Galton, J. C., *Further notes on the Papuans of Malay Coast, New Guinea* (*Nature*, Jan. 1880):—Hernsheim, F., *Beitrag zur Sprache der Marshall-Inseln*:—Lawes, W. G., *Notes on New Guinea and its inhabitants* (*Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, Oct.):—Meyer, A. B., *Sur l'Ethnologie de la Nouvelle Guinée* (*Soc. d. Anthropol.* Avril-Juillet):—Wake, C. St., *Notes on the Polynesian Race* (*J. Anthropol. Inst.*, Aug. 1880).

Under the head of *Miscellaneous Oriental or Indian*, many very interesting articles have appeared in different Journals during the last year, or have been published separately. Among them, are notices in the *Rev. Crit.* by M. Senart, of Prof. Weber's third vol. of "*Indische Streife*":—by M. Barth, in three long articles, of Dr. W. W. Hunter's *Bengal*; and, by the same writer, of Messrs. Brandreth and Cust's *Language Maps for India*, and of the latter scholar's *Sketch of the Modern Languages of India*:—M. Darmesteter gives an account of the republished Reports of the late Jules Mohl:—M. Halevy reviews at some length and with much severity M. Lenormant's *Origines de l'Histoire d'après la Bible*, etc.:

—and a paper, also, by the same writer, entitled, “*L’Androgynisme primitif et une Legende Indienne*”:—In the *Athenæum* have been good notices of vols. v. and vi. of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, including Cutch, Cambay, and the Bombay districts, the work mainly of J. M. Campbell, Esq., B.C.S.;—of the *Annual Report of Commissioner A. D. Taylor*, On the Marine Surveys of the Indian Coasts—a very interesting document, the Indian Government having lately taken active steps to institute tidal observations;—together with an account of the List published by the Punjab Government of its contributions to the Melbourne Exhibition, a document full of notes of practical value, drawn up by Mr. J. L. Kipling, Curator of the Lahore Central Museum;—and, in the same Journal, for February 5, is a long and able letter from Dr. Birdwood “On the Industrial Arts of India”:—and by Prof. Monier Williams, A note on the new Indian Census, with reference to the names of Descent of Brahmans:—It is, also, stated that Sir Salar Jung has sent to the Government of India a list of 224 historical MSS., of which copies exist at Haiderabad, so as to enable Prof. Dowson to complete the supplementary volumes of Sir H. M. Elliot’s *Historians of India*:—In the *Indian Antiquary* are notices “Of the marriage customs of the Rawul Pindi District,” extracted from the *Roman Urdu Journal*:—in the *Madras Journ. of Literature and Science*, On the Hygiene of Ancient India, by Surg.-Gen. C. A. Gordon—a paper of much interest:—and, in the *Bombay Asiatic Journal*, by E. Rehatsek, Esq., On wine among the Ancient Arabs and on Magic:—In the *Academy*, are many “*Miscellanea Orientalia*,” some of which may be noted here: Such are, Prof. Beal’s curious paper “On Cinderella”:—Goldziher’s *Endogamy and Polygamy among the Arabs*:—a review by the Rev. A. H. Sayce of vols. iv. v. and viii. of the “*Sacred Books of the East*”:—a notice of the second volume of the late Mr. Sherring’s *Hindu Tribes*:—of R. N. Cust’s, “*Linguistic and Oriental Essays*” (Aug. 14,

and Dec. 4):—of Mr. Jogesh Chunder Dutt's *Kings of Kashmira*, a prose version in English of the *Raja Tarangini*:—a careful review by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, of M. Lenormant's "*Origines*":—a notice of various Essays by Hovelacque, Picot and Vinson, in the "*Mélanges de Linguistique*":—a letter from the Rev. A. H. Sayce "*On the winged Thunderbolt*":—with good reviews by Mr. J. S. Cotton of Dr. Birdwood's *Industrial Arts of India*, and of Mr. Justice Phear's "*Aryan village in India and Ceylon*;" and a notice of Mr. Marvin's "*Merv, the Queen of the World and the Scourge of Man-stealing Turcomans*."

It may be added, that, on the occasion of the Camoens Tercentenary, M. G. de Vasconcellos-Abreu, the Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Lisbon, published, "*Fragmentos d'uma Tentativa de Estudo Scholastico da Epopea Portugueza*," the object of his work being to elucidate many passages in the "*Lusiadas*" relating to localities and myths in further India and Ceylon. M. Vasconcellos' exposition of certain Buddhistic legends, to which allusion is made in the Tenth Canto, will commend itself to the notice of the Folk-lore Society.—It may be further recorded, that, at the meeting of the Society on November 15, M. Terrien de La Couperie laid before it a table showing many remarkable affinities between the Indo-Pali on the one side and the Corean and old Japanese alphabets on the other; this agreement, being, he urged, due to an early Indian connexion with the Further East. His views, he considered, were supported by the specimens of the writing of the Lolos, a powerful people of the White Race in Sze-chuan, recently forwarded to the Royal Geographical Society by Mr. Osborne Baber, Chinese Secretary to the English Legation at Peking. Be this, however, as it may, it is certain, that much new material is at hand, for such Orientalists, as are interested in the numerous questions relating to the Aborigines of China. Quite recently Capt. Gill has presented to the British Museum a Manuscript

written in hieroglyphs (a fact noticed in the Report for 1880), and in an, hitherto, unknown character. These characters M. Terrien de La Couperie has identified as the writing of the Mosso or Mashî people, of which a specimen was sent to Europe, some years since, by M. Le P. Des-Godins, a well-known French missionary on the Tibetan frontier.

China Review.—This publication, as usual, presents, for the past year, a varied collection of papers—some of them in completion of those begun in previous numbers—while others have a special value for the philological or historical views set forth in them. Thus in vol. viii. No. 5, Mr. Jamieson continues his valuable “Translations from the Lu-li or General Code of Laws of the Chinese Empire,” the matters he deals with here being Registration and Taxation, Land Tenure, the Non-Registration of Families and Individuals, and the rules determining that each family must be registered as belonging to some definite class:—Mr. T. Watters adds more matter to his “Fa-hsien and his English Translators,” in which a controversy is provoked and extended, in language needlessly bitter:—Mr. Frederic F. Balfour gives us a pleasant genial tale, entitled “The Flower-Fairies”:—and the translation of “Chinese School-books,” already noticed in previous Reports, is continued. There are also good reviews of P. G. v. Mollendorff’s *Praktische Anleitung zur Erklärung der Hoch-Chinesischen Sprache*:—of Mr. W. Bramsen’s “Japanese Chronological Tables, with an Introductory Essay on Japanese Chronology and Calendars:”—and a notice of Li Kuei’s Record of Chinese Coins.

In vol. vii. part 6 Mr. Watters continues his paper “On Fa-hsien and his English Translators,” with a criticism similar to that he had previously exercised—his chief opponents being, as before, Messrs. Beal, Giles and Eitel, all of them, presumably, good Chinese scholars, and as competent translators

of Chinese as Mr. Watters himself. At the same time, there can be no doubt that Chinese scholarship is advanced by the free discussion, opened in the columns of the "China Review," to the differing, not to say discordant, views of eminent Sino-logues.—Mr. F. H. Balfour gives an interesting article on "The Book of Recompenses" (*i.e.* the rewards and retributions which are the natural results of Virtue and Vice—in other words, the Buddhist *Karma*).—Mr. F. S. A. Bourne adds a paper entitled "Essay by a Provincial Graduate," with translation, of some importance, as showing how the Chinese system of Education interpenetrates, so to speak, the whole life of the people—though, in writing any such essay, the candidate is not permitted to express his own thoughts in his own way, but is required to make his sentences conform, in a great measure, to one of two or three recognized models. In order, however, that the candidate may have more scope for the exercise of literary skill, he is not allowed to introduce into his essay the words immediately succeeding those of the Theme in the Classical Text. The author of this essay was named Chang Chêng-yu, and he was only eighteen years of age. About 13,000 candidates presented themselves, of whom about 330 were selected.—Mr. Jamieson carries on his useful work of translating from the Lu-li or General Code of Laws of the Chinese Empire, Sect. iv. Registration and Taxation, ch. 77–89.—Mr. E. H. Parker gives a Syllabary of the Cantonese Dialect, as spoken by the best educated people there, comprehending about 780 distinct syllables, arranged under nine tones. The Syllabary is accompanied by a table, explanatory of the vowels used in expressing the sounds. At the end of the part, a brief notice is given of M. Troeong-vinh-ky's "De l'Annam et du rôle de la France dans l'Annam"; a notice of M. G. Schlegel's "Réponse aux critiques de l'Uranographie Chinoise," which will probably not extend that writer's reputation; and an interesting paper by D. G., "On the Chinese Kitchen-God."

In vol. ix. pt. 1, Mr. E. H. Parker gives an account of the curious and never-ceasing system, "The Educational Curriculum of the Chinese," whence it would appear that there is no limit as to the age at which a Chinaman may compete at public examinations.—Dr. C. P. Marques contributes a lecture on Camoens at his Tercentenary in Macao; and Mr. J. J. M. De Groot one on the "Inscriptions on Red paper-pictures, etc., on Chinese street doors."—Mr. J. McIntyre continues his "Notes on the Corean Language."—F. B. adds an useful paper on "Modern Biography in China—The Grand Secretary Li,"—from which it appears that "Literary" ensures "Official" success, a very large proportion of the officials belonging to old literary families, whose boast is that they came over with the Conqueror, entered China with the Manchus in the seventeenth century, and that they have been literary ever since.—M. Hoeung contributes a short notice on "Cochin-chine Française."—At the close of the part are short notices of Dr. Legge's four Lectures "On the Religions of China"; of M. Pitou's "La Chine, les Mœurs, ses Missions"; of Thomas Fergusson's Chinese Researches; and by I. N. I. on Chinese Dice.

To vol. ix. pt. 2 Mr. E. H. Parker contributes two papers. One "On the Foochow Syllabary" and the other on "Characterless Chinese Words." In the first he points out, that there are 786 separate sounds in this dialect, exclusive of the distinctions made by the tones, and adds an elaborate table of vowels. In his second paper, he gives a comparative list of words for which the characters are not commonly known, and suggests other and new characters where possible:—Mr. F. Balfour translates "The Book of Purity and Rest," a curious little tract he had recently obtained from an old Buddhist priest:—Mr. McIntyre gives a further portion of his "Notes on the Corean Language:"—R. W. H. offers some "Notices of eminent Statesmen of the present Dynasty":—and Mr. E. L. Oxenham, "A Chip from Chinese History, or the two last

Emperors of the Great Sung Dynasty, A.D. 1101—1126." At the end of the number is a good notice of "La Province Chinoise du Yün-nan": with reviews of Dr. Martin's *Hanlin Papers*, or *Essays on the intellectual life of the Chinese*; and of Dr. Edkins' *Chinese Buddhism* (Trübner's Or. Series).

In vol. ix. pt. 3, Mr. Jamieson continues his valuable translations from the *Lu-li*, or *General Code of the Laws of the Chinese Empire*:—The Rev. J. Chalmers deals with "The Rhymes of the Shi-king," a somewhat technical matter to which he has called attention in previous papers:—and Mr. F. H. Balfour deals with the "Su Shu—or book of plain words"—a matter of much importance in the investigation of European Chinese scholars:—Mr. R. W. Hurst adds "Notices of Eminent Statesmen of the Present Dynasty;" and Mr. E. H. Parker, five chapters on "The Yang-tse Gorges and Rapids in Hu-pei." At the end of the number are the usual notices of books, among which may be noticed, a brief account of W. E. Griffis's "Japanese Fairy World," a summary of the "Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan," and a curious paper by Mr. Chalmers entitled, "The Gods of Literature and a God of Barbers."

China.—Besides the *China Review*, a very large number of Papers, Essays, and Letters, referring to China, have been published during the last year. Thus, in the *Athenæum* of July 7, is an excellent review of Dr. Legge's "Religion of China, Confucianism and Taoism" (as, also, in the *Ind. Antiq.* Jan. 1881):—and of Dr. Edkins' "Chinese Buddhism":—in the same *Journal*, Sept. 11, is an interesting notice of M. Emile Rocher's "Province de Yunnan":—and, in *Acad.* March 26, an admirable review of the same work by Prof. Douglas:—in Sept. 18, is a clear and sympathizing Review of Dr. Legge's "Sacred Books of China, the Texts of Confucianism, pt. 1. The Shu King," etc., being vol. iii. of Professor F. Max Müller's "Sacred Books of the

East":—In Oct. 2, is a notice of the Rev. J. Ross's "The Manchus, or Reigning Dynasty of China, its rise and progress"—a work which, certainly, seems to require more research than the writer has been able to give to it:—In the same Journal is an able notice of M. Pery's "Le Saint Edit":—a statement that the Soc. Prom. Christian Knowledge has published the Gospel of St. Matthew in the Hangchow Dialect; and an important letter from Prof. F. Max Müller (dated Oxford, Aug. 2), giving a further account of "Sanskrit MSS. in Japan."—In the Academy, Feb. 12, is a full notice of Dr. Max Uehle's "Beiträge zur Grammatik d. Vorklassischen Chinesisch," a very valuable work for the insight it gives into the early history of the Chinese language:—in the same paper, Sept. 14, is a review of a notice by M. Barthe of "China"—paper in the "Revista Contemporanea" giving a brief account of the situation of China in her struggle with Russia:—of the oldest astronomical traditional eclipses as noticed by Dr. Legge and others:—an excellent review by Dr. Legge of Mr. H. A. Giles' "Chinese Stories":—of Mr. Fergusson's "Chronology of China":—and by Mr. Rhys Davids, of Dr. Edkins' "Chinese Buddhism."—In the Revue Critique, are notices of the Chinese Grammar by M. v. d. Gabelenz:—of Dr. Edkins' "Chinese Buddhism":—that M. Léon Rodet is about to publish in the Bull. de la Soc. Mathémat. an account of Souan Pan, a very ingenious mode of calculating:—that M. Maurice Janetet is preparing a translation of the chief Chinese works on Tibet:—and that M. Cordier has received the Prix Stanislas-Julien for his important lexicographical labours. Mr. E. D. Jones notices, also, "Cities and Towns of China, a Geographical Dictionary by M. H. Playfair, H.M. Consul," which has been also reviewed and not very favourably in Journal Asiatique, Fevr. Mars, 1881.

In the record of the Lyons Congress are, a reply by the Chinese Minister, Kwo Ta Fen, to a series of questions

proposed to him by M. Cordier :—a critical disquisition on the Lao-Tsen by Mr. Ymai-zoumi (a Japanese) :—by the same writer, a paper “Des croyances et des superstitions des Chinois avant Confucius” :—and “Du culte des ancêtres en Chine sous la Dynastie de Tcheou” :—by M. E. Chantré, a paper entitled “Relation entre les Sistres Bouddhiques et certains objets de l’âge du Bronze Européen”—another, chiefly archæological, but of much general interest, and illustrated by three plates, in one of which is a copy of a piece of pottery marked with the Swastika, which was found in or near the Lake of Bourget :—and a proposal by M. Perny to collect Chinese Proverbs, which, we trust he may be able to carry out. In the D. M. G. xxxiv. 3, is a review of M. Victor v. Strauss’s *Das Kanonische Lieder-buch d. Chinesen* :—and a very important article by Dr. O. F. von Möllendorff entitled “Die Grosse Mauer von China” :—in “Das Ausland,” No. 7, is a paper entitled “Die Chinesen auf der Philippinen und reise d. Alferaki in das Gebiet v. Kuldscha” :—A notice in the China Review, of S. Poletti’s Analytical Index of Chinese characters ; and, *ibid*, Cochin-Chine Française :—M. Imbault-Huart adds some interesting notices, referring, in great measure, to China, in the Journ. Asiat. for Oct. Nov. Dec. 1880. In the Musée Guimet are valuable papers by M. Dupuis, *Voyage en Yunnan et ouverture du Fleuve Rouge au Commerce* :—by Dr. Eitel, *Feng-Shoui, Principes de Science Naturelle en Chine*—with a plate of “Boussole Géométrique” ; and in the Annales de l’Extr. Orient are many interesting articles referring to this main subject. Of these, may be noticed an account by an American engineer, Mr. Vudank, of his visit to the famous Wall of China, which was built about B.C. 200 ; in which he states that its general height is about 18 feet, with a breadth of 12 feet, the substruction being granite. At intervals of from 200 to 300 ft., are towers from 25 to 30 ft. high, with a diameter of 24 feet :—The same Journal gives an account by M. J. E. Albrecht of “L’Institution primaire dans les Chinois, et dans

"Ile de Java," translated from the Dutch, and annotated by M. Aristide Marré.

Among miscellaneous Books or Essays may be noticed, Ma-touan-lin, *Ethnographie des peuples Etrangers*, trad. par M. Hervey de St. Denys:—E. H. Parker, *Comparative Chinese Family Law*:—Mr. H. A. Giles, *On Free Masonry in China*, a valuable notice, for some reason not published, but printed, as it would seem, solely for private distribution:—Mollendorff, *Praktische Anleitung zur Erklärung d. Hoch-Chinesen Sprache*:—Terrien de La Couperie, "Early History of Chinese Civilization," with a plate, giving evidence, in the writer's opinion, of the connexion between the Akkadian and the Early Chinese Alphabets:—Mr. Beal has published *Buddhist Records of the Western World*:—In Trübner's *Record* are many valuable notices of books, etc., either just out or shortly about to appear: as, for instance, Mr. Balfour of Shanghai, *Work on Tâoism*, some extracts of which have been read at a recent meeting of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society:—Dr. Legge "On the Chinese terms Ti and Shangti, as representing God," a letter to Max Müller:—an excellent *Missionary Map* published at New York, by the Rev. A. B. Simpson:—M. Bréal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, being a notice of Dr. Legge's *Religions of China*:—Occasional papers on *Chinese Philosophy*, by C. A. Alabaster:—a paper by Prof. Douglas (originally in the *Times*), showing the progress of Chinese Linguistic discovery, and referring, at considerable length, to the researches of M. La Couperie:—It is further stated that M. Janetot is engaged on a translation of the principal Chinese works relating to Tibet, the first part of which is called "*L'Epigraphie Chinoise au Tibet*";—In the *Annales de l'Extr. Orient* is a valuable comparison of Chinese and Japanese Laws:—M. Cordier has published the 4th fasc. of his first volume of the *Bibliotheca Sinica*, or *Dictionnaire Bibliographique*:—Dr. O. F. v. Möllendorff, an original Map

of the Hill Country to the N. and West of Peking:—together with “Routes in the Chinese Province Dshy-li and Environs of Tientsin.” We may add that Dr. Bushell having been so good as to lay before the Society, at one of their meetings, certain “rubblings,” it was thought advisable to send these to Prof. F. Max Müller, as the inscriptions were in Sanskrit with Chinese transliterations. Prof. Müller was so good as to submit them to Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio, a Japanese gentleman resident in Oxford, who has been able to show that three of the inscriptions contain the same text, that of the famous Ushnishavigaya-dhâranî. Two of these inscriptions are dated A.D. 1107 and 1147 respectively, the third, or undated one, containing an earlier transliteration of the same *dhâranî*. The texts of the two inscriptions—the dateless one, and that of A.D. 1107—are nearly the same. The fourth inscription, dated A.D. 1491, gives another *dhâranî*, together with a second in Chinese, but the *dhâranî* in these inscriptions is not known to Mr. Nanjio. It appears, further, that the last inscription was originally set up by a noble of the Kin Dynasty, but was removed so recently as A.D. 1819, to a place within the walls of the city of Hsü-keu, by its governor. Mr. Nanjio further adds, that there are, at least, ten different transliterations of this *dhâranî*, in the Chinese Tripitaka, preserved in the Library of the India Office, with dates ranging from A.D. 682 to about A.D. 1000. He gives, also, an introduction to the *Dhâranî* in I-tsing’s translation (No. 350 in the Chinese Tripitaka).

For Japan many very valuable papers, essays and books have been published during the last year, and there seems no probability that this comparatively new study among the Western Nations should not be carried out, with the same energy and spirit, as is observable in all other parts of the “Extreme East.” Scholars in Europe are awakening again, after a silence of nearly 200 years, to the value of the Japanese

Language and Institutions, as leading factors in the history of the Island populations lying to the East of China. Happily, Commerce and Learning may be said to meet here, hand in hand—the only wonder being that the vast treasures of native thought, so long and so carefully preserved in Japan, should not, long since, have found adequate Western interpreters. The time, however, has now come, and Japanese literature is beginning to make itself known in the West—not the least striking proof of this being, the valuable collection of Japanese Poetry, bestowed on this Society by one of its Members, Mr. Basil Hall Chamberlain, to which attention has already been called. Brevity, however, being of the utmost importance here, it is only possible to allude to the more important documents which show the progress of Japanese studies. Thus, at the Lyons Congress M. Harada read a paper, by M. Metchnikoff, “On the different characters of writing used in Japan”:—M. Semitani gave an account of a “*Prière à Amidu Bouddha*,” with a plate:—Mr. Ymaizoumi read a paper “*De la Religion Shintoïste*,” with a plate of a Shinto Temple, the details of which, however, fall more strictly under the head of Archæology:—and, also, “*Notice sur la Déesse Ben-Zaiten*”:—In the Musée Guimet are, also, papers by MM. Ymaizoumi, and Yamata, entitled “*Skidda—ou résumé historique de la transmission des quatre explications données sur la Sanskrit*,” translated from a MS. given to M. Guimet by an old priest:—Higachi-kan-Itchi gives “*Notes abrégées sur les reponses faites par MM. Simatchi, Atsoumi and Akamatsou, aux questions de M. Emile Guimet*”; and at the end of the volume is an account of the “*Cours de Japonais*” at Lyons founded by M. Guimet, and for which he has appointed three Professors, MM. Ymaizoumi, Tomü and Yamada, with two plates of the elementary portion of the Japanese Alphabet. The object of these studies is primarily commercial; but, already, there are several students who combine philological inquiries with more commercial pursuits.

There is in the Academy a very interesting notice of the scientific work done by the University of Tokio, as recounted by Prof. E. S. Morse:—two notices, Feb. 26 and March 5, by Mr. Monkhouse of Recent Works on Japan, as Miss Bird's Unbeaten Tracks in Japan; Sir E. J. Reed's Japan; B. H. Chamberlain's Classical Poetry of the Japanese; and T. W. Cutler's Grammar of Japanese ornament:—In the Athenæum are notices of Miss Bird's work; of Mr. W. Bramsen's valuable Japanese Chronological Tables; and of Prof. E. S. Morse, On the shell mounds of Omori, printed by the University of Tokio. This memoir is so far remarkable that the paper, printing and plates are all done by native Japanese—the compositors not being able to speak a single word of English. Some account is, also, given of the establishment at Tokio of a Geographical Society, the report of its first year showing that there are now 143 members, half a dozen of which are foreign residents. The number, and the amount of the donations to it, show the interest taken in it by the wealthy and influential classes. The Transactions consist of ten small pamphlets, of which four are devoted to Corea. The great event of the year was the Banquet given to Professor Nordenskiöld and Capt. Palander of the Vega. In the Asiatic Soc. of Japan, viii. 4, Dr. Edkins contributes a paper "On the Influence of Chinese Dialects on the Japanese Language":—In the Annales de l'Extrême Orient is a curious and interesting Report by Capt. Alphonse Dilham of the "Administration des Postes," with two plates, giving the stamps in use in Japan. Also the first and second Reports of the Central Sanitary Bureau—papers of much value, as showing the attention the Japanese are paying to a subject which has been much discussed in the West:—La Littérature des Japonais, conférence faite à l'école spéciale des Langues Orientales, par Léon de Rosny:—the Japanese government has, also, published a great Dictionary of Military and Naval terms in five languages, Japanese, French, English, German and Dutch—the first Dictionary compiled up to the present time

upon a European plan.—Among miscellaneous books may be mentioned, Mr. Chamberlain's Classical Poetry of the Japanese:—Dr. A. Pfizmaier, Die Japanischen Werke aus den Sammlungen der Häuser:—Die Reise zu dem Berge Fuzi:—Die Fremlandische Reiche zur dem Zeiten der Sui; and Die älterer Reisen nach Osten-Japan:—a handbook of English-Japanese Etymology by W. Imbrie:—The Japanese Fairy World by W. E. Griffis:—C. Metto, Memoirs of the Science Department of the University of Tokio, On mining and mines in Japan:—W. Bramsen, Japanese Chronological Tables, printed at Tokio, and two folio sheets, one of Japanese Weights, the other of Japanese Linear Measures:—of M. Heine's work (noticed in the last Report), and to consist of five divisions with ten Heliographs for each, the first only is out:—Japanese Pottery—a Native Report—carefully revised by A. W. Franks, F.R.S., has been issued as one of the South Kensington Handbooks.

For *Corea* Mr. McIntyre has given some notes on the Corean Language in the *China Review*, vol. viii. 4, and vol. ix. 1:—and the great Dictionary in Corean and French, by M. Dallet and other Missionaries, has been completed.

Central Asia.—M. Tomaschek, Professor in the University at Gratz, has published at Vienna in "*Central Asiatische Studien*," a valuable paper, No. 2, *Die Pamir Dialekte*:—Mr. H. H. Howorth has contributed papers to the *Indian Antiquary* on "*Chinghiz Khan and his Ancestors*," and to the *Journal of this Society*, Vol. XIII. 2, n.s., *The Northern Frontagers of China*, pt. v., the *Khitai* or *Khitans*:—but, the most important work of the year on these subjects is Colonel Biddulph's "*Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*," which affords a remarkable addition to existing knowledge, though as yet no European foot has been set in the secluded Alpine valleys of *Kaferistan*. Colonel Biddulph, in his appendices, supplies invaluable notices of the dialects spoken in that neighbour-

hood, all of them Aryan, of the most ancient type, before Sanskrit had been developed, and has since been dissolved into the existing vernaculars of Northern India. Colonel Biddulph approached Kaferistan by its Eastern frontiers from Gilgit and Yasim, on the edge of the territory of the Maharaja of Kashmir. Colonel Tanner, at the same time, tried to tap virgin soil from the south, starting from Jelalabad. Colonel Biddulph had exceptional opportunities, as he was, for six years, on both sides of the Eastern frontiers of the Hindu Koosh on ground never previously traversed by any European: in 1873, he crossed the Pamír, visiting, at that time, Sir-i-kol and Wakhán: in 1877, he visited Gilgit, Hunsa, and part of Yassin in Dardistán: in 1877, also, he was appointed to Gilgit in a political capacity: in 1878, he went to Yassin and Chitral, and hoped to be able to penetrate further; but the hope was checked by the breaking out of the Afghan War. Major Biddulph has added to his otherwise valuable book grammatical notes of not less than ten languages spoken in the country around the Hindu Kush, which is generally and conveniently called Dardistan; and, in so doing, he has added very materially to what we previously knew through the researches of Drew and Leitner.

The languages are, 1. Boorishki (Nagar Dialect), spoken in Hunza, Nagar, and Yassin.

2. Shina (Gilgit Dialect).

3. Chiliso, spoken in the Indus valley.

4. Torwálák, spoken in Torwál, in the Swat valley.

5. Bushkarik, spoken in the upper part of the Swat and Punjkorah valleys.

6. Gowro, spoken by the Gawárí in the Indus valley.

7. Narisati, spoken by the Gabbers in the Chitral valley.

8. Khowar, spoken by the Kho in the Chitral valley.

9. Bushgalí, spoken by a tribe of the Siah Posh Kafirs.

10. Yidghat, spoken in the upper part of the Lukkho valley and in Munjan.

The majority of these languages are certainly of the Aryan family, either Indic or Iranic, and connected with the Ghalchah language, which was brought under the notice of scholars by the late Mr. Shaw. The first on the list has, it is true, been supposed to belong to the Turki family: however, Mr. Biddulph doubts this, while admitting that it cannot be classed with any other of the Dard family.

At a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on April 11, Mr. R. N. Cust read a notice of Major Tanner's recent work among the Siah Posh Kafirs, which adds somewhat, though not very much, to our previous knowledge; but it is quite possible that we may eventually learn much more, as Colonel Tanner's linguistic collections have been all forwarded to Prof. Trumpp, at Munich, who furnished a paper on this subject to the Journ. Asiat. Soc. Vol. XIX. o.s. *Inter alia*, should be mentioned Capt. Gill's River of Golden Sand, the narrative of a journey through China and Eastern Tibet to Burmah, with an introduction by Colonel Yule; and a Grammar of the Bashgali Kafirs, recently published by Dr. Leitner.

Semitic Literature.—Hebrew and Chaldee.—There has been no falling off in the number of essays, papers, and books during the last year—on the contrary, in the branch of Rabbinical learning there has been a considerable increase. Among the more important papers of the last year may be cited: a monograph by Dr. Rosin on Samuel ben Meir, the grandson of Rashi, in the Programm of the Rabbinical School of Breslau;—an article by M. Loeb (in the Revue des Etudes Juives) on the identification with the town of Orange of the city of Ezob (Hyssop), mentioned by the French Rabbis of the Middle Ages;—a paper by Dr. Gross in Franckel-Grätz's Monatschrift, on the history of the Jews at Arles;—by M. Clement-Janin, on the Jews of Dijon, and on those of Avignon by M. de Maulde, both in the Bull. Hist. et Archéol. de Vaucluse, the latter subject being also treated by M. Bardinet.

in the *Revue Historique*;—Dr. Steinschneider has contributed to the *Mazkir* a learned notice of Abraham ben Solomon, an unknown commentator on the Bible (whose commentary has been recently acquired by the Bodleian Library), and to the *Antologia Israelitica* a notice of the Rabbis of Candia;—Herr Lerner has given to the *Magazin für Judische Geschichte u. Literatur* an important article, which is still in progress, on the origin and arrangement of the Midrash Rabbah;—and M. Benedetti, of Pisa, has published in the *Atti d. IV. Congr. d. Orient.* a popular article on the present state of Talmudical studies.—Dr. Steinschneider has also given in the supplement to the *Zeitschrift für Mathematik u. Physik*, a memoir on the knowledge of mathematics among the Jews of the Middle Ages, under the title of Abraham ibn Ezra (Abraham Judæus Avenare); the Abbate Lerreau has contributed to the *Atti d. IV. Congr. Flor.* a description of a medical treatise, still in MS. by Nathan Falaquera. In the *Göttingen Abhandlungen*, Prof. De La Garde has printed an instructive paper on Lexicography, entitled “*Erklärungen Hebräischer Wörter*,” and Dr. Grünwald has given an article on the Massorah in the *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie*. In the *D. Morg. Gesellsch.* xxxiv. is a review by M. Kautsch of Messrs. Baer and Strack’s edition of Ben Asher’s Massoretical Treatise entitled the *Dikdooky ha Teamin*; and, in the same number, by J. Goldziher, of Dr. A. Berliner’s *Beiträge zur Hebraischen Grammatik im Talmud u. Midrasch*. M. Clermont-Ganneau has given in the *Rev. Critique* a review of “*Les Portes dans l’enceinte du Temple d’ Herode*,” by M. Isidore Loeb.

Among books published, may be noted, that Prof. Bernardino Peyron has completed a catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. preserved in the University Library at Turin, containing 2176 articles, its method being nearly the same as that of the Catalogue of Oriental MSS. which has been brought out under the auspices of the Italian Government. There are careful

Indices to the volume. Prof. Ascoli has published separately his memoir in the Trans. of the Florence Congress of Orientalists, entitled *Inscrizione inediti Greche Latine Ebraiche*, etc. In this work, after noticing several of the oldest-known epitaphs and giving a history of the settlement of the Jews in the provinces of Naples from the fourth to the tenth centuries, Prof. Ascoli adds the texts of the inscriptions found at Venosa, Brindisi, Trani, etc. At Venosa, the earliest inscriptions are in Greek and Hebrew, and nearly always accompanied by the emblem of the candelabra and the word *Shalom*. The earliest actual date is A.D. 810, but there can be no doubt that some of those from Venosa are much older. Mr. M. Joel has printed an interesting monograph with the title "*Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte zu Anfangs des zweiten Christlichen Jahrhunderts*," being an essay on the Talmud and the Greek Language, with two Excursuses on Aristobulus, the so-called Peripatetic, and on Gnosticism compared with passages in the Talmudic writings. M. Benedetti of Pisa has printed "*Vita e morte di Mosè leggenda Ebraiche, tradotte, illustrate e comparate*," a Midrash of great importance for comparative study of the apocryphal book known as the "*Assumptio Mosis*." Prof. Benedetti, in his copious notes, draws attention to many interesting facts in the two legends, and illustrates several of them by parallel passages in the Talmud and the Midrashim. M. Benedetti's work has been reviewed and warmly praised in the *Revue Critique*.

Herr Salomon Buber has published an interesting part of Midrashite literature, viz. The Midrash Legah Tob on Genesis and Exodus by R. Tobiah ben Eliezer, written in the twelfth century. M. Buber is, also, now following up a similar study by preparing a critical edition of the "*Midrash Tanhuma*." Herr Friedmann of Vienna has, also, issued a critical edition of the *Pesiqtha Rabbathi*, or the great *Pesiqtha*, another Midrashite book. "*The Thousand and One Extracts from the Talmud, the Midrashim and the Kabbalah*" (contained in Mr. P. J.

Hershon's Talmudic Miscellany) has been translated by the Rev. Canon Farrar and published as one of the Nos. of Trübner's Oriental Series. The Abbate Pietro Perreau has brought out an edition of Immanuel ben Solomon's commentary on the Psalms, based on the MS. at Parma:—The Rabbi David Kahna, at Odessa, has given a monograph with the title of "Or Hadash" (New Light), containing comments on some Psalms:—Dr. Zuckermendel has completed his critical edition of the Tosiftha:—Dr. Rabbinowicz continues his translation into French of the Babylonian Talmud, one of his volumes containing a very interesting notice of the early Jewish notions on the subject of medicine:—Dr. Wünsche, the 9th part of whose Biblioth. Rabbinica is out, perseveres in his task of translating parts of the Talmud and Midrashim into German, his last work being the Agadic passages of the Talmud of Jerusalem, the Midrash on Ecclesiastes and the Canticles, and the beginning of the "Midrash and Rabboth" on Genesis:—Dr. Kohut has finished the second part of his critical edition of R. Nathan's Aruch:—Dr. Hamburger's "Real-Encyclopädie" of the Talmud has reached its sixth fasciculus; but only one part (the 12th) has been added to Dr. Levy's Dictionary for the Talmud and Midrash during the last year, the present part not quite finishing the letter **ה**:—The posthumous work of Dr. Ferd. Weber, "System d. Alt-Synagogalen Palästsinische Theologie aus Targum, Midrasch u. Talmud," is a very useful compilation; Herr Lippe's biographical and bibliographical dictionary of living Jewish authors, Rabbis, etc., is now finished:—M. Landauer has taken up the cause of Mediæval Jewish Philosophy, and has edited the Arabic text of Saadyah Gaon's work "On the Creeds and Opinions," from an unique MS. in the Bodleian and a fragment recently acquired by the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg:—Herr Sinkowitz's monograph, "Der Positivimus im Mosaismus erläutert, etc.," is a clever compilation by a young writer;—while Dr. Gude-

mann's "Geschichte d. Erziehungs wesens u. d. Cultur d. Juden in Frankreich u. Deutschland" (tenth to the fourteenth century) is of great value, not only for the history of civilization among the Jews in the Middle Ages, but also for the general history of the times, and even for Romance and Germanic Philology. Signor B. Peryon has catalogued the Hebrew MSS. in the Library at Turin; Dr. A. Lattes the MSS. preserved at the Marciana and in the Jewish School at Venice (in the *Antologia Israelitica*), as well as of those in the Ambrosiana at Milan:—R. Ben Jacob's bibliographical work "Otzar-has-Sefarim" is now completed, though Dr. Steinschneider's corrections and additions will, probably, necessitate another volume:—Prof. David Castelli has just printed the commentary of Shabbethai Donnolo on the "Book of Creation" for the Istituto d. Studij Superiori di Firenze, with an elaborate preface, containing chapters on the history of the Kabbalah, on the "Book of Creation" in particular, and on Donnolo's Commentary:—The Rev. P. B. Mason has printed a "Rabbinic Reading-Book," with two texts and copious notes:—The Rev. E. Johnson has published vol. i. of Ewald's famous Commentary on the Psalms, a work of the highest interest and value:—another work of much importance is a posthumous work of the late Prof. Luzzato entitled "Yesode Hattorah," a treatise in Hebrew on the leading principles of Judaism. The author speaks of this little book (only sixty-eight pages) as "the choicest fruit of his labours."—The Rev. J. M. Rodwell's translation of the Book of Job has reached a third edition—a reasonable proof of its excellence, at least, philologically:—the second vol. of Mr. Heilprin's "Historical Poetry of the Ancient Hebrews" has been published, and deals with the prophecies of Micah, Amos, and Hosea, etc., the inscription of Mesha and the Song of Songs: this work well exhibits the common results at which the more extreme Biblical critics have arrived:—Profs. Baer and Delitsch, whose small editions of Genesis, Isaiah, the

Minor Prophets, Job and the Psalms, have been much appreciated, have published the Book of Proverbs, in a revised Masoretic text:—Dr. J. Bengel has issued a very curious treatise entitled “*Studien über d. Natur-wissenschaftliche Kenntnisse der Talmudister*,” in which the scientific views expressed by different Talmudic authorities are carefully examined under the light of modern science. A Hebrew translation of Lady Montefiore’s Diary, by Rabbi Eliezer Saul, has been printed; and Mr. H. J. Matthews, of Exeter Coll., Oxford, has been engaged on R. Joseph Kimhi’s “*Sephar-hag-Galuy*” (the Open Book), which was long believed to have been lost, but has been recently found by Dr. Neubauer in a Hebrew MS. in the Vatican: it is a grammatical work, including some exegetical and controversial remarks. Dr. Ginsburg’s great work, his edition of the Massora, is now complete in three, instead of the expected four, volumes. Only 287 copies have been struck off, of which considerably more than half have been sold at the cost of £10 per volume (now raised to £15). As a matter of printing, the work reflects the greatest credit on the Austrian press, and it may be doubted if any printing in the West of Europe could have equalled it in excellence. Twenty and more years have been spent on the work, and so great a labour on the Text of the Hebrew Bible deserves some distinct recognition.

Among other books, possibly out, may be noted a Chaldee Grammar, by Dr. Landauer:—an edition by Mr. Driver of the Book of Psalms by Abraham ben Ezra, recently acquired by the Bodleian Library:—a translation by Dr. Legge of the Y-King:—a memoir, by Prof. Chwolson, on the newly-discovered Hebrew Epitaphs in the Crimea:—and a monograph by Dr. Neubauer on the “Lost Tribes,” derived from mediæval documents: it may be added that M. Derenbourg’s Hebrew Text of Kalilah wa Dimna is now far advanced and will appear, with a French translation, in fasciculi, published by the Ecole d. Hautes Etudes—an additional fasciculus

providing the literature of the translations of the Kalilah:—The forthcoming Programm of the Rabbinical School of Buda-Pesth will contain the Hebrew translation of Al-Bathlayusi's Philosophical Treatise (in Arabic) entitled "The Figurative Circle," edited by Dr. Kaufmann: in this, an account will be given of Al-Bathlayusi's theories on the Jewish Philosophy of Religion in the Middle Ages. The principal works at present bearing on the History and Literature of the Jews are, Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Paläst. Vereins—Monatsschrift f. Gesch. u. Wissensch. d. Judenthums—Jewish Chronicle—The "Hebrew Review" issued in America by Prof. Liliensthal—Jahresbricht d. Rabb. Schule zu Buda-Pesth—Jahrbücher für Jud. Gesch. u. Literature—Jahresbreicht des Jud. Theol. Seminars zu Breslau—Berliner u. Hoffmann's Magazin für die Wissenschaft d. Judenthums—and the Revue des Etudes Juives—the latest, if not the best of this class of literature. In the first number of it will be found papers by MM. J. Derenbourg, Loeb, Cohen, etc., and one of great interest, by M. Halevy, entitled "Cyrus et retour de l'Exil."

Arabic.—Many excellent papers and books have been published during the last year on matters appertaining to the Arabic Literature and Language, of which the following may be noted here:—

Thus, Dr. Harkavy, of the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg, has discovered among the new collection of MSS. in that Library, the greater part of R. Saadyat Gaon's Arabic Commentary on Isaiah, his Arabic translation of Isaiah, of which M. La Garde is preparing a new edition, having been the only work of his previously known:—M. de Goeje has published in Dutch, a valuable pamphlet, giving an account of the Slavs about A.D. 965, according to Al-Bekri, who lived in the second half of the eleventh century A.D. It is stated that the Arabic text *in extenso*, as well as the Russian and a German translation, will shortly appear at St. Petersburg:—Prof.

A. F. Mehren has also printed in Danish, a pamphlet relating to the history of mediæval philosophy, containing letters which passed between Ibn Sabin and Frederic II. Hohenstaufen of Sicily: this paper has appeared before in the Transactions of different Societies:—In the *Revue Critique* is an excellent paper by M. René Basset, entitled “*La Poesie Arabe Ante-Islamique, leçon d’ouverture, à l’école supérieure des Lettres d’Alger*:—an admirable work by Prof. E. H. Palmer, entitled *Haroun Al Raschid, Caliph of Baghdad* (published in the “*New Plutarch Series*”), in which Mr. Palmer has shown a remarkable talent for rendering Eastern wit and humour:—Mr. Rehatsek has given in *J. Bomb. Asiat. Soc.*, two papers of considerable interest, the one “*On the Arabic Alphabet and early writings*” (with a plate); the other, “*On some old arms and instruments of war*”:—M. Prætorius has printed in the *D. M. G.* xxxiv. a paper “*Ueber die Arabischen Dialect von Zanzibar,*” which is important as showing its resemblance to the Mograb, Egyptian, and Syrian Arabic:—and, in the same journal, M. de Goeje prints a letter entitled “*الشيعة oder الشيعي*,” with reference to Mr. Lane’s Dictionary:—In the same journal and volume, are other papers of varied interest, as those by A. Müller, *Arabische quellen zur geschichte d. Indisch. Medizin*:—Dr. Backer’s *Karl d. Grosse, und seine Tochter, Emma, im Tausend u. eine Nacht*:—O. Loth, *Zwei Arabische Papyrus*, with two plates, admirably executed:—and a review by M. Gutschmidt, entitled “*Bemerkungen zu Tabari’s Sassaniden-geschichte*:—In the *Academy* of September 18, is an admirable review by S. L. Poole, of the last publication of the “*Oriental Translation Fund*,” the translation of *Al-Biruni’s Athir-ul-Bakya*, or “*Vestiges of the Past*,” by Prof. Sachau, in which the reviewer rightly shows that *Albiruni’s* work is a “*primary source*,” and can never be superseded, the writer being, as Prof. Sachau has well described him to be, “*a phenomenon in the history of Eastern Literature and Learn-*

ing":—In the Journ. Asiatique for Oct. Nov. Dec. is a good review by M. de Goeje of the valuable work by MM. Goergens and Rohricht, entitled *Arabische quellen beiträge zur geschichte d. Kreuz-zuge*," of which the first part or volume is published:—Dr. G. P. Badger has devoted two articles of considerable length in the Academy of December to a review of Prof. E. H. Palmer's Translation of the Koran for Prof. Max Müller's "Sacred Books of the East," in which, while giving general praise to the execution of this work, he finds fault with the Professor's system of transliterating Arabic words, which he calls "cumbersome, unwieldy and *bizarre*."

Among miscellaneous books recently published may be noted Spitta Bey, *Gramm. d. Arab. Vulgär Dialectes v. Ägypten*:—Landauer, S., *Sáadji ben Jusuf al Faijjumi, Kitáb al Amanat wa'l Itigadat*:—M. Dozy has, also, completed the 8th fasciculus of his work "*Supplement aux Dictionnaires Arabes*," and the work is, we believe, complete, but lacks what we hope it may yet have, a general Index:—M. Gautier has published the *Grammaire Arabe* of Caspari, with a translation from the 4th edition of that work, and notes by the late M. Uricoechea:—the fifth part (being portions of vols. i. ii. iii. iv.) of the *Annales At-Tabari* has appeared:—M. Jahn has finished the 5th part of Ibn Jais's *Commentar zu Zamachshari's Mufassil*:—M. Gasselin is proceeding (though slowly) with his "*Dictionnaire-Français Arabe*:"—M. Wustenfeld has published "*Das Heerwesen d. Muhammedaner n. d. Arabische Uebersetzung d. Taktik d. Ælianus*" and a history of the Fatimite Khalifs from Arabic sources:—and M. de Jong, *Moschtibih of Dhahabi* (begun in 1864, and now complete), (a collection of Arabic relative names, something like our family names):—The Rev. Dr. Badger's *English-Arabic Lexicon* has been, at length, published, and supplies a want which has been long felt; its cost, however, will, we fear, render it inaccessible to the majority of scholars:—Vol. vii. pt. 1, of Mr. E. W.

Lane's Arabic Dictionary, edited by S. L. Poole, has been published:—The Comte de Rochaid Durdah has issued "Mélanges, Litterature Arabe et Française":—and M. Hartmann, Arabische Sprachführer:—M. Wahrmund has printed "Lesebuch in Neu-Arabischer Sprache zum praktischer Handbuch d. Neu-Arabischen Sprache," in Arabic and German:—Other books are, Göschl, L., Kurze Grammatik d. Arabischen sprache mit einer Chrestomathie u. Worter verzeichniss, second ed.:—Dr. Pertsch has also continued his valuable Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Library of the Grand-Duke of Gotha; in vol. ii. pt. 2, pp. 241–496, divided into six sections:—M. Fleischer has issued the seventh instalment of his Beiträge zur Arabischen Sprachkunde, which has been reprinted from the Transactions of the Royal Saxon Society of Sciences, 1880: the present part carries the commentary on De Sacy's Grammaire Arabe down to p. 127 of vol. ii. (second edit.):—Dr. Houtsma's edition of Anbari's Kitaba'l-Adhdad sive Liber de vocabulis Arabicis quæ plures habent significationes inter se oppositas, is a valuable contribution to Lexicography:—M. Goergens, of Berne, has begun his important contributions for the history of the Crusades from Arabic sources (noticed as in preparation in last year's Report):—Prof. Al-Châlidi, of the Oriental Academy of Vienna, has edited Lebîd's "Diwan":—Sign. Almerico da Schio has described two Astrolabes bearing Cufic characters in the Atti d. IV. Congr.:—In the Sitzungsberichte of the Academy of Munich is a grammatical article by Prof. Trumpp, "Ueber den Arabischen Satzbau nach der Anschauung der Arabischen Grammatiker":—M. Sauvaire has printed in the Journal of this Society, Vol. XII., a second paper on a Treatise of Weights and Measures by Eliyá, Archbishop of Nisibín:—The few MSS. preserved at Naples have been published by Sign. Buonazia, in the second part of the "Cataloghi dei Codici Orientali di alcune Biblioteche d'Italia":—M. Huart gives a Catalogue of Oriental pro-

ductions at Beirut, in his "Catalogue de l'Imprimerie Catholique des P.P. Missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus en Syrie," together with the Catalogue and price list of publications of the American Mission Press at Beirut:—Messrs. Trübner have, also, given in the December number of their Record a useful list of the books (25) recently printed at Cairo. Sir. W. Muir has printed his Rede Lecture on "The Early Caliphate and Rise of Islam," and Mr. W. A. Clouston a very useful collection of Arabic Poetry for English readers.

Syriac.—M. de Lagarde has continued his valuable labours, and has brought out an edition of Bar Hebræus's Scholia to the Psalms, together with Nisibin's Arabic-Syriac Glossary. The latter work is taken from a MS. in the India Office.—In the joint edition of Syrisch-Romisch Rechtsbuch (noticed last year), by Profs. Bruns and Sachau, Prof. Bruns points out that this Law Book was known in the East during the Middle Ages under the titles of "Statuta Imperatorum," "Libri Basilicon," "Leges Constantini Theodosii et Leonis," a fact which was apparently not known to Dr. Land, when, in 1858, he edited this book in the first vol. of his "Anecdota Syriaca."—Dr. E. Nestle has published "Brevis Linguae Syriacæ grammatica, etc.," and Prof. Noldeke, "Kurzgefasste Syrische grammatik"; the first of which forms the fifth part of Petermann's "Porta Linguarum Orientalium," whereas Prof. Noldeke's Grammar is intended for advanced students. An admirable table of the various alphabets used in Syriac MSS., compared with the Hebrew, Phœnician, and Aramaic, has been drawn up by Prof. Euting, of Strassburg, and is appended to the volume.—MM. Prym and Socin have published *Der Neu-Aramäische Dialect d. Tûr-'Abdîn*, 2. Theile.

Æthiopic and Himyaritic.—Not much has been done in this department since last year, but M. Cornill has given an article

in the D. Morg. Ges. xxxiv. 1, entitled "Die Mönche Maximus und Dûmâtêwôs;" Dr. Trumpp, one called *Kritische bemerkungen zum "Sapiens Sapientum"* in Dillmann's *Chrestomathia Æthiopica*," *ibid.* xxxiv. 2; and "Zum Briefbuch," *ibid.* The same scholar has also published an article written by him originally in the *Abh. d. Munchen Akad.* with the title "Der Kampf Adam's (gegen die versuchungen des Satans) oder d. Christliches Adam-buch des Morgenlandes, Æthiopischer Text, verglichen mit d. Arabisch Original Text." Prof. Dillmann has also printed a paper "Zur Geschichte d. Axumitischen Reiche im 4 bis 6 Jahrh."

Samaritan.—Father Bollig, one of the Librarians of the Vatican Library, is engaged on an edition of Samaritan prayers and hymns contained in a MS. preserved in that Library. It is believed that this MS. is the oldest and most complete to be found in any European library.

Assyrian.—The study of Cuneiform writing, and of the varied history to be obtained from it, has not been relaxed during the last year, even though, perhaps, no great new work has been accomplished. The number of workers has however rapidly increased, while new materials do not cease to accumulate. In vol. vii. part 1 (the last published), of *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archæol.* are four papers of interest and value. 1. On the excavations and discoveries by Hormuzd Rassam (with four plates), in which he gives a sketch of his recent work from Nov. 1877, the most important being the finding of the bronze-covered gates at Balawat, fifteen miles from Nimrud. The plates—of the Mound of Koyunjik—of the plan of the North Palace at ditto—of the Mound and Excavations at Balawat—and of the plan of a Temple of Assur-Nazir-Pal to the North of the N. W. Palace at Nimrud—are very interesting. 2. By E. A. Budge, Assyrian Scholar, Christ's Coll., Cambridge, On a newly-discovered Text of Assur-

natsir-pal. 3. By Th. G. Pinches, On the bronze-covered gates above alluded to (with one plate), showing that the structures to which they must once have been attached, as plates, must have been two enormous rectangular folding doors, each about 22 ft. high, by 6 ft. broad, constructed evidently to turn on pivots. The reliefs on these bronze plates describe the battles, etc., of Shalmanezzer II. B.C. 859-825. 4. By Th. G. Pinches, "On a Cuneiform Tablet relating to the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, and the events that preceded and led to it"; a paper supplementary to that read before this Society by Sir H. C. Rawlinson last year, and published in the *Journ. R.A.S.* Vol. XII. p. 70. This paper gives the text as well as the translation. In it, at p. 152, is a wood-cut of a very curious plan of the city of Babylon, from a tablet in the British Museum. Mr. Pinches is of opinion that Josephus is right in supposing Nabonidus and Daniel's Belshazzar to be one and the same personage. From the Proceedings of the same Society it would appear that the following papers have been communicated to or read before them:—

1. By the Rev. J. N. Strassmaier, On a Contract Tablet of the 17th year of Nabonidus—preserved in the Louvre.

2. By the Rev. A. H. Sayce, On the Bilingual Hittite and Cuneiform Inscription of Tarkondêmos (with a plate).

3. By Thomas Tyler, Esq., On the Inscription of Tarkutimme and the Monuments from Jerablus in the British Museum.

4. By Th. G. Pinches, Esq., Notes on a New List of Babylonian Kings B.C. 1200 to B.C. 2000.

5. A continuation of the same paper.

6. By Prof. Lauth, Remarks on the name Sisku.

In the *Journ. Asiat.* xv., M. Guyard gives a paper *Sur les Inscriptions de Vau*; and *Notes de Lexicographie Assyrienne*, 4^e article; and Oppert, J., *Les Tablettes juridiques de Babylone*.—In the *Revue Critique* is a long and able re-

view by M. Darmesteter of M. Oppert's "*Le Peuple et langue des Medes*," with a very clear statement of the case.—M. Guyard reviews at great length "*Les Documents Religieux de l'Assyrie et de la Babylonie*," by M. Halevy, who holds the strange opinion that the so-called Sumerian or Accadian language is "un simple allographie hiératique de l'Assyrien."—In the *Athenæum* for July 3, Sir H. Rawlinson gives an account of a perfectly preserved cylinder of Antiochus the Great (in sixty lines), and, while pointing out that the existence of this document shows that official records of the same type as the early cylinders of Nineveh and Chaldæa were deposited in the Temples of Babylon long after the date of the Babylonian Conquest, throws out the pregnant suggestion, that it is by no means improbable that we may, sooner or later, discover contemporary accounts of the campaigns of Alexander and his successors, and even that these may be brought to light by the excavations in the mounds of Amran Janjumeih.—In the same *Journal* (Nov. 16), is a long and interesting account of M. Halevy's article "*Sur Cyrus et le retour de l'Exil*" (printed, as already stated, in the *Revue des Etudes Juives*).—In the *Revue Egypt.* are three papers of value, the one entitled "*Sur l'intervention des Enfants dans les Actes chez les Assyriens*," secondly, "*Sur le divorce Assyrien*," and thirdly, "*Sur le regime Matrimoniale chez les Assyriens*."—In the Acts of the Lyons Congress, is a paper by M. L'Abbé Guinaud "*Sur l'assimilation de la veritable langue Sémitique avec la langue Accadienne*"; and, in those of the Florence Congress, a notice by M. Oppert, "*Sur quelques Textes Assyriens*."—In the *D. M. G.* xxxiv., Dr. P. Haupt has reviewed M. Hommel's paper entitled "*Zwei Jagd-Inschriften Assurbanipals*"; and, in the Academy, March 5, Mr. Cheyne has reviewed Mr. Sayce's edition of George Smith's work, while Mr. Sayce has himself given a favourable account of Mr. Budge's "*Assyrian Texts*."—In the same *Journal*, too, Aug. 14, the same scholar has given an interesting notice on

the subject of "Babylonian Geometry," derived from a Tablet in the British Museum.

The following books may be noticed as bearing more or less directly on Cuneiform studies:—Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria, vol. v. pt. 1:—J. Menant, *Decouvertes Assyriennes*, La Bibliothèque du Palais de Ninive (Bibl. Orient. Elzev.) Lenormant, F., *Etudes Cuneiformes*, v^e fasc.:—Ditto, *Etudes Accadiennes*, tom. iii. 2^e livr.:—Schäfer, A., *Die Biblische Chronologie von Auszuge aus Ægyter bis zum beginne d. Babylon. Exil m. berücksichtigt d. Resultate d. Ægyptologie u. Assyriologie*:—Budge, E. A., *The History of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria, B.C. 681–668*:—Hommel, Dr., *Abriss d. Babylon-Assyrisch. u. Israel. Geschichte v. d. ältest. Zeit. bis zur Zerstörung Babels in Tabellen-form*:—Hörning, R., *Das Sech-seitige Prisma des Sanherib in transcribirten Grund-text u. übersetzung*:—Lotz, *Die Inschriften Tiglath-Pileser mit transcrib. Assyr. Grund-text mit übersetzung u. Kommentar*:—Smith, G., *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, edited by Prof. Sayce:—Oppert, J., *L'Ambre Jaune chez les Assyriens*:—Schrader, E., *Assyrisches Syllabar für d. gebrauch in seinem Vorlesungen*:—Do., *Zur Kritik d. Inschriften Tiglath-Pileser's II. des Esarhaddon u. des Asurbanipal*:—Floigl, V., *Cyrus u. Herodot*—Nach d. neu gefundem Keil-Inschriften:—Pognon, H., *Inscription de Bavian*, 2^{de} part (*Ecole d. h. Etudes*, No. 42):—Menant, J., *Une nouvelle Inscription d'Hammourabi Roi de Babylone*:—Haupt, P., *Ueber einen dialekt de Sumerische Sprache*.

It should be added that, during the last year, the Collections at the Museum have been largely enriched by Assyrian and Babylonian remains—among which one of the most curious is the cylinder of Uruk, figured by Sir R. K. Porter in his *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 79, which had long been supposed to have been hopelessly lost. It has been presented to the Museum by Mr. Cobham of Larnaka. Besides this may be mentioned a collection of Babylonian terra-cotta tablets, containing legends

of the Creation, others with the names of monarchs mentioned in the Canon of Ptolemy, three cylinders of Sennacherib, and an Assyrian bronze helmet; a collection of Inscriptions, with two shields and other objects in bronze from Van, of the date, probably, of about B.C. 700, and a collection of terra-cotta cylinders from Baghdad.

Miscellaneous Semitic.—Under this head may be noticed M. Lenormant's "Les Origines de l'histoire d'après la Bible et les traditions des peuples Orientaux: De la Creation de l'homme au Deluge," in which he compares the story of the first twelve chapters of Genesis with the traditions more or less recently found among other peoples beside the Jews; but the comparison is more ingenious than convincing. M. Lenormant has also printed in "Atti del. IV. Congresso Internaz. d. Orientalisti," "Il Mito de Adone Tammuz," which is nearly the same paper as his previous one "Le Mythe de Tammouz." Dr. Hommel, also, gives in the same "Atti" a French translation of his article on the early home of the Semites. M. Siouffi's "Etudes sur la Religion des Soubbas ou Sabéens, leurs dogmes, leurs mœurs," has this interest that he had the chance of being in communication with a real Sabæan, the son of a priest, and was thus able to obtain a native account of the habits, traditions, and creed of the Sabæan people. Dr. Lippert has published an interesting essay entitled "Der Seelen-cult in seinem beziehungen zur Alt-Hebräischen Religion," in which he treats first of the *cultus* of the Soul among all nations, generally, and secondly, among the Jews.

M. James Darmesteter has given to the Mem. de la Soc. de Linguistique a curious paper on Comparative Mythology, with the title "Cabires Bené Elohim et Dioscures." His conclusions are: 1. "Les Kabires ont été assimilés aux Dioscures parce qu'il s'appelaient les fils de Dieu"; 2. "La Bible connaît les Cabires (les Bené Elohim de Gen. vi. 2)"; 3. "Le Conte Grec du Massacre de Lemnos est une forme secondaire

d'un Mythe Phénicien appartenant au cycle d'Adonis." We learn from a letter written by M. Sayce from Jerusalem that M. Shapira has recently returned from a second journey to Yemen, in the course of which he has obtained about 120 Hebrew MSS., some of great value. One of these is stated to have been written in A.D. 945.

Phœnician.—We have an interesting account in the *Revue Critique* of the details of the Cup with the name of Hiram, restored by Clermont-Ganneau; and, in the same journal, a review by M. Decharme of M. Clermont-Ganneau's Theory of the Connexion of Phœnicia and Greece, with which he is not much inclined to agree. Mr. Sayce has also dealt with this matter in an able article in the *Academy*:—In the *Acad. d. Inscriptions*, is a notice by M. Renan of three Punic Inscriptions sent from Carthage by M. Guiénot, showing that they belong to the class of "*Ex votos*" to Rabat Tanith and Baal Hammon, of which nearly 2000 are now known, their chief value being the proper names that occur on them. M. Moisé Schwab has, also, published a new Inscription dedicated to the chief God of Carthage, Baal Hammon. From the *Athenæum* we learn that Mr. Cobham of Larnaca has discovered a Phœnician Inscription dedicated to Estmun by Sirdal, grandson of Reshiathon, B.C. 350, as determined most satisfactorily by Dr. W. Wright, of Cambridge, *Sec. Proc. Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, Jan. 11, p. 49; and, more recently, that another has been met with dated in the reign of Pumiathon, B.C. 320:—In the Report of the Florence Congress, p. 215, M. Renan has given an account of a "*Graffito d'Abydos*," procured by M. Mariette:—and in the *D. M. G.* xxxiv. 4, M. Schröder has given a paper, entitled *Phönikische Miscellen*," containing, 1. Eine inedirte Inschrift aus Kition; 2. Drei fragmente aus Kition; 3. Drei Siegelsteine mit Phœnikischen aufschriften—all represented on one folding plate:—In the *Journal Asiatique*, M. Renan has called

attention, in his Annual Report, to the work done by M. Cahen, Chief Rabbi of Algiers, in the explanation of the Neo-Punic Inscriptions found at Al-Hofra, near Constantine, which have been printed in the *Recueil des Notices de la Soc. Archéol. de Constantine*. M. Renan has also permitted the editors of the *Révue Archéologique* to publish two inscriptions found in July, 1879, at Larnaka, during improvements by the English to the ancient port of Citium (*Revue Archéol.*, Jan. 1881, p. 28). The originals are in the British Museum, but are not very legible. The peculiarity of the writing is that it is cursive, and traced in ink on two tablets of marble. The whole form portions of the accounts of a temple. No single line is perfect, and some are gone altogether.

Egyptology.—The work of the present year does not seem to be inferior in quantity to what we have had to record on previous occasions, and the different Societies which have devoted themselves more or less to Egyptian matters have given to the world a large number of valuable essays and papers. Among these may be quoted—The *Transact. of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. vii. pt. i., in which M. Maspero has printed an elaborate article on Egyptian Documents relating to the Statues of the Dead, mainly derived from the great inscription at Beni Hassan, and various tombs; to which M. Naville has added “*Le Decrit de Phtah Totumen en faveur de Ramses II. et Ramses III.*,” as found on the famous stèle at Abu-Simbel, being the first complete translation of the whole text, portions only having been hitherto published by MM. Champollion, Lepsius, Reinisch, De Rougé, Dumichen and Brugsch. In the proceedings of this Society are, also, notices of papers read at different meetings, by Prof. Kminek-Szedlo, “On the papyrus of Bek-en-Amen, preserved in the Municipal Museum at Bologna”; by M. E. Lefébure, “The Book of Hades, being a translation of the Egyptian text engraved on the Belzoni Sarkophagus in the Soane Museum”;

by Dr. Birch, "On an Egyptian Tablet of the British Museum," on "Two Architects of the XIXth Dynasty"; while M. Ernest de Bunsen gives a paper, "On the Times of Israel's Servitude and Sojourning in Egypt," and, also, one entitled, "On the date of Menes and the date of Buddha": Prof. Eisenlohr adds a paper "On an Egyptian Historical Monument."

In the Athenæum are notices, of a Russian translation of Brugsch Bey's *Gesch. Aegypt. unter d. Pharaonen*:—an interesting paper by A. S. Butler, Esq., On the Pharos as the type of the earliest minaret:—an excellent review of A. Mariette's *Catalogue générale des monuments d'Abydos*:—and, a sketch of M. Adolf Erman's *Neue Aegyptische Grammatik*. In the Academy are reviews, by Miss Edwards, of M. Mariette's *Catalogue générale*, etc.;—of the Vic. de Rougé's "Inscriptions et notices recueillies à Edfoo;"—of M. Revillout's *Roman de Setna*;—of two papers by M. Maspero, 1. *Fragments d'un Comment. sur le second livre d'Herodote*, 2. *Romans et poesies du Papyrus Harris*;—of Murray's *Handbook for Egypt*;—and of Pierret's *Essai sur la mythologie Egyptienne*. To the same lady we owe a valuable paper "On the latest excavations and the discovery of a new Pyramid."—In the same Journal are notices of Dr. Victor Floigl, "Die Chronologie d. Bibel, des Manetho, und Beros," an ingenious attempt to harmonize these varying Chronologies: and a letter from H. G. Tomkins, "On Jarza," with an attempt to identify this place, in which, however, he does not agree with M. Mariette:—In *Revue Critique* are notices by G. Maspero of M. Krall's "Die Composition u. d. Schicksale d. Manethonischen geschichtswerkes":—by the same, of Dumichen's *Gesch. d. Alten Aegyptens*, and a notice of Erman's *Grammaire*.—Before the *Académie d. Inscriptions*, M. Henzey has read a capital paper, On a vase covered with Hieroglyphs, and M. Revillout, some portions of an essay "Sur un Papyrus Démotique de la Bibliothèque Nationale," with a curious account of the Papyrus No. 384 in the Library at Leyden.

During the past year the reports of various Oriental Congresses have been published, as those of Florence, Lyons, St. Etienne, etc., and, though some of the papers read at them were noticed, at the time, in the previous Reports of this Society, it is worth while, for convenience of reference, to give here the complete list of what is now available for the students of "*Res Egyptiacæ*."—Thus, in the Report of the Florence Congress, are Papers by M. Lieblein, *Sur la ville de Tyr*, the first idea of which was published many years ago by Dr. Birch, *Select Papyri of Brit. Mus.* vol. ii. pl. 52–62, and, subsequently, to some extent by MM. Chabas and Brugsch:—Schiaparelli, E., *Il libro dei funerali in Egitto*:—Maspero, G., *Sur un Stèle du Musée de Boulaq*:—Naville, E., *La grande édition du Livre des Morts*:—and Lieblein, J., *Etudes sur les Xetas*:—In the Report of the Congrès Provincial des Orientalistes Français à St^e Etienne, vol. ii. (the only portion yet printed), are, a Notice by the Baron Textor de Ravisi of M. F. J. Chabas, with a list of 50 various memoirs published by him, and a separate paper, entitled, "*Texte hiératique de la fin du Papyrus No. 4 de Boulaq*" (with 2 plates), reproduced from his "*Egyptologie*," tome ii. pp. 202–211; "*Les Maximes d'Ani*:"—by the same writer, "*Les Libations chez les anciens Egyptiens, notice sur une table à libations de la collection de M. Guimet*":—Grande édition du *Livre des Morts*, notice signed by MM. Birch, Chabas, Lepsius and Naville:—Golonschef, *Sur un ancien chapitre du livre des Morts*:—Lieblein, J., "*Les anciens Egyptiens connaissaient-ils le mouvement de la terre?*":—Wiedemann, A., *Stèle au Mus. Egypt. de Florence et l'immortalité de l'âme chez les anciens Egyptiens*:—Textor de Ravisi, *L'âme et le corps d'après la Théogenie Egyptienne*:—Erman, Dr. A., *La Poesie Egyptienne et l'hymne au char du Roi*:—Textor de Ravisi, *Etudes sur les chars du guerre Egyptiens*, with notes by J. Lefébure:—and Textor de Ravisi, *Récherches et conjectures sur la poésie Pharaonique*.

In the Congrès des Orientalistes de Lyon, vol. i. are the following papers:—by Maspero, G., Sur le Stèle 3 du Louvre:—Lieblein, J., Etude sur le nom et le culte primitif du Dieu Hébreu Jahveh:—and by Naville, E., Les quatres stèles Orientées du Musée du Marseille.—And in the Annales du Musée Guimet, by Chabas, F., Sur l'usage des Batons de Main chez les Hébreux et dans l'Ancienne Egypte:—Naville, E., Un Ostracon Egyptien:—and by Lefébure, E., Les Races connues des Egyptiens. In the Journals more especially devoted to Egyptian studies many papers of great interest have appeared. Thus, in the *Révue Egyptologique*, which commenced last year, may be noticed Parts 2 and 3 of M. Revillout's Premier Extrait de la Chronique Demotique de Paris; Le Roi Amasis et ses mercénaires selon les données d'Herodote et les renseignements de la Chronique; and by the same writer, "La question de Divorce chez les Egyptiens et les Régimes Matrimoniaux"; "Les affres de la mort chez les Egyptiens; Entretiens Philosophiques d'un petit Chacal *Koufi* et d'une Chatte Ethiopienne sur les grands questions Sociales, etc., etc.:" this part being accompanied by five plates of Demotic writing. In Part 4, the extracts from the Chronique Demotique de Paris, etc., are continued, with some very interesting notices from Papyri in the Museum at Leyden, referring to Le Réclus du Serapéum, sa bibliothèque, etc., and to Egyptian Arts. We find, also, many valuable Geographical and Topographical data relating to Thebes extracted by MM. Revillout and Brugsch from the Demotic contracts, etc., while M. Revillout adds some valuable "Notes historiques sur les Ptolemées." Sixteen plates illustrate this part. In the second year (1881), Part 1 contains Second Extrait de la Chronique Demotique de Paris:—Un fragment de la legende Osirique:—Le Serment decisoire chez les Egyptiens:—Les Affres de la Mort chez les Egyptiens:—Recits de Dioscore exilé a Gangres sur le Concile de Chalcedoine:—while M. Pierret inserts a brief memoir entitled, Les Sarcophages D. 5 et 7 du Louvre, comprising a

curious narrative of how these monuments, originally brought to Marseilles in 1632, at length, after passing through various hands, and having been practically lost, ultimately reached their fittest destination, the great collection at the Louvre:—M. Revillout adds other papers, entitled, *Un contrat de Mariage de l'an 4 de Psammetique II.*:—*Une vente de Maison de l'an 12 de Darius 1^{re}*:—*Acte de fondation d'une Chapelle à Hormerti dans la ville de Pharbactus en l'an 52 de Psammetique 1^{er}*:—*Acte de fondation d'une Chapelle à Bast dans la ville de Bubastis l'an 32 du Roi Amasis.* The part concludes with a letter from H. Brugsch; a *Révue Bibliographique*; and several lithographed pages of Demotic texts. The 3rd Heft of Lepsius's *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde* has papers by Brugsch, *Ueber ein merkwürdiges Histor-Denkmal aus d. Zeiten Königs Amenophis 3^a*:—by Bergmann, *Die Osiris-Reliquien in Abydos, Busiris und Mendes*:—by Erman, *Hieratische Ostraka*:—by Schrader, *Das 11 Jahr. des Kambyssos*;—and by Revillout, *Tari-cheutes et Choachytes*.—In the *Recueil d. Travaux relatifs à la Philol. Egypt.* are papers by Piehl, *Stèle portant une Inscription empruntée au Livre des Morts*:—Lieblein, J., *Les récits de récolte datés dans l'Ancienne Egypte comme elements chronologiques*:—Lincke, A., *Ueber einen noch nicht erklärten Königsnamen auf einem Ostrakon des Louvre*:—and Loret, V., *Les Antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée de Havre*.

The following may be noticed as among books that have recently been published, bearing on Egyptian subjects:—J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions et Notices recueillies à Edfou, tome ii.*:—Brugsch Bey, *Hieroglyphisch-Demotisches Wörterbuch, Bande vi. 1^e Hilfe*:—S. Bertolotti, *Del primitivo cubito Egizio*:—Aurés, *Métrologie Egyptienne*:—M. Ganneau-Clermont, *Vice-Consul de France à Jaffa, Origine Perse des monuments Araméens de l'Egypte, 1^{ere} partie*:—M. Moure, *A new Pocket Edition of Mariette Pacha's "Itineraire de la Haute*

Egypte":—Erman, *Neue Aegyptische Grammatik*:—Dr. F. J. Lauth, "*Aus Aegyptens vorzeit*":—Dr. Krall, *Manetho und Diodor, eine quellen untersuchung für Journ. d. Phil. Classe d. Kais. Akad. d. Wissensch.*:—and by the same writer, *Demotisch u. Assyr. contracten*:—Drouin, E., *Les Hébreux en Egypte d'après les travaux modernes*:—Underwood, F. H., *The True Story of the Exodus*, compiled from the work of Brugsch Bey, Boston, 1880:—Mariette Pacha, *Itineraire de haute Egypte*, 3^e edition:—Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Egypt*, 6th edition:—Révillout, *Etudes Egyptologiques*, Livrs. 13, 14, 15, 16, contenant, *Chrestomathie Démotique*, etc.:—Ledrain, *Les Monuments Egyptiens de la Bibl. Nat.* 1^{re} livr., the 38th fasc. de la *Bibl. de l'Ecole des hautes Etudes*:—It may be added that Messrs. Cassell have brought out a portion of M. Ebers' *Egypt*, descriptive, historical, and picturesque, translated by Miss Bell, with an introduction by Dr. Birch:—that Dr. Blass has published a second edition of his *Hyperides*, incorporating the results obtained by a fresh collation of the Papyri in England:—and, that M. A. Baillet has printed "*Le Roi Horemhou et la Dynastie Thébaine au iii^e siècle avant notre ère.*"

Among miscellaneous matters connected with Egypt, it may be mentioned that, during the last year, M. Maspero has been collecting materials for his history of Egypt, in the Museums of Naples, Rome, Florence, Bologna, and Turin, and has now returned to Paris with a large collection of inscriptions:—that the Museum at Athens has recently received a good collection of Egyptian Antiquities, as a gift from M. Demetrios of Alexandria: that M. Naville has nearly, if not quite, completed his new edition of the *Egyptian Ritual*: that the British Museum has recently secured a vaulted wooden Egyptian coffin, well preserved, and a gilded mask and mummy of a lady named Tahutisa or Thothsi, one of the Court or family of the Queen of Amasis I. of the XVIIIth

Dynasty:—that a kind of paved road has been discovered, leading from the granite tomb, near the Sphinx, to the temple before the Second Pyramid:—that two Pyramids have been opened in the neighbourhood of Sakkárah, to the north of Memphis, which were erected by two kings of the Sixth Dynasty, the walls of the rooms or passages being covered with hundreds of inscriptions:—that M. Maspero has been appointed by the Khedive Conservator of the Museum of Boulaq, in the place of the late M. Mariette:—that Brugsch Bey has been created a Pasha;—and that the British Museum has obtained the MS. remains of the late C. W. Goodwin, containing abundant materials for the study of Egyptian, Coptic, etc.

For *Coptic*, may be mentioned, in the *Revue Crit.* a notice of Revillout's *Origine d'un Symbole publiée en Copte, et traduite du Copte en Français*; and by the same scholar, *La Concile de Nice d'après les Textes Coptes et les diverses collections Canoniques*—Demi-volume contenant deux fascicules: 1. *Nouvelle série de documents (Le MSS. Borgia)*; 2. *Dissertation Critique*:—Ceugney, C., *Quelques fragments Coptes-Thébains inédits de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Rec. d. Trav. Phil. Egypt. ii. 3)*:—Stern, L., *Koptisch Grammatik*:—Rossi, Fr., *Gramm. Copto-Geroglifica*.

Zend, Pahlavi and Persian.—The following reviews or notices bear more or less on Persian matters. In the *Rev. Crit.*, M. Darmesteter notices Jamaspi's *Pahl. Guj. and Engl. Dictionary*:—M. Bréal, the translation by M. Darmesteter of the *Zend Avesta* for Prof. F. Max Müller's "*Sacred Books of the East*":—there is, also, a notice, by M. Guyard, of M. Barbier de Meynard's translation of Sady's *Bostán*, and by M. Meynard of M. Guyard's *Manuel de la Langue Persane vulgaire*, wherein he points out, incidentally, that there are, in

France, few good works on this subject, while he, at the same time, refers to the earlier labours of MM. Chodzko, Bergé and Nicholas:—In the Lyons Congress, vol. i., Baron Textor de Ravisi has a paper “*Sur l’origin du Zend-Avesta.*”—In the *Athenæum* (Oct. 23) is a letter from M. C. de Harlez, pointing out that M. Renan has completely misunderstood him in his Report to the *Journ. Asiatique*, and that his views differ widely from those of M. Darmesteter:—In the Academy is a pleasant notice of the new edition of Mr. Eastwick’s *Gulistan*:—a valuable paper by C. de Harlez “*On the Median Origin of Zoroastrianism:*”—an admirable notice by Sir F. Goldsmid of Vullers’ “*Firdusii Liber Regum qui inscribitur Shahname*”:—and a long and very able letter by Mr. A. H. Sayce “*On the Rise of the Persian Empire.*”—In the *Trans. of D. M. G.* are several papers, the titles of which it will be sufficient to record here. They are, a review, by Dr. Fleischer, of *Muslich-ed-din Sa’di’s Aphorismen u. Sinngedichte, zum ersten male herausg. v. Dr. W. Bacher*:—*Die Dritte Capitel de Vendidad*, by W. Geiger:—*Nasir Chusraus Rûisanainama, oder Buch d. Erleuchtung* (parts ii. and iii.), by Dr. H. Ethé:—a review by A. V. Gutschmidt of *Noldeke’s Geschichte d. Artachsir i Papakan*:—a paper, by Dr. W. Backer, entitled, *Eine Persische Bearbeitung d. Sufischen Terminologie*:—*La Livre de la Félicité, par Naçr-ed-din-ben Khosrou*, edited, with text and translation, by Edm. Fagan:—*Atropatene*, by Prof. Noldeke:—*Die Kalendar d. Zend Avesta, etc.*, by Prof. Roth:—and by Chr. Bartholomae, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Avesta I.*—In the *Sitz. Bericht. d. Wiener Akad. d. Wiss.* is a paper by Dr. Budinger entitled, *Der Ausgang des Medischen Reichs*:—in the *Rev. de Linguistique*, by E. J. Dillon, *Quelques remarques sur le VIII. Farg. d. Vendidad*:—by M. Knobel, *Notes on a Persian MS. of Ulugh Beg’s Catalogue of Stars* (*Astron. Soc. Monthly Notices*, xxxix. 5):—by Rev. A. H. Sayce, *The Origin of Magism and of the Zend-Avesta* (*Academy*, Aug. 14):—*Spiegel, F., Das Volk d. Meder*

u. seine Gesch. nach d. neuesten forschungen (Das Ausland, July 26);—and, by the same, Vistāṣpa oder Hystaspes u. das Reich von Baktra (Hist. Zeitschr. Bd. viii. 1).

Among books recently published may be mentioned Mr. Redhouse's Metrical Translation of the Mesnevi of Jelal-ed-din Er-Rumi of Konieh:—the commencement by Capt. H. W. Clarke of the translation of the second volume of the Ain-i-Akbari, there being, apparently, no hope that any of Dr. Blochmann's MSS. on this subject will be found:—Hovelacque, L'Avesta, Zoroastre, et le Mazdeisme:—Whinfield, E. H., Gulshan-i-Raz, the Mystic Rose Garden of Sa'ud-ud-din Mahmud Shabistari:—Bodenstedt, F. Die Lieder in Sprüche d. Omar Chajjan:—Sell, Rev. E., Munadhar al Kawaiid, Persian Grammar:—and (by the same) Jamia al Kawanin, Urdu Grammar, etc., in Persian:—and, most important of all, the second volume of the Catalogue by Dr. Rieu, of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum, completing the description of those which were in the Museum at the end of 1876, (the date of the commencement of the printing of the Catalogue). The number of MSS. it comprises are 1128, and with 947 in the first volume, make up a grand total of 2075. They are arranged under the headings Sciences, Philology, Poetry, Fables, and Tales, with a few minor divisions and a considerable class of MSS. of mixed contents. *Inter alia*, it may be noted that the Bodleian has recently acquired a Persian MS. which contains the Journal of Mir Uzzet Ullah, the native friend and companion of Moorcroft, possibly, one of two MSS. Prof. H. H. Wilson translated when editing Moorcroft's Travels:—and, also, the original Persian text of Henry Martyn's Controversial Tracts, translated and published more than fifty years ago by the Rev. Prof. Lee.

Turkish.—M. Cl. Huart has given in the Journ. Asiat. Oct. Nov. Dec. 1880, a very interesting paper, entitled, "Bibliographie Ottomane, notice des livres Turcs, Arabes et

Persans imprimés à Constantinople, A.H. 1294-6 = A.D. 1877-9, being a continuation of the papers on the same subject from time to time sent to the Asiatic Society by the late M. Belin, Secretary to the French Embassy at Constantinople: 191 separate publications are mentioned. A new edition (the third) has been published of the late M. Mallouf's "Dictionnaire Français-Turc," and M. Barbier le Meynard has called special attention to it in the Journ. Asiat. for Jan. 1881. In the Revue Critique M. de Meynard has given a notice of Mr. J. W. Redhouse, under the title "De l'histoire de la poesie Turque," and, in the same paper, is a notice of the "Exposition de la foi de l'Eglise Grecque publiée à Kazan en Turc, par M. Ilminski." In the Athenæum are reviews of Mr. Wells' Ed. of Redhouse's Turkish Dictionary, and of Mr. Wells' Practical Grammar of the Turkish language, which are worth reading; and, in the Zeitschr. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde, xv. 2, is a paper by A. D. Mordtmann, "Officielle Bevölkerungs-Ziffern aus d. Asiatisch Turkey.

Armenian.—M. Lauer has published at Vienna, an "Armenische Chrestomathie zu des Verfasser's Grammatik d. Class. Armenischen Sprache":—M. Patkanow has printed in the Russische Revue, a paper "Ueber die Stellung d. Armen. Sprache im Kreise d. Indo-Europäischen":—and, in the same periodical, M. Tschubinow gives "Ethnographische Untersuchung über d. Bevölkerung d. Alten Kappadokiens oder des Lasistans":—lastly, in the D. M. G. vol. xxxv. 1, M. Hubschmann gives "Armeniaca, I.," the first part of an Essay on the Armenian Language. In the Journ. Asiatique (Aug. Sept.) M. J. A. Gatteyrias has printed "Elégie sur les malheurs de l'Arménie et le martyre de St. Vahan de Kogthen"—episode de l'occupation Arabe en Arménie, traduit pour la première fois de l'Arménien Litteral sur l'Edition des R.R. P.P. Méchitaristes.

Numismatics.—For Numismatics, the following papers and books may be cited:—In the Numismatic Chronicle, by Edward Thomas, Esq., F.R.S., “On the Indian Swastika and its Western Counterparts” (illustrated by three plates), and by Prof. Percy Gardner, On Ares as a Sun-God and Solar Symbols on the coins of Macedon and Thrace (one plate):—by James White, Esq., M.R.A.S., On the Iron money of the Japanese:—by Prof. Percy Gardner, M.A., On some Coins of Syria and Bactria:—by Mr. Head, On a Himyaritic Tetradrachm and the Trésor de Sana’a (by M. Schlumberger):—in the Journal of this Society (XII. pt. 4), Mr. Guy Le Strange gives “Notes on some Inedited Coins from a collection made in Persia in the years 1877–1879”:—in the Bengal Asiatic Journal, by C. J. Rodgers, Esq., On the Coins of the Maharajahs of Kongra (noticed in Proc. of last year):—by J. C. Carleylle, On coins of the Sunga or Mitra Dynasties:—by Mr. Stulpnagel, On Coins of Gheias-ed-din:—by C. J. Rodgers, On coins supplementary to the Pathans, published by Mr. E. Thomas:—by Mr. Rivett-Carnac, On coins of the Sunga Dynasty, with a note on some copper Buddhist coins:—In the Proc. Beng. Asiatic Society, are various brief notices, chiefly on the exhibition of small collections of coins, recently sent to Calcutta, by A. Carleylle, Esq., Dr. Hoernle, and others, with a report, from Mr. Rivett-Carnac, of the discovery, on the Grand Trunk Railroad at Fateypoor, of one and a half maunds of Chinese coins, struck in 1795 by the Emperor Kien long:—In the Journal Asiatique, vol. xv. 3, is an appreciative review by M. Mehren of Mr. S. L. Poole’s Catalogue of the Oriental Coins in the British Museum, pt. iv., comprehending the money of Egypt, from the fall of the Fatemites in A.H. 358, to the capture of the country by the Turks in A.H. 922.

In the Revue Critique, are papers by M. Anatole de Barthélemy, on M. Lenormant’s “Monnaie dans l’Antiquité,” tome iii.:—by M. J. Batifand, On the Numismatic works of

M. Codera y Zaidin:—a notice from the *Révue de l'Ecole d'Alger*. of M. Basset's "*Compte Rendu sur le Traité de Numismatique Arabe-Espagnole*," by the same Spanish scholar:—In the *Indian Antiquary* is a notice of A. von Sallet's *Nachfolger Alexander d. Grosses*: and a reprint from the *Numismatic Chronicle* of Mr. Thomas's paper:—In the *Athenæum* is a note from Mr. Hyde Clarke entitled *King Tarkodemus and his Coinage*:—and, in the *Academy*, an excellent review by Mr. S. L. Poole, of M. de Tiesenhausen's "*Notice sur une Collection d. monnaies Orientales de M. Le Comte de Stroganoff*:"—and a notice of a very valuable paper by M. Dorn, *On the Coins of the Ilekh Khans of Turkestan*, in the *Bulletin de l'Académie Imp. St. Pétersbourg*, Oct. 1880:—In the first vol. of the *Records of the Congress at Lyons*, is an account by the Comte de Marsy, of the discovery of Mussulman coins in the Island of Aland and in the Island of Biorkö, on the Lake Melar:—In the *Journal of the North China Branch of the Asiatic Society* is an interesting paper by M. Joseph Haas, "*On Siamese Coinage*," from A.D. 1350 to A.D. 1868, with a description of the money, its weight, etc., and many engravings:—and, in the *China Review*, is a review of "*Li Kuei, or Record of Chinese Coins*":—by C. Piton, *A Note on two unknown coins*:—by Dr. Bushell, *On the Chinese Silver Coinage of Thibet*, in which he notes that the small coin from the Lhasa mint, equal to one-twentieth of a Tael, bears an inscription, meaning "*Tibetan branch of the Ch'ien-lung coinage, date 1793*":—General Cunningham has, also, given in the ninth volume of the *Arch. Survey of India* (pp. 21—29) a plate of the "*Silver Coins of the Guptas and their successors*," with a brief memoir of the Coins themselves, and on pl. xix. of the same volume an engraving of Akbar's *Asir* coin or medal before alluded to.

The principal book published this year on the subject of Numismatics is M. Schlumberger's very valuable *Essay*, entitled *Trésor de Sa'nâ* (reviewed in *Revue Critique*, Sept. 1880), an

account of a collection of coins secured by him, bearing inscriptions he has not deciphered, but thinks to be Himyaritic; a question on which, Mr. Head's paper, above referred to, throws considerable light:—Mr. S. Lane Poole has continued his excellent Catalogue of the Oriental Coins in the British Museum, this, his fifth volume, being devoted to the Coins of the “Moors of Africa and Spain,” a class of coins of much interest, but with legends much involved and often difficult satisfactorily to determine. Mr. Poole, it need hardly be stated, has added much to the work of previous interpreters. The volume is enriched by seven excellent autotype plates. To Mr. Poole, we also owe a most useful Chart of the Muhammedan Dynasties during the Khalifat, accompanied by a brief explanatory paper (see Num. Chron, n.s. 79, pt. 3, 1880).—M. Gerson da Cunha has contributed to the study of Indo-Portuguese Numismatics two brief pamphlets and promises more.—M. H. Gaidoz has printed, in the *Revue Archéologique* (April, 1881), a paper “De quelques monnaies Bactriennes, à propos d'une monnaie Gauloise,” containing some ingenious, if not very convincing speculations.

Epigraphy.—In the Journal of this Society, Dr. Bushell has given (Vol. XII. Pt. 4), with two plates, a copy of an inscription on stone at Lhasa, with a third plate, in which he proposes his own restoration of failing portions of the original. The copies are photographed from rubbings of the original inscription, which still stands in front of a large temple, called by the Chinese Ta-Chao-ssü, within the city of Lhasa, and the inscription itself is the record of a treaty solemnized in A.D. 822. Dr. Wright has noted in the *Trans. Bibl. Arch.* vol. vii. 1, a very interesting sepulchral monument from Palmyra, sent home by Mr. Henderson, and now in the British Museum. The inscription reads “Yaribole, the son of Rab'el,” and may probably be of the date A.D. 200. The plate given shows very clearly the semi-Roman character of

the art of the period. Dr. Wright's notice is well illustrated from other documents of the same class and Mr. Rylands' postscript is to the point. In the *Journal Asiatique*, M. Senart has continued his study of the Inscriptions of Piyadasi, in three additional articles, and the whole of his work has now been printed in a separate memoir:—M. Halevy has, also, added two further papers on the Inscriptions of Safa.

In the *Proc. of the Bengal Asiatic Society* are notices of Inscriptions, by Rajendra Lala: viz. On a Chinese Inscription found by Mr. Beglar, in one of the rubbish mounds at Buddha Gaya:—Notes on two copper-plate Inscriptions found in Sylhet, and sent to him by Mr. Luttman Johnson; a paper illustrated by two good photographs:—he, also, has published some remarks on a Pali Inscription from Bharhut; two fac-similes of Inscriptions from the great Temple of Puri; and the transcript and translation of two other Inscriptions from Buddha Gaya. Major H. J. Jarrett gives notes of an Inscription on a Mosque at Koh Imám, sent by Mr. A. M. Markham:—Lieut. R. C. Temple, of an Inscription at Sultanpur in Kulu Eli, with some specimens of the local "Pahári" alphabet still employed by the Kángra Baniahs:—Dr. Hoernle, of a Persian Inscription from Kashmir, forwarded by Mr. A. Constable, and of a Pali Rock-cut Inscription discovered by Mr. A. M. Markham, in a cave on the river Maháná, Riwa State:—Major H. J. Jarrett has, also, given in the *Journ. B.A.S.* an Inscription from a stone at Lanka Island, and General Cunningham has contributed a letter "On the Inscriptions procured by him at Buddha Gaya."

In the *Indian Antiquary*, is Mr. E. W. West's account of the Pahlavi Inscriptions at Kanheri, which were noticed by Anquetil du Perron so long ago as 1760 (with four plates):—and Dr. Müller's Report "On the ancient Inscriptions in the N.W. Province in the districts of Matale and Trincomale, Ceylon," is continued:—There are also careful notes and

a translation of M. S  nart's *Etudes sur les Inscriptions de Piyadasi*:—Mr. E. W. West gives, too, an account of the famous Sassanian Inscription at Nakhsh-i-Rustam (with two plates):—and Bhagvanlal Indraji, of an Inscription from K  m   or Kamavana, about forty miles west of Mathur  , in Sanskrit, and probably of the eighth century A.D.

In the same valuable periodical Mr. Lewis Rice has printed an account of two inscriptions (with two plates), found by him at G  lg  npode on two large blocks of stone, containing grants of land, in the oldest form of the Karnatika language, and referring to kings of the Mahavali Dynasty. In vol. ix. p. 304, is a copy of a grant of Ambera, which has been transcribed and translated in vol. viii. p. 96:—Bhagvanlal Indraji gives, also, a paper “On the inscriptions of Asoka,” with a transcript in Devanagari, and a comparison of the first edict of “Asoka’s Rock Inscriptions at Girn  r, K  lsi, and Kapure di-garhi”; a paper containing some new and valuable suggestions, for which the Pandit may claim the priority of discovery, though M. S  nart’s views, agreeing with those of Indraji, were, accidentally, published first. To the same Pandit, also, jointly with Dr. B  hler, C.I.E., we owe a notice, with facsimile plates, of an inscription of M  nad  va, dated Samvat 386; of one of Jayavarman, incised during the reign of M  nad  va, Samvat 413; of one of King Vasantasema, dated Samvat 435; of another dated Samvat 535; of others of Sivadeva, and Amsuvarman, dated S  r  harsha Samvat 34; of ditto, dated 39; of an Inscription of Vibhavarman, dated S  r  harsha Samvat 45?; of an inscription of Jishnugupta, dated S  r  harsha Samvat 48; of two undated Inscriptions of Jishnugupta; of an Inscription of Sivadeva, dated S  r  harsha Samvat 119; of another dated 143, 145; of an inscription of Siddhinrisimha of Latitapattana, dated Nep  la Samvat 757; of an inscription of Prat  pamalla of K  tm  ndu, dated Nep  la Samvat 769; and of another of Prat  pamalla, dated Nep  la 778; together with a joint paper by Bhagvanlal Indraji and

the editor of the *Ind. Antiquary* "On the Kahâun Inscription of Skandagupta." The pillar, bearing this inscription, from the sculptures on it, would seem to be, certainly, Jaina. Besides these, the Rev. S. Beal contributes a notice of the Buddhist Inscription at Keu-yung-kwan :—Dr. Bühler continues his notice of the Valabhi Grants—Grant of Siladitya I., dated Samvat 290 ; and Mr. Fleet carries on his long and valuable studies "On Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions" from No. lxxx. to No. xevi. Mr. Fleet has also added a note in connexion with the Western Chalukya King Vikramaditya I., in which he contests some of Mr. Rice's translations.

Dr. A. F. Rudolph Hoernle has given readings from the Inscriptions from the Stupa at Bharhut, containing some valuable suggestions. General Cunningham—in the ninth and last volume of his "*Archæological Survey of India*," which has been noticed at considerable length (so far as Gen. Cunningham's Theory of Gupta Chronology is concerned) in the *Indian Antiquary* for Oct. 1880—gives translations of nine inscriptions on copper, dated in the Gupta era, two of which have been already noticed in the *Journ. B. As. Soc.* by Professor Fitz-Edward Hall. The General gives also a description, more or less minute, of a large number of other inscriptions, with plates and facsimiles, for which reference must be given to his volume ; the most important would seem to be those from Bilhari, Karitâlai, Benares, Jubelpur, Yasarkarna, Dhera Ghât and Bharhut, with four from Tewar. The principal facsimiles will be found in plates ii. iv. xvi. and xxx. In the *Acad. d. Inscriptions* (March, 1881) M. Barbier de Meynard gave an account of a funereal inscription, dated A.D. 1173, of a Musulman, who died during the reign of the Al-Moravide Prince Ali ben Yusuf, the conqueror of Alphonso VI. At the same time M. Rénan communicated a letter from General Faïdherbe with reference to a Libyan Inscription, which has been found at Medjerda, near the frontiers of Tunis and Algiers.

The *Hittite Inscriptions*, to which much attention has been recently paid, promise a considerable literature of their own. Already we have papers by Mr. Sayce on the decipherment of the Hittite Inscriptions (Acad. Aug. 21):—by Mr. Dunbar Heath, a short letter on the Hittite Inscriptions (Acad. Aug. 28), and “On the bilingual Cilician Inscription” (*ibid.* Sept. 11):—by Mr. Sayce, “On two more Hittite Inscriptions” (*ibid.* Sept. 26):—by the same, on the bilingual Hittite and Cuneiform Inscription of Tarkondêmos (*ibid.* Nov. 13), and a further paper “On the Hittite Inscriptions” (*ibid.* Nov. 27):—by Mr. Boscawen, entitled “Hittite Notes,” in the Athen. Aug. 14:—and a very full memoir by Mr. Sayce in Trans. Bibl. Arch. Soc., vol. vii. pt. 2 (but read July 6, 1880), in sequence to his first paper of hints and conjectures on this interesting subject, published in the same Transactions, vol. v. pt. 1 (1876). Of these various notices there can be no doubt that Mr. Sayce’s last paper is the fullest and most complete which has yet appeared, and that it may be fairly considered as summing up all at present known on this subject. Mr. Sayce has added much to the value of his last paper by giving, as an appendix to it, the Hittite names recognizable; 1. In the Old Testament; 2. In the Egyptian Inscriptions; 3. In the Assyrian Inscriptions. Mr. Sayce has also published in the same recent number of the Trans. Bibl. Arch. Soc., “The Bilingual Hittite and Cuneiform Inscription of Tarkondêmos,” which had been already discussed, some time since, at one of the Meetings of the Society. The late Dr. Mordtmann was the first to point out the existence of this monument (D.M.G., xxvi. 3, 4, 1872).

A good deal has been done in the matter of Inscriptions from the far East. Thus, in the case of Cambodgia, M. Harmand has described several (with 4 plates) in the Ann. de L’Extr. Orient:—as has, also, Dr. Kern those sent to him (*ibid.* May and Sept., 1880). The Inscriptions would seem to

have been badly preserved, but the learning of Dr. Kern has enabled him to make out their most important features. The arrangement of them resembles that of Phrea Khan. Much, however, remains yet to be done before these recondite Cambodian documents can be made thoroughly intelligible to Western students.

In conclusion we have again to thank Mr. Sayce for his epigraphical labours, his last work being an account of the discovery and interpretation "Of an ancient Jewish inscription discovered in the Pool of Siloam at Jerusalem." This inscription was, as would seem, first noticed by a pupil of Mr. Schlick on the side of a channel which conveys the water of the Virgin's Pool to the so-called Pool of Siloam. Hence, notices, wholly inaccurate, of the inscription and of its meaning, soon found their way westwards. At length Mr. Sayce was able to give to the inscription its due and scientific study, the result being that he determined it to be, *as an inscription*, the oldest Hebrew one known, representing an early contemporaneous specimen of the language of the Old Testament, and engraved in the ancient form of the Phœnician alphabet, already known to us from the Moabite Stone. Its date Mr. Sayce very fairly ascribes to the age of Solomon, no other ruler of a later period having been likely to conceive or to accomplish such a work. The Palestine Exploration Fund have very rightly deemed it their duty to publish, as a separate paper, Mr. Sayce's valuable study of the inscription, with a plate delineated by him, after a minute study of all the characters, *in situ*. It should be added that the same Inscription has been published almost simultaneously with that of the Palestine Exploration Fund, in the last number (issued a month since) of the Zeitschrift des Deutsch. Palästina-Vereins, Band iv. Heft 1, and 2, p. 102). It has been edited by Prof. E. Kautsch, of Tübingen, the well-known companion of M. Socin in their valuable journey through the Holy Land (with one plate),

and may be presumed to give the views on its interpretation adopted or accepted by German scholars.

For *Africa*, we have, as is but right, appreciative reviews and notices of Lepsius' great and comprehensive work, *Die Nubische Grammatik*, by Erman, in the *Gotting. Gelehrt. Anzeigen*, and in the *Athenæum* of July 24:—The Rev. Chauncey Maples has brought out through the Soc. Prom. Christ. Knowledge, Collections for a Handbook of the Makua Language (belonging to the great Bantu family), which is spoken by the inhabitants of the vast tracts between the Nyassa and the Portuguese Settlements of Mozambique,—and, in the Annual Report of the Philological Society, is an elaborate notice of this language by the same scholar. This language differs, considerably, from the well-known Swahili and the less well-known but important language of the Yao or Ajawa. M. Beltrame, formerly a Roman Catholic Missionary, has published a second edition of his Grammar of the Denka Language, that of a savage tribe on the basin of the White Nile, belonging to the Upper Nile Basin group of the pure Negro Family of African Languages. M. Beltrame has also given a short but scientific sketch of the language of the Akka Tribe, one of the well-known Aboriginal Dwarf races of Central Africa W. of the Albert Nyanza, in the Monbott Country. M. Beltrame considers this language to be polysyllabic, but it has not yet been classified. In the *Athenæum*, July 3, is a notice of Mr. Riddel's Grammar of the Chinyanja Language (noticed in last report). Chinyanja is a Bantu tongue, but does not possess any clicks, thus confirming the view that when these are found in any Bantu language they have been borrowed from the Hottentots. Rebman places Chinyanja midway between the Zulu and the Zangian branches of the Bantu family, and it is considered by Mr. Riddel to be a typical example of a special group radiating from Lake Nyassa. The same work is also reviewed in the *Academy* for July 31. The

Foreign Translation Committee of the Christ Knowl. Soc. has also published the Book of Common Prayer, translated into Suaheli.

In the Academy, good reviews have appeared of Sibree's Great African Island (which has been recently translated into German), and Bouché has brought out a Study of the Nago Language, spoken by the people so named, a tribe on the Gold Coast, known to travellers as the Yorubas, or Yoribas. This language is spoken by about 3,000,000 negroes and is in daily use at Sierra Leone. M. Bouché states that the vowels in Nago are subject to differences in tone, three in number, high, middle, and low, so that a word may have as many different meanings as there are tones. It is understood that the Rev. A. Mabile, of the French Mission to Basutoland, is engaged in supervising an edition of the Bible in the Basuto language.

In the Trans. of the Florence Congress are papers by Dr. F. Hommel, Sulla posizione del paese di Punt: and by G. Sapeto, Prodrómo allo studio della Cassitide Abissina, e delle due Lingue Gheez ed Anhara:—M. G. A. Rosch has printed a book entitled "Die Königin von Saba als Königin Bilqís," eine studien":—a posthumous work of much importance is the 2nd vol. of H. Fournel, "Les Berbers, étude sur la conquête de l'Afrique par les Arabes, d'après les Textes Arabes imprimés," which has been finished, after the death of the author, by M. Dugat:—M. Marré has completed his "Diet. Français Malgache," but it has not yet been published, and it would seem that its form is now to be changed to a "Vocabulaire Franc. Malgache," owing to many new additions (see Ann. de l'Extr. Orient, March, 1880). It should be added that Messrs. Trübner, in their "Record" for June, 1880, have printed a remarkable collection of works in the Malagasy language—45 in number—which it is, therefore, not necessary to give in detail here.

At the African section of the Society of Arts, a paper was

read by the Honorary Secretary of this Society, Mr. R. N. Cust, on the general subject of the Languages of Africa, which he divided into six main groups, and several sub-groups or branches. A language Map, he stated, was now in the course of preparation, on a large scale, by Mr. Ravenstein, to illustrate a descriptive work on this subject, which is intended to comprise all existing knowledge on this subject. It may be added that a Grammar of the Rugande Language is now in the press, compiled by the Rev. W. Wilson, of the Church Missionary Society; it is the language spoken at the Court of King Mleta, on the N.W. Coast of the Victoria Nyanza, and is the most northerly branch of the great Bantu family. Other papers or books connected with this subject will be found in the Jour. Anthropol. Institute, x. i. such as E. Holub, On the Central group of the South African tribes from the South Coast of the Zambesi:— (in the Revue d'Anthropol. Juill. 1880) Berenger-Feraud, Note sur le texte des Simos au Sud de Senegal:—Mr. Courdiox has published Dictionnaire abrégé de la langue Fongbe ou Dahoméenne, 1re pt., and the Rev. C. F. Schlenker has completed his English-Temne Dictionary, on which he has been long engaged:—M. J. J. Machado has also printed a speech made by him before the Geogr. Soc. of Lisbon, entitled “Moçambique,” in which he gives some good notes on the construction of Railways in Eastern Africa.

The vacancy in the Librarianship of the Grey Library caused by the lamented death of the Rev. Dr. Bleek has been filled up by the election to this office of Dr. Hahn, with the unanimous support of Sir Bartle Frere, Prof. F. Max Müller and Prof. Sayce. Dr. Hahn was born and educated in Africa, and speaks several of the African languages fluently. After a primary education in Germany (where he was the pupil of Prof. Pott), Dr. Hahn returned to Africa, and travelled through many parts of that continent not previously explored, making himself at the same time thoroughly acquainted with

the languages, customs, traditions and religions of the natives. It may be added that this is not the first occasion on which Sir Bartle Frere, among many other and more onerous duties, has found time to encourage the appointment of distinguished scholars to various posts in India. The active work of such scholars as Drs. Bühler, Keilhorn, Thibaut and of others, are, to a great extent, due to the far-seeing sagacity and independent judgment of Sir Bartle Frere.

Palæographical Society.—The *Oriental* branch of this useful Society has continued its useful labours during the present year, and has recently published its *sixth* Part. This part contains autotype copies of Buddhivilâsini (Sanskrit), A.D. 1658. Rig Veda (Sanskrit), sixteenth century? Jami'u't Tawârikh (Arabic), A.D. 1314-5. Al Mukaffâ (Arabic), A.D. 1420-41. The Korân (Arabic and Persian), twelfth century. Phœnician Inscription from Cyprus, B.C. 254, with a very interesting plate of Ancient Arithmetical figures—Egyptian, (Hieroglyphical and Hieratic), Phœnician, Palmyrene, and Syriac. Greek and Palmyrene Inscription, A.D. 134. Annals of Elias Bar-Sinaeus (Syriac and Arabic), A.D. 1019? The Former and the Later Prophets (Hebrew), A.D. 1105-6. Seli-choth (Hebrew), A.D. 1179. El'âzâr of Worms, Sôdê Râza-iyâ (Hebrew), A.D. 1515 and the Gospel of St. Luke (Coptic), date uncertain.

Oriental Congress.—The next *Triennial Congress*, to be presided over by Prof. Dillmann, will be held at Berlin, in September, and at this, Prof. A. H. Sayce, Colonel Keatinge, V.C., and Mr. Robert N. Cust, will represent this Society. It is understood that Dr. Monier Williams, C.I.E., D.C.L., Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford, will represent the India Office, accompanied by Pandit Shamaji Vishnusarma, of Balliol College, Oxford. Prof. F. Max Müller goes, we believe, as the Representative of the University of Oxford.

At the conclusion of the reading of the Report of the Council,

Dr. W. W. HUNTER, C.I.E., LL.D., in moving its adoption, said,—“Sir Henry and gentlemen, the very pleasant duty has fallen to me of moving that the Report of the Council be adopted. The extracts which have been read from it show it is a satisfactory one. There are three points, however, which appear to me to be of special importance. In the first place, the Report exhibits a large addition to the numerical strength of the Society, proving that the learned world has observed our work and judged well of it and of us. The number of members added is important, not only as representing the many new paying members, but, also, because several of these are able to regularly attend our meetings and to assist us in carrying out the objects of the Society. Another agreeable feature with regard to our Society is the large area over which it extends, numbering as it does many members not only in India, but, also, in China, Japan, and other parts of the Far East. Another satisfactory fact is the character of the work that has been done during the last twelve months, to which reference has been made in the Report—work which will well compare with that of any other Asiatic Societies, on the Continent or in the East. The third point of congratulation is the present annual publication of a fourth part of our Journal, for the Journal is the true life-blood of the Society. Every effort to strengthen this portion of our work—and it is only one part—tends to the general good of the Society, as it shows we have ample support from those who have made Oriental subjects their special study. I think the Society deserves to be congratulated on the general good quality of the papers in each of the four parts, which have been issued under the direction of our Director during the year 1880.”

Mr. N. B. E. BAILLIE seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

On the adoption of the Report,

Major-General Sir HENRY C. RAWLINSON, K.C.B., D.C.L., said,—“I am glad to be able to take a part in the proceedings on this occasion, as it is the last opportunity I shall have of presiding over your meetings, and I am anxious, before vacating my office, to draw attention to the satisfactory, I may say flourishing, state of our Society. I wish, also, to bear my testimony to the services our Secretary, Mr. Vaux, has rendered to it. I have had, for a long time, personal experience of these services, and I fully believe it is mainly due to his care, industry and zeal that we have attained a position so satisfactory. Those only of us who remember what the Society was some twenty or even ten years ago, can realize the vast difference in our condition between then and now. I recollect the time when our meetings were very sparsely attended, when our Journal was but a shadow of its present self, and when we had to move about from place to place in order to secure ‘a local habitation and a name.’ Now we are living in a most comfortable position, both in a literary and in a pecuniary point of view. Our revenues, though not what might be called very large, are sufficient for our wants, and we are able to bring out four numbers of the Journal in the year instead of two. These numbers, I venture to say, vie with any of the earlier numbers in the interest and quality of the papers contained in them. Of late years, too, we have been able to elect over forty new members annually. At this rate we may rival ere long the Royal Geographical Society or the Society of Arts! And I should hail with much satisfaction such a result. In conclusion, I will only say that, after my three years of service as your President, it is with the greatest satisfaction I am able to pass over my ‘mantle’ to Sir T. Edward Colebrooke, who has been so long connected with us, and who has the highest personal and hereditary claims to the respect and confidence of our

Society. The name of Colebrooke has been, indeed, long treasured up by the Society as an heir-loom of Oriental knowledge, and this not alone in England, but throughout the European world. Moreover, it was during the former Presidency of Sir Edward Colebrooke, that the turn in the affairs of our Society from adversity to prosperity took place. This was, no doubt, mainly owing to the ready and able manner in which he supported our Secretaries, as well as to the constant attention he gave to all and everything that seemed to him to be for the interest of the Society. I feel confident that his future administration will be but a repetition of his past success. In taking leave of you as President, I need hardly add that my interest in the Society will continue unabated; and that I hope, as Vice-President and Director, to attend your future meetings and take part in your discussions, and, as far as I can, to further the interests we all have so much at heart."

Sir T. EDWARD COLEBROOKE, in returning thanks for his election as President, stated that he had, as Sir H. C. Rawlinson had so well said, taken a deep interest in the Society's welfare for at least the last forty years; and, if he felt any misgivings as to the future, it could only be that he was succeeding one of such distinguished abilities and of so high a reputation as their retiring President. He felt sure, however, that his labours would be lightened by the support of the Council and their Secretary. No effort, he added, would be spared on his part to keep up the Society in its present satisfactory state. An ample supply of papers, dealing with new and untrodden paths of literature, would, he hoped, flow in, so that the Society might retain, during his Presidency, its present prominent position as a guardian of true Oriental learning.

The proceedings closed with the usual vote of thanks to Sir H. C. Rawlinson, as the President of the day.

The President, Sir HENRY RAWLINSON, then announced the

following Members as the Council and Officers of the ensuing year:—

President.—Sir T. E. Colebrooke, Bart., M.P.

Director.—Major-General Sir H. C. Rawlinson, K.C.B., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D.

Vice-Presidents.—Sir E. Clive Bayley, K.C.S.I.; Sir H. C. Rawlinson, K.C.B., F.R.S.; Sir Richard Temple, Bart., G.C.S.I.; Colonel Yule, C.B.

Council.—E. L. Brandreth, Esq.; Sir Barrow Ellis, K.C.S.I.; James Fergusson, C.I.E., F.R.S.; Sir Bartle Frere, Bart., G.C.S.I.; Arthur Grote, Esq.; Colonel Keatinge, V.C.; Lieut.-Col. T. H. Lewin; J. W. McCrindle, Esq.; General MacLagan; Major Mockler; H. Morris, Esq.; Colonel Sir Lewis Pelly, K.C.B.; Major-Gen. Sir Arthur Phayre, C.B., K.C.S.I.; Rt. Hon. the Lord Stanley of Alderley; Lieut. Sir H. E. Thuillier, C.B., F.R.S.

Treasurer.—E. Thomas, Esq., F.R.S.

Secretaries.—W. S. W. Vaux, M.A., F.R.S.; H. F. W. Holt, Esq.

Hon. Secretary.—R. N. Cust, Esq.

Donations to the Library.—The Council have to report donations to the Library from—

The Royal Society of London.
The Royal Society of Edinburgh.
The Royal Irish Academy.
The Royal Institution.
The Royal Geographical Society of London.
The Royal Horticultural Society.
The Royal United Service Institution.
The Royal Society of Literature.
The Royal Geological Society of Ireland.
The Royal Society of Victoria (Australia).
The Trustees of the British Museum.
The Council of the British Association.
The Asiatic Society of Bengal.
The Madras Literary Society.
The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
The Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
The North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
The Japan Asiatic Society.
The Straits Settlements Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
The East India Association.
The Society of Antiquaries of London.

The Zoological Society of London.
 The Linnæan Society of London.
 The Numismatic Society of London.
 The Statistical Society of London.
 The Geological Society of London.
 The Royal Astronomical Society of London.
 The London Institution.
 The Anthropological Institute.
 The Society of Arts.
 The Society of Biblical Archæology.
 The Cambridge Philosophical Society.
 The Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.
 The Liverpool Literary and Scientific Institution.
 The Philosophical Society of Manchester.
 The Proprietors of the Canadian Journal of Science.
 The Société Asiatique de Paris.
 The Société Ethnologique de Paris.
 The Société Géographique de Paris.
 The Société de la Géographie de Bordeaux.
 The Académie des Sciences de Montpellier.
 The Royal Academy of Belgium.
 The Royal Academy of Turin.
 The Royal Academy "dei Lincei" of Rome.
 The Royal Academy of Vienna.
 The German Oriental Society.
 The Royal Academy of Berlin.
 The Geographical Society of Berlin.
 The Royal Academy of Munich.
 The University of Bonn.
 Bataviasch Genootschap.
 Konigkl. Institut, d. Nederlandsche-Indie.
 Hungarian Academy of Pesth.
 The Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg.
 The Academy of Natural Science, Philadelphia.
 The American Oriental Society.
 The Institute of New Zealand.
 The Proprietors of the Athenæum.
 _____ of the Academy.
 _____ of the London and China Telegraph.
 _____ of Allen's Indian Mail.
 _____ of the Homeward Mail.
 _____ of the Mission Field.
 _____ of the Journal of the National Indian Association.
 _____ of Light for India.

The Society also takes in the following papers :

The Indian Antiquary.
 The Revue Critique.
 The Oriental Publications of the Palæographical Society.

The Journal of the Society is sent to

The Royal Library at Windsor.
 The Secretary of State for India.
 The Royal Society of London.
 The Royal Society of Edinburgh.
 The India Office Library.
 The Royal Institution.
 The Royal United Service Museum.
 The Society of Arts.
 The Society of Antiquaries of London.

The Linnæan Society of London.
 The Zoological Society of London.
 The Royal Astronomical Society.
 The Royal Geographical Society.
 The Geological Society of London.
 The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
 The Royal Society of Literature.
 The Library of the House of Commons.
 The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
 The Numismatic Society of London.
 The Statistical Society of London.
 The Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.
 The Philosophical Society of Manchester.
 The Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool.
 The London Institution.
 The Devon and Exeter Institute.
 The Royal Dublin Society.
 The Royal Irish Academy.
 University College, London.
 The Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.
 Trinity College, Dublin.
 The British Museum.
 The Bodleian Library.

The following may be mentioned as individual donations :

- From the Secretary of State for India. Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India.—*Paleontologia Indica*, ser. xiv.—Professional Papers of English Engineering. Edited by Major Brandreth, R.E.—The Cave Temples of India, by Messrs. Fergusson and Burgess, 1880.—A Sindhi-English Dictionary, compiled by the Rev. G. Shirt and others. Kurrachi, 1879.—Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh, by Major Biddulph. Calcutta, 1880.—Archæological Survey of India, vol. ix., by Major-General Cunningham, C.I.E. R.E., Calcutta, 1879.—Rajputana Gazetteer, 2 vols. Calc., 1879.—*Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. i., by Blochmann.—Sacred Books of the East, vols. iv. v. vi. vii. ix. x. and xi. Edited by Professor F. Max Müller.
- Government of Bengal. Administration Report, 1879-1880.—The Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, by Major-Gen. Walker, pt. 6.—Blanford, W. F. Indian Meteorologist's Vade Mecum, pt. 2.—Growse, F. S., M.A., C.I.E. Mathurá—a District Memoir.—Hooker, Sir Joseph. Flora of British India, pt. 8.—General Report of the Survey of India, 1878-79. Calc., fol. 1880.—Calcutta, Court of Small Cases Report, 1881.—Calcutta, Administration of the Customs of.—Calcutta, Municipal Taxation and Expenditure of Lower Provinces.—Report on the Irawaddy River, in 4 pts. Rangoon, 1879, etc.
- Government of Madras. Report on the Administration of, 1879-80.—Report on Public Instruction in, 1877-9, 2 vols.—Report on the Administration of Mysore, 1879-80.—Report on the Administration of Coorg, 1879-80.—List of Sanskrit MSS. in Private Libraries in Southern India, by G. Oppert, vol. i. 1880.—Wardall, T. On the Wild Silks of India, principally Tussor.—Report on the Gold Mines of the S.E. Portion of the Wynnad and the Caroor Ghât, 1880.
- Government of Bombay. Report on the Administration of Bombay, 1879-80.
- Government of the N. W. Provinces. Report of the Administration of the N. W. Provinces and of Oudh for the year ending March, 1880.—Report on Public Instruction in the N. W. Provinces and in Oudh, by R. T. H. Griffith. Allahabad, 1880.—Report of the Legal Remembrancer of the N. W. Provinces for 1880. Calc., fol. 1880.—Notes on Afghanistan and part of Baluchistan, by Major H. G. Raverty.—Report on the Administration of the Central Provinces. Nagpur, 1880.

- From the Trustees of the British Museum. Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum, by Charles Rieu, Esq., LL.D. vol. 2.—Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria, vol. v. pt. 1.—Catalogue of the Oriental Coins in the British Museum, vol. v., by Stanley Lane Poole, Esq., "Coins of the Moors of Africa and Spain."
- Bengal Asiatic Society. The Bibliotheca Indica.
- University of Leiden. Kitabo'l Adhhad and Al Moschtahib, 1881.
- Marquess Tsêng, the Chinese Minister at the Court of St. James—115 volumes, being the works of his late father, consisting of his Despatches, Rescripts, etc., and of his poetical and other literary compositions.
- Count de Noer. Kaiser Akbar. Vol. 2.
- From Osmond de Beauvoir Priaulx, Esq. Albiruni's Chron. of Ancient Nations, translated by Prof. Sachau. London, 1880.
- Sir F. Goldsmid, K.C.S.I. Life of Sir James Outram. Two vols. London, 1880.
- B. H. Chamberlain, Esq., M.R.A.S. Classical Poetry of the Japanese, in 205 vols., and, Classical Poetry of the Japanese.
- Abu Fazl Mahomed, M.R.A.S. The entire works of Abu Mahomed Abd-al Ghafar, called a Tribute of Brothers.
- Smith, W. T. Bernard, Esq., Memoir of a Mission to Ava, by Capt. Symes, 1800.
- D. Franc. Garcia Ayuso. Vikramorvaj of Kalidasa in Spanish. Sakuntala. Ensayo Critico de Gramm. Comparada. Iran dal Indo at Tigris. Los pueblos Iranios y Zoroastro.
- W. A. Clouston, Esq., Arabian Poetry for English Readers. 1881.
- Pandit Vindyéswari Prasad. Laghu Kaumudi.
- T. Fergusson, Esq., M.R.A.S. Chinese Researches, Part I.
- W. de Tiesenhausen. Notice sur une Collection de Monnaies Orientales de M. le Comte de Stroganoff, by W. de Tiesenhausen.
- P. Doyle, C.E., M.R.A.S. Petroleum, its history, origin, and uses.
- Lieut. R. C. Temple, M.R.A.S. Account of the Country traversed by the Second Column of the Tal Chotali Field Force. Remarks on the Afghans on the route of the Tal Chotali Field Force, 1879.
- C. R. Stulpnagel, Esq. Coins of Gheias-uddin, Pts. 1-2.
- S. E. Peal, Esq. Peculiarity of the River names in Assam.
- W. Bramsen, Esq. Japanese Chronological Tables, 1879.—Japanese Weights, a sheet.—Japanese Lineal Measures, a sheet.
- N. Trübner, Esq. Indian Poetry, by E. Arnold, C.I.E. New Edition.
- V. Ball, Esq. Four Papers by him on different Indian Geological questions.
- Dr. P. Carl Abel. Koptische Untersuchungen. 2 vols. 3 pts. 1876-7.
- E. Legrand. Dapontès—Ephemerides Daces. Vol. 1.
- Sir Richard Temple, Bart., G.C.S.I., D.C.L. India in 1880.
- Sir R. J. Meade. "Administration of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts."
- Gen. Palma di Cesnola. Prospectus of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Inscriptions.—Eight Handbooks to different Collections in New York.
- Sir W. Muir, K.C.S.I. Early Caliphate and Rise of Islam.—The Rede Lecture at Cambridge.
- S. L. Poole, Esq. Egypt, with a Map to the First Cataract.
- Robert N. Cust, Esq., Hon. Sec. R.A.S. Pictures of Indian Life, sketched with the pen, from 1852 to 1881.
- Linguistic and Oriental Essays.
- Pincott, F., Esq. Hitopadesa. A Literal Translation.
- Colonel H. T. Rogers. First Lessons in Telugu.
- Da Cunha, Gerson. Contributions to the Study of Indo-Portuguese Coins.

JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*Indian Theistic Reformers.*¹ By Professor MONIER WILLIAMS, C.I.E., D.C.L.

It is a mistake to suppose that the first introduction of Theism into India was due to the founders of the Brāhma Samāj, or modern Theistic Churches of Bengal. Some of the oldest hymns of the R̥ig-veda are decidedly monotheistic, and all the most pronounced forms of Indian pantheism rest on the fundamental doctrine of God's unity. "There is one Being and no second," or in other words, "Nothing really exists but the one eternal omnipresent Spirit," was the dogma enunciated by ancient Hindū thinkers. It was a dogma accepted by the philosophical Brāhman with all its consequences and corollaries. He firmly believed himself and the Universe to be parts of the one eternal Essence, and wrapped himself up accordingly in a kind of serene indifference to all external phenomena and circumstances. Again even the ordinary Hindū who practises the most corrupt forms of polytheism is never found to deny the doctrine of God's unity. On the contrary, he will always maintain that God is essentially one, though he holds that the one God exhibits Himself variously, and that He is

¹ Although this paper, which was read before the Society on November 15, 1880, is principally the result of my own researches in India, yet I am indebted to Miss S. D. Collet for supplying me with abundant materials for its compilation. Her *Brāhmo Year-book* (Williams and Norgate), published at the end of every year, gives a lucid and impartial account of the progress of the Indian theistical movement, and it is to her able and disinterested labours that the interest felt by the British public in that movement is mainly due.

to be worshipped through an endless diversity of manifestations, incarnations, and material forms.

It is to be observed, too, that as often as pantheistic and polytheistic ideas have been pushed to preposterous extremes in India, a reaction has always taken place towards simple monotheism. The Vaishṇava Reformers of the 12th, 13th, 15th, and 16th centuries inculcated a doctrine which was an approximation towards the Christian idea of God's Unity and Personality, as set forth in the first article of the Church of England. Rāmānuja, Madhva, Vallabha and Chaitanya, all taught the existence of one supreme personal God of infinite power, wisdom and goodness, the Maker and Preserver of all things—a God whom they called Viṣṇu, and whom they believed to be distinct from the human soul and the material world.

But none of these great Reformers succeeded in counteracting the corrupt tendencies inherent in the Vaishṇava system. That system contains within itself the seeds of constant morbid growth and unhealthy development. It cannot get rid of its dogma of repeated incarnations, or, to speak more correctly, repeated descents (*avatāra*). Viṣṇu, it is believed, has ever been accustomed to descend in the shape of great warriors, great teachers, and even animals, to deliver his creatures in seasons of special exigence and peril. Of course such a theory opens the door to every kind of extravagant superstition. Notwithstanding, therefore, the partial reformation accomplished by Rāmānuja, Madhva, Vallabha and Chaitanya, the tide of degrading idolatrous practices set in more strongly than ever.

Then followed the monotheistic reaction led by Kabīr in the 16th century and improved upon shortly afterwards by Nānak, the founder of the Sikh religion. These movements were in a great measure due to Muhammadan influences. Both Kabīr and Nānak did their best to purify the Augean stable of corrupt Hindū doctrine, but met with only partial success. They taught devotion to one personal God, whether called Viṣṇu or Kṛiṣṇa, or designated by any of his established epithets or synonyms. They even endeavoured to unite Hindūs and Muhammadans on the common ground

of belief in the Unity of the Godhead. But in this they were wholly unsuccessful, and the tenth Sikh Guru Govind made religious fusion impossible by converting Sikhs and Muslims into bitter mutual opponents.

It became, indeed, a question whether the followers of Kabīr and Nānak were not destined to become exterminated under the persecutions to which they were exposed in the reign of Aurangzib. Under that Emperor India suffered everywhere from an outburst of Muhammadan fanaticism. Nor was the stability of Islām shaken or its hold over the people of India weakened, when the political power of the Muhammadans declined. On the contrary, the number of Muslims increased, and their bigotry and intolerance gathered strength in opposition to the advance of British domination, and the diffusion of European knowledge.

The Hindūs, on the other hand, were not too proud to profit by contact with European ideas. Everywhere at the great centres of British authority a mighty stir of thought began to be set in motion, and able men educated by us made no secret of their dissatisfaction with the national religion, and their desire for a purer faith than that received from their fathers. At the moment when thoughtful Hindūs were thus asking for light and leading, the right leader appeared. The Hindū reformation inaugurated by Rāmmohun Roy was the first reformation due to Christian influences, and to the diffusion of European ideas through English education. He was the first great modern theistical reformer of what may be called British India.

Unhappily no biographies of India's eminent men have ever been written. Neither Hindūs nor Muhammadans have ever shown any appreciation of the value of such writings. A good life of Rāmmohun Roy, composed in Sanskrit or Bengālī, and translated into Hindūstānī and other principal vernaculars, together with a collection of his writings, would supply a great want;¹ but the materials for its composition

¹ The Rev. K. S. Macdonald has given a short and interesting summary of his life in a paper read at Darjeeling (June, 1879), and Miss Mary Carpenter published an interesting account of his 'Last Days' in 1866.

are not forthcoming. What little is known of his early history is soon told. He was born in May, 1772, at a village called Rādhānagar, in the district of Mūrshidabad. His father, Rām Kānt Roy, was a Brāhman of high caste, and his grandfather had held offices under the Mogul Emperor. At an early age Rāmmohun Roy was sent to study Persian and Arabic literature, including the Kurān itself, at the great seat of Muhammadan learning, Patna. It was thought that his proficiency in Muhammadan lore might lead to his advancement at the Mogul court. Not that he neglected Sanskrit or his Brāhmanical studies. His father was a worshipper of Viṣṇu. Every morning the son was accustomed to read a chapter of the Vaishṇava bible—the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. Naturally thoughtful and intelligent, he soon began to think for himself, and to see through the absurd tissue of fable by which its authority is supported. Wholly unable to acquiesce in its extravagant mythology, he betook himself to the simple Vedic system, and the pure pantheism of the Vedānta and Upanishads attracted his special attention.

At the age of sixteen he composed a spirited tract against idolatry. This for a mere boy was a sufficiently remarkable achievement, and not likely to pass unnoticed. As a matter of course it roused the anger not only of his own immediate family, but of all his relatives and superiors. In consequence of the enmity thus excited against him, it was thought advisable that he should leave his father's home for a time. He resided first at Benares, the stronghold of Brāhmanism, and afterwards in Tibet, where he gave himself with much zeal to the study of Buddhism, and had many controversies with Buddhist priests. Probably Rāmmohun Roy was the first earnest-minded investigator of the science of comparative religion that the world has produced. From his earliest years he displayed an eagerness to become an unbiassed student of all the religions of the globe. His sole aim in such studies was to seek out religious truth for himself with perfect fairness and impartiality. Hence he spared himself no trouble in endeavouring to master the several languages of the world's sacred books, each of which claimed to be the

sole depositories of such truth. As he studied the Hindū Veda in Sanskrit, so he is believed to have given his attention to the Buddhist Tripiṭaka in the original Pāli. He is known, too, to have mastered Arabic that he might read the Kurān, and later in life he learnt Hebrew that he might form a just estimate of the authority of the Old Testament, and even began Greek that he might gain a complete knowledge of the New Testament.

On his return home about the age of twenty, he appears to have been reinstated in the favour of his family and relations. This led him to apply himself with more zeal than ever to the study of Sanskrit literature and an examination of the doctrines of his ancestral religion. He had too logical a mind to be deceived by Brāhmanical sophistries. Yet he was accustomed to assert that he had found nothing in the works of any other country, Asiatic or European, equal to the scholastic philosophy of the Hindūs. It was at about this period that he gave himself seriously to the study of English. At the same time he began to shake off the prejudices he had imbibed against social intercourse with his country's rulers, and to derive benefit from mixing in European society. After his father's death¹ in 1803, Rām-mohun Roy became bolder in his controversies with the Brāhmins. Soon he began to publish various pamphlets and treatises against the errors of Hindūism. This he did at considerable risk to his own worldly prospects. His father had left his property to be divided among his three sons; but it was not long before, by their death, Rāmmohun Roy became possessed of considerable patrimony, which would have been forfeited had he formally abjured his family religion, and legally lost caste. With an increase of wealth came an increased desire for extension of usefulness. Notwithstanding an inheritance sufficiently ample for his own personal wants, Rāmmohun Roy found himself cramped in the carrying out of the vast objects he had in view. This led him to seek Government employment, and we find him acting for ten

¹ His mother, who was at first very bitter against him, lived to acknowledge that he was right, though she could not give up her old faith, "which was a comfort to her."

years as Dewān or managing officer to the judges and collectors of Rungpūr, Bhāgalpūr and Rāmgarh, especially to a Mr. Digby. Hence he was often called Dewānji,—a title by which he continued to be known until he received that of Rāja from the ex-Emperor of Delhi, on the occasion of his embassy to England. One object he had in undertaking revenue work was to gain a practical knowledge of the working of the British administration. Some have spitefully accused him of augmenting his own legitimate earnings by doubtful and underhand transactions. It is far more likely that his prosperous career was due to his righteous dealings, which made him popular among the landed proprietors, and to the skill he displayed in the settlement of Zamīndārī accounts, which made his services indispensable to his masters.

Notwithstanding his assiduous attention to business, he found ample time for study and for the prosecution of his schemes of reform. Every year his attitude of antagonism to the idolatry of his fellow-countrymen became more and more marked and decided. The ground he took, according to his own statement, was not that of opposition to the national faith, but to a perversion of it. He endeavoured to show that the idolatry of the Hindūs was contrary to the practice of their ancestors, and to the doctrine of the ancient books and authorities which they profess to revere and obey. Very soon after his father's death he had written a book in Persian: "Against the idolatry of all religions." This was followed at intervals by various treatises, and especially translations of some of the Upanishads. In the preface to the Muṇḍaka Upanishad of the Atharva-veda, he says:—

"An attentive perusal of this, as well as of the remaining books of the Vedānta, will, I trust, convince every unprejudiced mind that they, with great consistency, inculcate the unity of God; instructing men, at the same time, in the pure mode of adoring him in spirit. It will also appear evident, that the Veds, although they tolerate idolatry as the last provision for those who are totally incapable of raising their minds to the contemplation of the invisible God of Nature, yet repeatedly urge the relinquishment of the rites of idol-worship, and the adoption of a purer system of religion, on

the express grounds that the observance of idolatrous rites can never be productive of eternal beatitude. These are left to be practised by such persons only as, notwithstanding the constant teaching of spiritual guides, cannot be brought to see perspicuously the Majesty of God through the works of Nature.

The public will, I hope, be assured that nothing but the natural inclination of the ignorant towards the worship of objects resembling their own nature, and to the external form of rites palpable to their grosser senses, joined to the self-interested motives of their pretended guides, has rendered the generality of the Hindū community (in defiance of their sacred books) devoted to idol-worship:—the source of prejudice and superstition, and of the total destruction of moral principle, as countenancing criminal intercourse, suicide, female murder, and human sacrifice.”

Perhaps the most important point to which he awakened attention was the absence of all Vedic sanction for the self-immolation of widows (*Satī*). It was principally his vehement denunciation of this practice, and the agitation against it set on foot by him, which ultimately led to the abolition of *Satī* by law throughout British India in 1829.

Long before that period, however, the effect of his publications and addresses was to make his position one of increasing isolation, until, in 1814, finding himself surrounded by religious opponents, and ostracised by his own social circle, he retired to Calcutta. His property by that time had so far increased that he could reckon on an income of £1000 per annum, and he was able to purchase a residence there.

It was only to be expected that among the inhabitants of the metropolis would be many thoughtful persons capable of sympathizing with his lofty aspirations. Accordingly he attracted a number of adherents from Hindūs and Jains of rank, wealth and influence. They gathered round him in a small but united band, and agreed to co-operate with him for the purification of their religion.

It may well be imagined that opinions like those which Rāmmohun Roy laboured to propagate could not have been adopted by any body of Hindūs without, so to speak, loosening the anchorage by which they held on to the foundations of their ancient faith. Yet in seeking their co-operation, he

never swerved from his original position. He continued to declare that his only object was to bring back his countrymen to what he believed to be the true monotheistic doctrine underlying the Vedic hymns and brought out more clearly in the Upanishad portion of the Veda.

The first step taken was to establish a private society for spiritual improvement. The association was called *Ātmīya Sabhā*, spiritual society, and was first formed about the year 1816. It consisted chiefly of Rāmmohun Roy's own personal friends, among whom was Dvāraka-nāth Tāgore. It met in Rāmmohun Roy's house at Manictolah, for discussion at periodical intervals; but the hostility of the Brāhmans and Pandits who were sometimes present, and who were offended and alarmed at the crushing demolition of their arguments by the reforming party, proved too strong for its continued existence. One by one its members dropped off, till by degrees the society ceased to exist. The great leader of the movement, however, was not to be so easily suppressed. On the contrary, he braced himself up with greater energy than ever to continue the conflict single-handed. His zeal and industry in writing books, pamphlets and addresses, only increased in vehemence.

It is clear that even at that time his study of the sayings of Christ in the New Testament had brought him to a qualified acceptance of Christianity; for in 1820 he published in Bengālī and English a book called "The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness." In the preface he wrote:—

"This simple code of religion and morality is so admirably calculated to elevate men's ideas to high and liberal notions of one God, and is so well fitted to regulate the conduct of the human race in the discharge of their various duties to God, to themselves and to society, that I cannot but hope the best effects from its promulgation in its present form."

In a letter prefixed to one of his later works (an edition of the *Kena Upanishad*) he makes the following admission:—

"The consequence of my long and uninterrupted researches into religious truth has been that I have found the doctrines of Christ more conducive to moral principles, and better adapted for the use

of rational beings, than any other which have come to my knowledge."

It is said that on being one day shown a picture of Christ, he remarked that the painter had represented Him falsely, for he had given Him a European countenance, forgetting that Jesus Christ was an Oriental, and that, in keeping with the Eastern origin of Christianity, the Christian scriptures glow throughout with rich Oriental colouring.

Some, indeed, have not hesitated to affirm that Rāmmohun Roy, though he never abjured caste, was in reality a true Christian. But that he ever had the slightest leaning towards Trinitarian Christianity is altogether unlikely.

In his "Final Appeal"¹ he says:—

"After I have long relinquished every idea of a plurality of Gods, or of the persons of the Godhead, taught under different systems of modern Hindooism, I cannot conscientiously and consistently embrace one of a similar nature, though greatly refined by the religious reformations of modern times. Since whatever arguments can be adduced against a plurality of gods strike with equal force against the doctrine of a plurality of persons of the Godhead; and on the other hand, whatever excuse may be pleaded in favour of a plurality of persons of the Deity, can be offered with equal propriety in defence of polytheism."

In fact his sympathies with the Unitarian sect were always strongly marked, and it is certain that, whenever his mind could free itself from the influence of Vedāntic proclivities, it gravitated towards a form of Unitarian Christianity.

But in truth the dominant feeling in Rāmmohun Roy's mind was a craving for a kind of eclectic catholicity. Throughout life he shrank from connecting himself with any particular school of thought. He seems to have felt a satisfaction in being claimed as a Vedāntist by Hindūs, as a Theist by Unitarians, as a Christian by Christians, and as a Muslim by Muhammadans. His idea of inspiration was that it was not confined to any age or any nation, but a gift coextensive with the human race. He believed it to be a

¹ He published three "Appeals to the Christian public" against the unfair construction which Dr. Marshman and others had put on his "Precepts of Jesus."

kind of divine illumination, or intuitive perception of truth, granted in a greater or less degree to every good man in every country. Whatever was good in the Vedas, in the Christian Scriptures, in the Kurān, in the Zand Avasta, or in any book of any nation anywhere, was to be accepted and assimilated as coming from the "God of truth," and to be regarded as a revelation. The only test of the validity of any doctrine was its conformity to the natural and healthy working of man's reason, and the intuitions and cravings of the human heart. "My view of Christianity," he says in a letter to a friend, "is, that in representing all mankind as the children of one eternal Father, it enjoins them to love one another, without making any distinction of country, caste, colour, or creed." It was easy for a man of so catholic and liberal a spirit to become all things to all men. Hence, it is not surprising that he cultivated friendship with Christian Missionaries of all denominations. He assisted them in their translation of the Scriptures, and occasionally joined in their worship. It is well known that he aided Dr. Duff in the establishment of his educational institution in Calcutta, recommending that its daily work should be commenced with the Lord's Prayer, and declaring that he had studied the Brāhman's Veda, the Muslim's Kurān, and the Buddhist's Tripitaka, without finding anywhere any other prayer so brief, comprehensive, and suitable to man's wants.

In 1828 occurred an event which may be regarded as an important turning-point in the history of the Theistic movement. Mr. W. Adam, a Protestant Missionary, had entered into friendly communications with Rāmmohun Roy, and had been led through his influence to adopt a decidedly Unitarian form of Christianity. Not content with changing his own creed, he sought to disseminate the opinions he had adopted by holding meetings and giving lectures in a room attached to the Bengal Hurkaru Newspaper Office. For some time Rāmmohun Roy, with a few of his friends, were accustomed to be present, till at last the thought struck them that, instead of being dependent upon a foreigner for religious

edification, they might establish a meeting-house of their own. Dwāraka-nāth Tāgore, Prosonno Kumār Tāgore, and others, came forward with pecuniary aid. Temporary rooms in the Chitpore road were hired by Rāmmohun Roy, and prayer-meetings held there every Saturday evening. The service was divided into four parts—recitation of Vedic texts; reading from the Upanishads; delivery of a sermon; and singing hymns.

It was thus that the germ of the first Theistic church was planted at Calcutta in 1828. The commencement of its existence as a living growing organization did not take place till two years later. The beginning of January, 1830, now half a century ago, inaugurated a new era in the history of Indian religious thought. It ushered in the dawn of the greatest change that has ever passed over the Hindū mind. A new phase of the Hindū religion then took definite shape, a phase which differed essentially from every other that had preceded it. For no other reformation has resulted in the same way from the influence of European education, and Christian ideas.

The increase of contributions had enabled Rāmmohun Roy to purchase a large house in the Chitpore road, and endow it with a maintenance fund. Trustees were appointed, and the first Hindū Theistic Church, or, as it was sometimes called by English-speaking natives, the Hindū Unitarian Church,¹ was then opened in Calcutta on the 11th Māgha, 1751, equivalent to January 23, 1830. The name given to it by Rāmmohun Roy indicated its Unitarian character, and yet connected it with the national faith. It was called Brāhma Sabhā, or Brahmiya Samāj, that is to say, "the assembly or society of God," the word Brāhma being an adjective formed from Brāhmā, the name of the one self-existent God of orthodox Hindūism.

The trust-deed of the building laid down that it was to be used as a place of meeting for the worship of the One Eternal, Unsearchable, and Immutable Being, the Author and Preserver of the Universe, to the promotion of piety,

¹ So the Press at which Rāmmohun Roy's publications were printed was called the Unitarian Press.

morality, and charity, and the strengthening of the bonds of union between men of all religious classes and creeds.¹ Moreover, that no image, print, picture, portrait, or likeness, should be admitted within the building, that no sacrifice should be offered there, and that nothing recognized as an object of worship by other men should be spoken of contemptuously there. Yet Rāmmohun Roy still held fast to his original position. He was careful to make the members of the new society understand that he had no idea of founding a new sect or new system, or even a new church in the ordinary sense of the word. He simply claimed to have established a pure monotheistic worship for the first time in a building where men of all castes, all classes, and all creeds, Hindūs, Muhammadans, and Christians, were invited to worship together, the only unity of faith demanded being belief in the Unity of God. This first introduction of public worship and united prayer—before unknown among the Hindūs—was not the least of the benefits effected by Rāmmohun Roy. At the same time, he never quite abandoned the idea of an order of men ordained by God to be special teachers of divine truth. It is said that the meeting-house of the Samāj had a private room open only to Brāhmins, where special readings of the Veda were conducted by them.

And, in truth, Rāmmohun Roy's attitude towards his national religion continued that of a friendly reformer, even to the end of his life—a reformer who aimed at retaining all that was good and true in Brāhmanism, while sweeping away all that was corrupt and false. The weak point in his plan is manifest. The form of theology he propounded was too vague, undogmatic, and comprehensive. He was, in fact, by natural character too intensely patriotic not to be swayed, even to the last, by an ardent love of old national ideas. He had denounced caste as a demoralizing institution;² he had

¹ It is said that in accordance with this principle, Eurasian boys used to sing the Psalms of David in English, and Hindū musicians religious songs in Bengālī.

² Thus, in the introduction to his translation of the *Īsopaniṣad*, he says, "The chief part of the theory and practice of Hindooism, I am sorry to say, is made to consist in the adoption of a peculiar mode of diet, the least aberration from which is punished by exclusion from his family and friends. Murder, theft, or perjury, though brought home to the party by a judicial sentence, so far from inducing loss of caste, is visited with no peculiar mark of infamy."

adopted a nearly true theory of the unity and personality of God; he had abandoned the doctrines of transmigration and final absorption of the soul; he had professed his belief in a day of judgment; he had accepted the Christian miracles, and had even declared Jesus Christ to be the "Founder of truth and true religion," and had admitted that the Son of God was empowered by God to forgive sins; but he never entirely delivered himself from his old prepossessions, and the alleged purity of his monotheism was ever liable to be adulterated with pantheistic ideas. In the eyes of the law he always remained a Brāhman. He never abandoned the Brāhmanical thread, and had too lively a sense of the value of money to risk the forfeiture of his property, and the consequent diminution of his usefulness and influence, by formally giving up his caste. In fact, though far in advance of his age as a thinker, he laid no claim to perfection or to perfect disinterestedness of motive as a man.

Unfortunately for the interests of India, Rāmmohun Roy's career was cut short prematurely. In 1830 the ex-Emperor of Delhi, having long felt himself ill-treated by the Indian Government, deputed Rāmmohun Roy to lay a representation of his grievances before the Court of Great Britain, at the same time conferring on him the title of Rājā. The Rājā's great wish had always been to visit England and interchange ideas with the Western thinkers. He also wished to oppose in person a threatened appeal against the law for the abolition of Suttee (*Sati*), the passing of which had been just effected through his exertions, and which only required the royal assent. He was aware, too, that the granting of a new charter to the East India Company was about to be discussed in Parliament, and he felt the importance of watching the proceedings on behalf of the natives of India, and for the furtherance of their interests.

No better time for carrying these objects into execution seemed possible than the period which followed the opening of his new Church. He therefore sailed for Liverpool in November, 1830, and arrived there on the 8th of April, 1831, being the first native of rank and influence who had ventured

to break through the inveterate prejudices of centuries by crossing "the black water." In England his enlightened views, courteous manners, and dignified bearing attracted much attention. During his residence in London he took great interest in the exciting political conflicts then raging, and the passing of the Reform Bill caused him unmixed satisfaction. He was presented to the King, and was present at the coronation. The evidence he gave on Indian affairs before a Committee of the House of Commons was of course highly valuable, and ought to be reprinted. In one of his replies to the questions addressed to him we find him asserting that the only course of policy likely to insure the attachment of the intelligent part of the native community to English rule was "the making them eligible to gradual promotion, according to their respective abilities and merits, to situations of trust and respectability in the State." Unhappily Rāmmohun Roy had not sufficient physical strength to contend with the severity of a European climate. After visiting Paris and other parts of France in 1833, he began to show symptoms of declining health. He had been invited to visit Bristol, and to take up his residence at the house of Miss Castle—a ward of Dr. Carpenter—in the vicinity of that city. He arrived there early in September, 1833, and shortly afterwards was taken ill with fever. Every attention was lavished on him, and the best medical skill called in; but all in vain. His death took place at Bristol on September 27th, 1833. He died a Hindū in respect of external observances; his Brāhman servant performed the usual rites required by his master's caste, and his Brāhmanical thread was found coiled round his person when his spirit passed away. In all his Anti-Brāhmanism he continued a Brāhman to the end.

Even after his death it was thought advisable to keep up the fiction of a due maintenance of caste. His body was not interred in a Christian burial-ground, but in the shrubbery at Stapleton Grove, and without a religious service of any kind. It was not till about ten years afterwards that Dwāraka-nāth Tāgore, on the occasion of his visiting England in 1843, had

the coffin removed to Arno's Vale Cemetery, and a suitable monument erected over the remains of one of the greatest men that India has ever produced. Yet his grave is rarely now visited, even by Indians, and few care to make themselves acquainted with the particulars of his last days. For India is not alive to the magnitude of the debt she owes to her greatest modern Reformer. Nor have his merits yet received adequate recognition at the hands of European writers. Nor indeed has it been possible within the compass of the present summary to give even a brief description of all the services rendered by Rāmmohun Roy to his country as a social as well as religious Reformer, of his labours for the elevation of women and for the education of the people generally, of his invaluable suggestions made from time to time for the carrying out of Lord William Bentinck's political reforms, and of his efforts for the improvement of the Bengālī language, and the formation of a native literature. Assuredly the memory of such a man is a precious possession to be cherished not by India alone, but by the whole human race.

It was not to be expected that the void caused by the death of so great a patriot and benefactor could be filled up immediately. The Church he had founded in Calcutta languished for a time, notwithstanding that his friend Dwāraka-nāth Tāgore made some efforts to maintain its vitality. At length, after the interval of a few years, a not unworthy successor to Rāmmohun Roy was found in Dwāraka-nāth's son, Debendra-nāth Tāgore.

This remarkable man, who was born in 1818, and is now, therefore, sixty-two years of age, was the first to give real organization to Rāmmohun Roy's Theistic Church. But he imitated his great predecessor in doing as little violence as possible to the creed and practice of his forefathers. He aimed at being a purifier rather than a destroyer. He had the advantage and disadvantage of a rich and liberal father. The luxury in which he passed his youth was for some time a drawback rather than an aid. It was not till he was twenty years of age that he began to be conscious of spiritual

aspirations. Utterly dissatisfied with the religious condition of his own people, and with the ideas of God presented by Brāhmanical teaching, he set himself to discover a purer system. It was creditable to his earnestness and sincerity that he took time for consideration before joining Rāmmohun Roy's Brāhma-sabhā, or, as it came to be afterwards called, the Brāhma-samāj.

In 1839, he established a society of his own, called "the Truth-knowing Society" (Tattva-bodhinī-sabhā), the object of which, according to its founder, was to sustain and carry on the labours of Rāja Rāmmohun Roy, and to assist in restoring the monotheistic system of divine worship inculcated in the original Hindū scriptures.

This Society lasted for twenty years, and was not finally merged in the Brāhma-samāj till 1859. It met every week for discussion at Debendra-nāth's house, and had also monthly meetings for worship and prayer, and the exposition of the Upanishad portion of the Veda. It had its organ in a monthly periodical, called the Tattva-bodhinī patrikā. This journal was started in August, 1843, and was well edited by Akhai Kumār Datta, an earnest member of the theistic party. Its first aim seems to have been the dissemination of Vedāntic doctrine, and this it continued for many years, though its editor had no belief in the infallibility of the Veda, and was himself in favour of the widest catholicity. He afterwards converted Debendra-nāth to his own views.

It was not till 1841 that Debendra-nāth, without giving up occasional meetings at his own house, formally joined the church founded by Rāmmohun Roy. He soon saw that if Indian Theists were to maintain their ground in India, they needed organization, and that if the Samāj was to exist as a permanent church, it wanted a properly appointed president, a regularly ordained minister, a settled form of worship, and a fixed standard of faith and practice. He himself undertook the task of preparing what is sometimes called the Brāhma covenant, consisting of seven solemn declarations, or vows to be taken by all candidates for admission into the Theistic Society.

By the most important of these declarations every member of the Society bound himself to abstain from idolatry; to worship no created object, but to worship through the love of God, and through the performance of the works God loveth (Para-brahmaṇi prītyā tat-priya-kārya-sāadhanena), the Great God the Creator, Preserver, Destroyer (sṛiṣṭi-sthiti-pralaya-kartṛi), the Giver of Salvation (mukti-kāraṇa), the Formless (nir-avayava), the One only without a second (ekamātrādvitīya); to lead holy lives, and to seek forgiveness through abandonment of sin. At the same time a few short formulæ of divine worship (Brahmopāsana), consisting of prayers, invocations, hymns, and meditations, were promulgated for use in the daily services. This took place at the end of 1843.

Paṇḍit Rām Chandar Vidyā-bāg-īsh was appointed minister of the newly-organized church, and not long afterwards Debendra-nāth, with twenty friends, solemnly took the oaths of the new Theistic covenant in his presence. The year 1844 may be given as the date of the real commencement of the first organized Theistic Church of India, hence afterwards called the Ādi-Brāhma Samāj, though at that time and until the first secession it was simply denominated the Calcutta Brāhma Samāj.

Three years later, in 1847, the number of covenanted Brāhmas had increased to seven hundred and sixty-seven.

But, as usual, with the accession of new members, the growing church began to be agitated by contending opinions. It was affirmed that the Vedas had never been thoroughly examined with a view of arriving at a just estimate of their value as an authoritative guide to truth. Four young Brāhmans were therefore sent to Benares. Each was commissioned to copy out and study one of the four Vedas. The result of a careful examination of the sacred books was, that some members of the Samāj maintained their authority, and even their infallibility, while others rejected them as abounding in error. A serious conflict of opinion continued for some time. In the end it was decided by the majority, that neither Vedas nor Upanishads were to be accepted as an

infallible guide. Only such precepts and ideas in them were to be admitted as harmonized with pure Theistic truth, such truth resting on the two foundations of external nature and internal intuition. In short, the religion of Indian Theists was held to be a religion of equilibrium—neither supported wholly by reason on the one hand, nor by blind faith on the other.

This took place about the year 1850, by which time other Samājes had begun to be established in the provinces, such as those at Midnapur, Krishnagar, and Dacca.

A new Theistic Directory was then put forth by Debendra-nāth, called Brāhma-Dharma, or “the Theistic Religion.” It contained a statement in Sanskrit of the four fundamental principles of Indian Theism, together with the seven declarations revised, and approved extracts from the Veda, Upanishads, and later Hindū scriptures, as, for example, from the Īsopanishad, Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, and Manu. Selections from these works were thought to have the advantage of national association as an instrument for the dissemination of truth. Otherwise they were not regarded as possessing any peculiar inspiration, or even any inherent superiority over extracts from other good books.

Any one who examines the whole compendium with impartiality must come to the conclusion that, although the quotations it gives are pervaded throughout by a strong aroma of Vedāntic and Pantheistic ideas, it marks an advance in the Theistic movement. It presents us for the first time with a definite exposition of Indian Theistic doctrine, which may be held by those who reject Vedāntism. Its four fundamental principles (called Brāhma-dharma-vīja) translated from the Sanskrit are :—

I.—In the beginning, before this Universe was, the One Supreme Being was (Brahma vā ekam idam-agra āsīt); nothing else whatever was (nānyat kinēanāsīt); He has created all this universe (tad idam sarvam asrijat).

II.—He is eternal (tadeva nityam), intelligent (jñānam), infinite (anantam), blissful (śivam), self-dependent (sva-tantram), formless (niravayavam), one only without a second (ekam evādvī-

tiyam), all-pervading (sarva-vyāpi), all-governing (sarva-niyantri), all-sheltering (sarvāśraya), all-knowing (sarva-vit), all-powerful (sarva-śaktimat), unmovable (dhruvam), perfect (pūrnām), and without a parallel (apratimam).

III.—By Worship of Him alone can happiness be secured in this world and the next (Ekasya tasyaivopāsanayā pāratrikam aihikam ēa śubham bhavati).

IV.—Love towards Him (Tasmin prītis), and performing the works he loves (priya-kārya-sādhanam ēa), constitute His worship (tadupāsanam eva).

Any one who subscribed to these four principles was admitted a member of the Calcutta Brāhma-samāj. The seven more stringent declarations were only required of those who desired a more formal initiation into the system.

The substance of this improved theistic teaching may be thus summarized :

Intuition and the book of Nature form the original basis of the Brāhma's creed, but divine truth is to be thankfully accepted from any portion of the ancient Hindū scriptures as from any other good books in which it may be contained. According to the truth thus received, man is led to regard God as his Heavenly Father, endowed with a distinct personality, and with moral attributes befitting His nature. God has never become incarnate, but he takes providential care of His creatures. Prayer to Him is efficacious. Repentance is the only way to atonement, forgiveness, and salvation. The religious condition of man is progressive. Good works, charity, attainment of knowledge, contemplation, and devotion, are the only religious rites. Penances and pilgrimages are useless. The only sacrifice is the sacrifice of self, the only place of pilgrimage is the company of the good, the only true Temple is the pure heart. There is no distinction of castes.

Yet there can be no doubt that great latitude in regard to the maintenance of old national customs was still allowed, and a friendly demeanour towards the national religion encouraged.

In fact, the Mission of the Calcutta Brāhma Samāj, accord-

ing to its chief secretary and most able literary representative Rāj Narain Bose,¹ was to fulfil or at least to purify the old religion, not to destroy it.

Such a compromise appeared wholly unsatisfactory to the more thoughtful members of the Samāj, especially to those who were beginning to be influenced by the opinions of a clever eloquent young man, Keshab Chandar Sen, who joined it in 1858. They felt that a more complete Reform was needed before the Samāj could deliver itself from all complicity with degrading social customs.

The youthful Keshab addressed himself to the task of radical reform with the ardour of a young man full of spirit and energy, who had his knightly spurs to win.

It must be borne in mind that we in Europe are wholly unable to realize the difficulties which beset the career of a radical religious reformer in India. There, religious and social life are so intimately interwoven—there, the ordinary creed of the people, their debasing idolatry and demoralizing superstitions, are so intertwined with the texture of their daily life, with their domestic manners and institutions, and even with the common law of the land, that to strike at the root of the national faith is to subvert the very foundations of the whole social fabric. Let a man enter on the path of progress, let him abandon the ideas inherited by his parents, let him set his face against the time-honoured usages of his country, let him stand up boldly as the champion of truth, the eradicator of error, the regenerator of a degenerate age, the purifier of a corrupt condition of society, and what are the consequences? He has to fight his way through a host of antagonisms and obstructions, sufficient to appal, if not to overpower, a man of ordinary courage and determination. The inveterate prejudices of centuries, deeply-seated antipathies, national pride, popular passion, a thousand vested interests of tradition, ignorance, bigotry, superstition, indolence, priestcraft, conspire to crush

¹ Rāj Narain Bose has rendered good service to the Ādi-Brahma-Samāj by his able writings, just as Mr. P. C. Mozoomdar has to the later development of Theism about to be described—the Brahma-Samāj of India.

his efforts and impede his advance. Every inch of the ground is disputed by a host of bitter antagonists. Humiliation, insult, threat, invective, vituperation are heaped upon his head. Father, mother, wife, children, relatives and friends hold him fast in their embraces or unite their efforts to drag him backwards. No one stirs a finger to help him onwards. At length, by the force of his own resolute character, by patience and conciliation, by firmness and gentleness, by persuasion and earnestness, by carrying people with him against their will, by making his work theirs as well as his own, he gains a few adherents; for nowhere do qualities such as these command so much admiration as in India. Then his progress becomes easier. But if his attitude towards ancient creeds and social abuses continues that of an uncompromising enemy, he will still have to do battle at the head of a little band of followers against countless adversaries, and will only triumph over opposition in one quarter, to find it renewed with increased acrimony and vehemence in other directions.

This may be taken as a description of the early career of the third great Theistic Reformer of British India, Keshab Chandar Sen, who was born in 1838.

A few particulars of Mr. Sen's life ought here to be given. He is a grandson of a well-known member of the Vaidya caste, Rām Comul Sen, who was a man of great worth, talent and literary culture,¹ but a bigoted Hindū of the Vaishṇava school. The young Keshab was brought up in an atmosphere of Hindū superstition and idolatry. As might have been expected, the Vishṇu-worship in which he was trained predisposed him to emotional religion and to a belief in one supreme personal God. Subsequently he received a thorough English education at the Presidency College, Calcutta. There, of course, the foundations of his family faith crumbled to pieces. It could not bear collision with scientific truth as imparted by European

¹ He was held in great esteem by Prof. H. H. Wilson, and was the author of a useful English and Bengali Dictionary, to which my own lexicography is under some obligations.

teachers. Nor was any new faith built up immediately on the ruins of the old. His attitude towards all religion became one of absolute indifference. Happily, in a character like that of Keshab, the void caused by the over-development of one part of his nature was not long left unfilled. With a greater advance in intellectual culture came a greater consciousness of spiritual aspirations, and a greater sense of dependence upon the Almighty Ruler of the Universe. He began to crave for a knowledge of the true God. One day, when he was twenty years of age, a Brāhma tract fell into his hands, and he found to his astonishment that a pure Theistic Church had been already founded in Calcutta. Without a moment's hesitation he decided to enroll himself a member of the Calcutta Brāhma-Samāj. This happened towards the end of 1858, when he was in his twentieth year.

The English culture and freedom of thought, not un-mixed with Christian ideas, which Keshab imported into the Calcutta (Ādi) Samāj, could not fail to leaven its whole constitution. The fear was that his enthusiasm might lead him to put himself forward prematurely. Happily his extreme youthfulness and inexperience compelled him to veil his own individuality. He longed from the first to bring all the impetuosity of his fervid nature to bear on the accomplishment of vast changes. He was ambitious of penetrating to the very springs of social life and altering their whole course. But he was sensible enough to perceive that he could not enter upon such a Herculean task without feeling his way and testing his powers. He, therefore, commenced his mission as a fellow-worker with Debendra-nāth, and in due subordination to him as his recognized leader. Their fellowship and co-operation lasted for about five years. Nothing, however, could keep the enthusiastic Keshab long in the background. It was not sufficient for him that idolatry had been eliminated from Hindū usages. They remained Hindū usages still. He soon began to urge a complete abolition of all caste-restric-

tions. The first change he advocated was that all who conducted the services in the Mandir should abandon the sacred thread (*upavīta*) which distinguished the Brāhmins and higher castes from the lower. But Debendra-nāth, though he consented to give up the sacred badge of caste in his own case, declined to force a similar renunciation upon others. Unhappily this was the commencement of a difference of opinion between the progressive and conservative Reformers, which afterwards led to a more complete rupture.

Next to the abandonment of the thread came the alteration of the Śrāddha, or worship of deceased ancestors—a rite involving ideas incompatible with the Brāhma doctrine of a future state. This was followed by a remodelling of the ritual at the ceremonies of birth (*jāti-karma*), name-giving (*nāma-karaṇa*), and cremation of the dead (*antyeshti*). Then a solemn and impressive form of initiation into the Brāhma faith was substituted for the Upanayana or initiatory rite of Brāhmanism. Of course, efforts were made for the education and elevation of women. They were encouraged to join the Brāhma Samāj, which many eventually did under the name of Brāhmikās, worshipping at first either behind screens, or in a separate room.

A still more important matter was the reform of marriage customs. Vast difficulties beset any reform in this direction. Marriage is the most ancient, sacred, and inviolable of all Hindū institutions, and its due performance the most complicated of all religious acts. It involves intricate questions of caste, creed, property, family usage, consanguinity, and age. To remodel the institution of marriage is to reorganize the whole constitution of Indian society, and to create, so to speak, an entirely new social atmosphere. The first change advocated by the Reformers had reference to the abolition of child-marriages. Nothing has tended to the physical and moral deterioration of the people so much as early marriage. It has not only resulted in excessive population, rapidly multiplying till reduced to so low a standard of physical and moral stamina that every failure of crops adds demoralization to starvation. It is an ever-present source of

weakness and impoverishment, destructive of all national vigour, and fatal to the development of national thrift and economy. The progressive Reformers felt that until this evil was removed there could be no hope of India's regeneration.

Of course, another reform aimed at had reference to polygamy. No man was to be allowed more than one wife. Then widows were to be released from enforced celibacy. As to the marriage ceremony itself, all semblance of idolatrous worship, all foolish ritual, all noisy music, needless display and unnecessary expense caused by spreading the festivities over many days were to be eliminated. Debendra-nāth himself was induced to set the example of celebrating a nuptial ceremony in his own family according to this simple Brāhmic form. His second daughter was engaged to be married to Babu H. N. Mukerjea. The rite was performed on the 26th of July, 1861, quietly, solemnly, simply, and without protracted festivities, in the presence of nearly two hundred co-religionists. This was the first Brāhmic marriage. A still more momentous reform was attempted by Keshab Chandar Sen when he performed a marriage ceremony between two persons of different castes in August, 1864. An innovation so revolutionary gave great dissatisfaction to Debendra-nāth. In fact, Mr. Sen, notwithstanding the real good he had effected by his influence, example, and personal efforts, found himself hampered by his connexion with the too conservative Calcutta (Ādi) Samāj. He was like a man working in chains. He felt himself powerless to penetrate beneath the outer crust of the social fabric. The old caste-customs, the old superstitious rites, were still practised by a large number of Theists, while others who professed sympathy with the advanced Reformer, and adopted his opinions in public, secretly reverted to their old ways. It was not to be expected that a man of Mr. Sen's temperament would long acquiesce in merely superficial changes and patchy half-finished reformatations. He was willing to accept half measures as an instalment. But nothing short of a thorough reconstruction of the whole religious and social fabric could

afford him permanent satisfaction. He was bent on laying the axe to the very root of the tree. He felt his own mission to be very different from that of Debendra-nāth. He was to destroy rather than to renovate the old Vedic system with all its train of ceremonial rites and observances.

Of course, he no sooner gave up all idea of compromise than instantly he found himself plunged in a slough of obstruction. Difficulties and opposition met him at every turn. At length, in February, 1865, the inevitable crisis arrived. Keshab Chandar Sen with a large number of the younger members of the Samāj formed themselves into a separate body of advanced, or progressive reformers, and seceded from the old Society, leaving behind them all its accumulated property. It was not, however, till November, 1866, that they were able to organize themselves into a new Theistic Church called the Brāhma-Samāj of India (*Bharata-varshīya Brāhma-Samāj*),¹ a church which gloried in having broken entirely with Brāhmanism, and severed every link which connected it with the national religion.

At a meeting held on November 11th, 1866, the day of the incorporation of the new society, Mr. Sen announced that the aim of the new church would be to unite all Brāhmas into one body, to reduce their labours to a well-organized system of co-operation, and to establish a central metropolitan Brāhma Samāj of all India, to which all other Samājes throughout the country might be affiliated, or with which they might establish friendly relations. This idea was not a new one. An effort had been made in 1864 to establish a General Representative Assembly or Council of all the existing Brāhma Samājes. A meeting was then convened, and twenty-eight out of the existing fifty Samājes sent representatives, but little further was done. Nor did Mr. Sen ever succeed in making his own Samāj a centre of union and authority, though for a long time his talents as an orator secured him a position as chief leader of the Brāhma community.

¹ This new Church has been sometimes called the progressive Brāhma-Samāj.

The first stone of the new Mandir or place of worship of the Brāhma Samāj of India was laid on the 23rd of January, 1868, but the building was not opened until August (*Bhadra*), 1869. As might have been expected, the new Samāj exhibited from its first foundation a decided reflection of its founder's individuality. He had imbibed Vaishṇava ideas with his earliest impressions. Yet the peculiar vein of Hindū theology which permeated his mind only operated beneficially. The introduction of faith (*bhakti*), emotional religion, and devotional fervour into the Brāhma system was a real advantage. It infused warmth and light into a cold inanimate Theology, and brought the latest development of Indian Theism into closer harmony with Christian ideas.

It remains to describe more fully the nature of that development. No sooner was Brāhmanism finally discarded than it became necessary to formulate more definite articles of faith. Briefly the new creed might have been described as "the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man." Its most essential points were as follow :

God is the first cause of the Universe. By His will He created all objects out of nothing and continually upholds them. He is spirit, not matter. He is perfect, infinite, all-powerful, all-merciful, all-holy. He is our Father, Preserver, Master, King and Saviour.

The soul is immortal. Death is only the dissolution of the body. There is no new birth after death; the future life is a continuation and development of the present life. The men that now live are the embryos of the men that are to be.

The true scriptures are two,—the volume of nature, and the natural ideas implanted in the mind. The wisdom, power and mercy of the Creator are written on the Universe. All ideas about immortality and morality are primitive convictions rooted in the constitution of man.

God Himself never becomes man by putting on a human body. His divinity dwells in every man, and is displayed more vividly in some. Moses, Jesus Christ, Muhammad, Nānak, Chaitanya, and other great Teachers, appeared at special times, and conferred vast benefits on the world. They are entitled to universal gratitude and love.

The Brähma religion is distinct from all other systems of religion; yet it is the essence of all. It is not hostile to other creeds. What is true in them it accepts. It is based on the constitution of man, and is, therefore, eternal and universal. It is not confined to age or country.

All mankind are of one brotherhood. The Brähma religion recognizes no distinction between high and low caste. It is the aim of this religion to bind all mankind into one family.

Duties are of four kinds. (1) Duties *towards God*—such as belief in Him, love, worship and service; (2) Duties *towards self*—such as preservation of bodily health, acquisition of knowledge, sanctification of soul; (3) Duties *towards others*—such as veracity, justice, gratitude, the promotion of the welfare of all mankind; (4) Duties *towards animals* and inferior creatures, such as kind treatment.

Every sinner must suffer the consequences of his own sins sooner or later, in this world or the next. Man must labour after holiness by the worship of God, by subjugation of the passions, by repentance, by the study of nature and of good books, by good company and by solitary contemplation. These will lead through the action of God's grace to salvation.

Salvation is deliverance of the soul from the root of corruption, and its perpetual growth in purity. Such growth continues through all eternity, and the soul becomes more and more godly and happy in Him who is the fountain of infinite holiness and joy. The companionship of God is the Indian Theists' heaven.

With regard to the worship of God, it was declared to be "a wholly spiritual act."

The form of divine service was as follows:—First a hymn; then an invocation of God by the minister, followed by another hymn; then adoration of God, chanted by the whole congregation together, and continued by the minister alone; then silent communion for some minutes. Then the following united prayer, chanted by the whole congregation standing:—"Lead us, O God! from untruth to truth, from darkness to light, from death to immortality. O! thou Father of truth, reveal thyself before us. Thou art merciful, do thou protect us always in thy unbounded goodness. Peace! Peace! Peace!" Then a prayer for the well-being of the whole world by the minister alone standing, succeeded

by another hymn, and by a recitation of texts from Hindū and other scriptures. Finally, a sermon, followed by a prayer, a benediction, and a hymn.

Services of this kind still take place—generally on Sundays, and often on a week day in addition. There are also grand anniversary festivals to celebrate the foundation of the Brāhma Church. The chief festival, called Māghotsab (*Māghotsava*), on the 23rd January (11th of Māgha), is kept by all the Samājes in commemoration of the founding of monotheistic worship by Rāmmohun Roy. Another, called Bhadrotsab (*Bhadrotsava*), is held by the Brāhma-Samāj of India in celebration of the opening of the Mandir in August, 1869. Solemn initiation services for the admission of new members are also performed. They correspond in an interesting manner to our Confirmation services.

Clearly it would be easy to prove that the advanced Indian Reformers, trained and educated by us, and imbued unconsciously with Western theological ideas, have borrowed largely from our Christian system in formulating their own creed. The points of agreement are too obvious to need indicating. One noteworthy point of contact with Christianity is the active missionary spirit displayed by progressive Brāhmas. Such a spirit is, of course, essential to the growth and vitality of all new systems. Keshab Chandar Sen has made several Missionary tours in India, and in 1870 he came to England, giving out that his mission was to excite the interest of Englishmen in the religious, social, and political progress of his fellow-countrymen. Here he visited fourteen of the chief towns of England and Scotland, and conducted religious services in the pulpits of Baptist, Congregational, and Unitarian chapels. He preached to large congregations in East London, and addressed seventy meetings in different places in behalf of such objects as Temperance, Peace, Reformatories, Ragged Schools, and general education. He had interviews with Her Majesty and several eminent Statesmen.

And what were the impressions he formed of Christian religious life and doctrine in England? It may do us no

harm to listen once more to the Hindū Theist's utterances before he left our shores :—

"One institution," he said, "in England I have looked upon with peculiar feelings of delight—the happy English home, in which the utmost warmth and cordiality of affection, and sympathy, are mingled with the highest moral and religious restraint and discipline. The spirit of prayer and worship seems mixed up with daily household duties, and the influence of the spirit of Christ is manifest in domestic concerns." "Yet," he added, "it grieves me to find that the once crucified Jesus is crucified hundreds of times every day in the midst of Christendom. The Christian world has not imbibed Christ's spirit."

At Birmingham he said :—

"Since my arrival in England I have found myself incessantly surrounded by various religious denominations, professing to be Christians. Methinks I have come into a vast market. Every sect is like a small shop where a peculiar kind of Christianity is offered for sale. As I go from door to door, from shop to shop—each sect steps forward and offers for my acceptance its own interpretations of the Bible, and its own peculiar Christian beliefs. I cannot but feel perplexed and even amused amidst countless and quarrelling sects. It appears to me, and has always appeared to me, that no Christian nation on earth represents fully and thoroughly Christ's idea of the kingdom of God. I do believe, and I must candidly say, that no Christian sect puts forth the genuine and full Christ as He was and as He is, but, in some cases a mutilated, disfigured Christ, and, what is more shameful, in many cases, a counterfeit Christ. Now, I wish to say that I have not come to England as one who has yet to find Christ. When the Roman Catholic, the Protestant, the Unitarian, the Trinitarian, the Broad Church, the Low Church, the High Church, all come round me, and offer me their respective Christs, I desire to say to one and all: 'Think you that I have no Christ within me? Though an Indian, I can still humbly say, thank God that I have my Christ.'"

This remarkable statement has become invested with far deeper significance and interest since the publication of Mr. Sen's last year's lecture, on the subject "India asks, who is Christ?" It might have been expected that his English visit would have brought his Theism into closer

affinity with Christian dogma. But such was not really the case. I may state, however, as interesting facts, that two of his Hindū travelling companions have been baptized, and that the Reverend Luke Rivington (one of the Oxford Cowley Fathers) has recently made a great impression in discussing the truths of Christianity with Mr. Sen and his followers, and taking his stand with them on the common platform of the Unity of God.

On his return to India Mr. Sen applied himself zealously to the work of social reform, and at once started what was called "the Indian Reform Association" for female improvement, for the promotion of education among men and women, for the suppression of intemperance, and generally for the social and moral reformation of the people of India. This society, open to all classes and creeds, was founded November 2nd, 1870, and a female Normal and Adult School was opened in 1871.

The most important Reform of all — that relating to marriage — to which Mr. Sen's efforts had already been directed, had not made much progress. The example so well set by the marriage of Debendra-nāth Tāgore's daughter in 1861 had created hopes of a better state of things, but little real advance had been achieved. It is true that similar marriages had followed, but the legality of such marriages was disputed, though a form of ritual had been adopted which was thought to be sufficiently conformable to Hindū usage to insure their validity. It was not encouraging that between 1864 and 1867 only seven or eight Ādi Samāj Brāhma marriages and four or five Progressive Brāhma intermarriages between persons of different castes had been solemnized. Nor had much success attended the attempt to prevent early marriages. Mr. Sen and his followers now threw themselves more vigorously than ever into the marriage-reform movement. The best medical opinions were sought, and the proper marriageable age fixed. But the most important step taken was to memorialize the Government for a new Marriage Act, to relieve Brāhmas from their disability to contract legal marriages according to their own

forms. Much agitation ensued. The native mind became greatly excited, and Indian society was stirred to its depths by a conflict of opinion on a matter which affected the very framework of its whole structure and composition.

At length a Bill was drawn up by Sir Henry Maine, and improved upon by his successor Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, which pleased no one. It was violently opposed not only by the orthodox Brāhmans, but by the more conservative Theists. The struggle was protracted with much bitterness on the part of the natives for four years. Finally, after many ineffectual attempts at obtaining a general agreement of opinion, a third Bill was elaborated by Mr. Stephen (now Sir Fitzjames Stephen), and under his able management the Native Marriage Act became law on the 22nd of March, 1872. It commences thus:—"Whereas it is expedient to provide a form of marriage for persons who do not profess the Christian, Jewish, Hindū, Muhammadan, Pārsī, Buddhist, Sikh or Jaina religion, and to legalize certain marriages the validity of which is doubtful; it is hereby enacted" The Act, in fact, introduced for the first time the institution of civil marriage into Hindū society. It sanctioned matrimonial union without any necessary religious ceremonial. It legalized marriages between different castes. It fixed the minimum age for a bridegroom at 18 and of a bride at 14, but required the written consent of parent or guardian when either party was under 21. It prevented the marriage of persons within certain degrees of consanguinity. It prohibited bigamy, and permitted the remarriage of Indian widows.

After the passing of this Act fifty-eight marriages took place in the eight and a half years ending August, 1879, against fifty-one in the ten and a half years which preceded its ratification. The average of widow marriages has not as yet been greatly increased by the passing of the Act. The same may be said of intermarriages between persons of different castes, though these are said to have become more numerous during the Prince of Wales's visit. All the marriages which took place before the Act might

have been registered retrospectively, and in this manner legalized, but only twenty-one were so registered. Singularly enough, too, even to this day, some Hindū Theists continue to prefer being married according to Brāhmīc rites, without availing themselves of the Act. There appears to be a dislike to the Registrar, as if he were required to take the place of the minister of religion, whereas he simply witnesses the contract between the bride and bridegroom, and listens to the words by which they bind themselves to matrimonial union. Some Theists also object to the categorical repudiation of the Hindū religion which must precede the performance of the civil marriage, considering that because they are Brāhmas they are not, therefore, un-Hindūized.

Yet, it cannot be doubted that Mr. Sen and his followers deserve the gratitude of their fellow-countrymen for their labours in agitating for and obtaining the ratification of so useful an Act. At any rate the events of the year 1872 must always constitute an epoch in the history of the reforming movement.

For some time afterwards the Ādi Brāhma Samāj led by Debendra-nāth, and the Brāhma Samāj of India under Keshab Chandar Sen, achieved good work in their respective spheres, and in not unfriendly co-operation with each other. The two leaders, though very different in character, were both men of unusual ability, and both penetrated by a sincere desire for the regeneration of India. Each Samāj, too, had its able Secretary and Writer, the Ādi Samāj in Rāj Narain Bose, and the more progressive Samāj in Mr. Sen's cousin Pratāp Chandar Mozoomdār. Moreover, the Conservative Samāj had its literary organ in the Tattva-bodhinī-patrikā, and the Progressive in a daily newspaper called "The Indian Mirror."

No better proof of the activity of the two societies could be given than the success of their missionary operations. By the end of 1877 the number of Brāhma Samājes scattered throughout India, including Assam, had increased to a hundred and seven, some following the Conservative pattern, and some

the Progressive. In 1875 fresh attempts were made to establish a general representative Council of all the Samājes, and one or two meetings were held, but no definite scheme has yet been matured.

Meanwhile, lamentable dissensions leading to a serious schism have taken place in the Progressive Brāhma Samāj. Without doubt the career of this Samāj continued for several years to be one of real progress. It did sterling work in propagating its own reforming principles. It sent forth earnest missionaries to all parts of India. It put forth an ably written Sunday edition of its daily newspaper the *Indian Mirror*.¹ It encouraged fervour of faith and devotion (*bhakti*) to such an extent that it was accused of making religion an affair of mere emotion and excitement. One direction in which the devotional side of the movement developed itself was in the rapturous singing of hymns in chorus (*sankīrtana*), sometimes performed in procession through the streets. Another form of development was the establishment of Brāhmotsavas, or periodical religious festivals as seasons of special prayer, faith and rejoicing. Besides all this many members of the Society were remarkable for austerity of life, and the Samāj had a niche for those who gave themselves up to severe self-discipline and asceticism (*Vairāgya*).

The rock on which it split was its too unquestioning submission to the commanding ability of its leader. Keshab Chandar Sen had fought his way through difficulties, hardships and perils, with indomitable energy, but was not prepared for an unsuspected danger—the danger of success—the danger that too much praise would be lavished on the work he had accomplished. For many years his daily path had certainly not led him through clover; nor had his nightly rest been taken on a bed of roses. But prosperity proved a greater trial than adversity. Nowhere is eminent ability worshipped with more fervour than in India. So

¹ Besides the '*Indian Mirror*' the *Sulabh Samāchār* ('Cheap News') and *Dharma-tattva*, 'Religious truth,' have long been exponents of Mr. Sen's teaching. Mr. Mozoomdar's *Theistic Annual* and his *Theistic Quarterly Review*, which has lately taken its place, are more recent advocates on the same side.

conspicuous were Mr. Sen's talents that his followers began to pay him reverence as if he had been more than human. He was even accused of accepting divine honours. This, of course, he indignantly denied, but his old Vaishṇava training was not without its influence on his own estimate of his own mission and office. He certainly supposed himself to be in some special manner a partaker of divine gifts. Even in his address, delivered so recently as January, 1879, though he answers the question, "Am I an inspired prophet?" in the negative, he lays claim to a kind of direct inspiration. He declares that he has had visions of John the Baptist, Jesus Christ and St. Paul, who all favoured him with personal communications, that the Lord said he was to have perennial inspiration from heaven, that all his actions were regulated by divine command (ādeśa), and that men should remember that to protest against the cause which he upheld was to protest against the dispensations of God Almighty.

Then, again, Keshab Chandar Sen was not merely an autocrat among his own people in matters of faith and doctrine. He was the sole administrator of the affairs of the Society, and ruled it with the rod of an irresponsible dictator. People began to complain that the Progressive Brāhma Samāj was without a constitutional government. It had no freedom of discussion in the management of its own affairs. Keshab Chandar Sen was not only its Bishop, Priest, and Deacon all in one. He was a Pope, from whose decision there was no appeal.

While all these elements of discontent were at work, a most unexpected revelation took place, the effect of which was to precipitate the disruption of the Samāj. It turned out, in fact, that Keshab Chandar Sen, with all his almost superhuman eloquence, ability, and genius, was nothing after all but a plain human being, with very human infirmities. It appears that as early as August, 1877, it began to be anxiously whispered that the great social Reformer was likely to sacrifice his own cherished principles at the altar of ambition. He, who had denounced early marriages as the curse of India, was said to be inclined to accept an offer of

marriage for his own daughter not yet fourteen, from the young Mahārāja of Kuch Behār not yet sixteen years of age. The rumour proved to be too true, and the Indian Mirror of February 9, 1878, formally announced that the marriage had been arranged. Protests from every conceivable quarter poured in upon the great social Reformer, but they were not only unheeded, they were absolutely ignored. The marriage took place on March 6, 1878, and not without idolatrous rites on the bride's side, though these were not performed in the presence of Mr. Sen himself.¹ In point of fact, the performance of certain ceremonies, such as the Homa, or fire-oblation, was necessary to secure the validity of the marriage in a Native State protected by our Government, but not subject to the operation of the Marriage Act. Immediately after the wedding, and before living with his child-wife, the young Mahārāja set out for England.

Subsequently the Dharma-tattva and the Indian Mirror published an elaborate justification of Mr. Sen's conduct. The defence set up was that Mr. Sen had no choice in the matter. He had acted, it was said—as was said of Muhammad of old—under divine command (adeśa), and in obedience to God's will. Moreover, it was contended that the marriage of his daughter with a Mahārāja had dealt a blow at caste-marriages, while the propagation of Theistic opinions in Kuch Behār and other Native States was likely to be materially promoted. Another line of defence taken was that Keshab Chandar Sen's mission had always been that of a religious and not secular Reformer.

Mr. Sen himself has lately made extraordinary efforts to restore his prestige by the elaboration of novel ideas and sensational surprises. The year 1879 was signalized by the institution of an order of professed teachers of religion, called Adhyāpaks. Four teachers were ordained by Mr. Sen on September 7, 1879, among whom was Mr. Mozoomdār.

¹ The Indian Mirror of March 17, 1878, informed its readers that "though the Rāja's Purohita, who were orthodox Brahmins, were allowed to officiate at the ceremony, the Hom was not performed *during* the marriage; but after the bride and her party left the place. The principles of Brāhma marriage were barely preserved."

A curious practice has also been introduced of holding supposed conversations and passing days and nights as imaginary pilgrims with the great prophets, apostles and saints of the world—as, for example, Moses, Socrates, Chaitanya, the Rishis, Muhammad, Buddha—who are supposed to be present and to take part in the dialogues and to inspire the pilgrims with the fire of their own nature.

Furthermore, a remarkable “Proclamation” was issued in the Sunday Mirror of December 14, 1879, purporting to come from “India’s Mother.” It is here abridged:—“To all my soldiers in India my affectionate greeting. Believe that this Proclamation goeth forth from Heaven in the name and with the love of your Mother. Carry out its behests like loyal soldiers. The British Government is my Government. The Brāhma Samāj is my Church. My daughter Queen Victoria have I ordained. Come direct to me, without a mediator as your Mother. The influence of the earthly Mother at home, of the Queen Mother at the head of the Government, will raise the head of my Indian children to their Supreme Mother. I will give them peace and salvation. Soldiers, fight bravely and establish my dominion.”

This idea of God’s Motherhood as a correlative to God’s Fatherhood is, I need scarcely point out, thoroughly Hindū. It existed in Hindūism long before the Christian era.

Mr. Sen’s lecture delivered on the 24th January, 1880, called “God-vision,” is too full of rhapsody and rhetoric mixed up with many fine thoughts; but that delivered in the Town Hall, Calcutta, on the 9th of April, 1879, before at least a thousand persons, on the subject, “India asks, Who is Christ?” was pronounced by those who heard it to be a masterpiece of oratory.¹ He not only entranced his hearers by an extraordinary effort of eloquence; he surprised them by calling upon India to accept Christ. According to Mr. Sen, Christianity is the true national religion of his fellow-

¹ The Reverend Luke Rivington is my authority. He was present with the Bishop of Calcutta and a few other Europeans. Indeed the lecture was due to a previous conversation with Mr. Rivington at a dinner-party given by Mr. Sen to him and to a large number of thoughtful natives.

countrymen. India is destined to become Christian, and cannot escape her destiny. "You, my countrymen," he says, "cannot help accepting Christ in the spirit of your national scriptures." In another part of the lecture we find him using these remarkable words:—"Gentlemen, you cannot deny that your hearts have been touched, conquered and subjugated by a superior power. That power, need I tell you? is Christ. It is Christ who rules British India, and not the British Government. England has sent out a tremendous moral force in the life and character of that mighty prophet to conquer and hold this vast empire. None but Jesus, none but Jesus, none but Jesus, ever deserved this bright, this precious diadem, India, and Jesus shall have it." It is evident, however, that Mr. Sen intends Christ to be accepted by his fellow-countrymen as the greatest of all Asiatic saints and not in the character ascribed to Him by the Church of England. "Christ comes to us," he says, "as an Asiatic in race, as a Hindū in faith, as a kinsman and as a brother . . . Christ is a true Yogī, and will surely help us to realize our national ideal of a Yogī. . . . In accepting Him, therefore, you accept the fulfilment of your national scriptures and prophets." This is all very striking, but seems rather like presenting Christianity to the Hindūs in the light of an advanced phase of Hindūism.

Mr. Sen's still more recent sermon preached on the 25th of last January announces the advent of a New Dispensation, which any one perusing the discourse will be surprised to find is a kind of amalgamation of Hindūism, Muhammadanism and Christianity.

As might have been expected, the Protesters, who objected to Mr. Sen's proceedings in regard to the marriage of his daughter, met together, soon after he left for Kuch Behār, to decide on their line of action. An unsuccessful attempt was then made to depose Mr. Sen from his office as Minister, and an unseemly struggle took place for the possession of the Mandir. In the end it was determined to establish a new church on a constitutional and catholic basis. All the provincial Samājes were consulted, and with the approval

of the majority, a meeting was held in the Town Hall, Calcutta, May 15, 1878, Mr. Ānanda Mohan Bose being in the chair, when the following resolution was passed:—

“ That this meeting deeply deplores the want of a constitutional organization in the Brāhma Samāj, and does hereby establish a Samāj to be called ‘The Sādhāran [or general] Brāhma Samāj,’ with a view to remove the serious and manifold evils resulting from this state of things, and to secure the representation of the views and the harmonious co-operation of the general Brāhma Community, in all that affects the progress and well-being of the Theistic cause and Theistic work in India.”

At first the Prayer Meetings of this the latest Brāhma Samāj, of which Mr. Ānanda Bose was the first President,¹ were held in temporary rooms, but a new Prayer Hall was commenced in January, 1879, and the building is now, I believe, nearly completed. At the same time, the Brāhma Public Opinion newspaper, and the Tattva-Kaumudī, ‘Moonlight of Truth,’ a fortnightly paper, were started as religious and literary organs of the protesting party.

It is scarcely possible as yet to predict what may be the future of this fourth development of the Brāhma Theistic movement. Its name, *Sādhāraṇa*, implies that it aims at more comprehensiveness, and a more democratic system of Church government, but its organization, though promising well under the leadership of Mr. A. M. Bose, is not as complete in relation to the rest of India as it may yet become. There appears in fact to be no one man at present among its members who has the religious genius of either Keshab Chandar Sen, or of Debendra-nāth Tāgore, or the literary culture which characterizes the best productions of Mr. P. C. Mozoomdār and Rāj Narāin Bose. But there are a larger number of secondary leaders—men of good sound sense, religious earnestness, and plain practical ability, who accomplish a great deal of useful work together, and will probably hereafter make their society the leading Samāj of India.

Some attempt at combined action between the numerous

¹ He has been succeeded by Babu Shib Chandar Deb.

bodies of Theists, which the operation of our educational system is rapidly calling into existence, is certainly needed; for there are now more than a hundred and twenty Theistic Churches scattered throughout the country. That at Madras, founded in 1871, and developed out of a previous Society, called the Veda Samāj, was well led for some time by its Secretary, Sridhāralu Naidu, but at his death languished. It revived in 1879, but seems to be still in want of a good leader. At Bombay, the Prārthanā Samāj, or Prayer Society, was the first Theistic Church of Western India. It was founded in 1867, and owes much of its continued vitality to the support of an enlightened native Doctor of Medicine, Dr. Ātmarām Pāndurang.

Many of the Samājes take an independent line of their own. Some are conservative, and conform to the pattern of the Ādi-Brāhma Samāj at Calcutta. Some, again, have distinct characteristics peculiar to themselves, which can only be understood by personal investigations in each locality.

I myself attended meetings of the Ādi-Brāhma Samāj at Calcutta, and of the corresponding Samāj, called the Prārthanā Samāj at Bombay. The services at the former were conducted by a son of Debendra-nāth. The sermon was preached from a raised platform or altar (*Vedi*); and three singers, seated in front of a kind of organ, chanted the hymns in loud tones, and with much warmth of manner and energetic gesticulation.

At Bombay the Manual used by the Prārthanā Samāj contained selections from the Veda, Upanishads, Christian Bible, Kurān, and Zand-Avasta. Hymns were sung with much fervour in a thoroughly Hindū fashion to an accompaniment played on the Vinā or Indian lute, and prayers were said, consisting chiefly of invocations of the Supreme Being, with praise and adoration of His attributes, but without confession of guilt, while the congregation remained seated, though their hands were joined in reverence. After the prayer a sermon was preached by Professor Bhāṇḍārkar of the Elphinstone College, who took for his text a passage from the Kāthopaniṣad (vi. 15), thus translatable:—"Man can-

not obtain immortality till all the knots in his heart caused by ignorance and unbelief are untied (*yadā sarve prabhidyante hridayasya granthayaḥ*).” He then illustrated his text by quotations from other books. For example—a passage from Tukārām—the most popular Marāṭhī poet:—“There is no happiness other than peace. Therefore preserve peace, and you will cross over to yonder shore.” What chiefly struck me was the apparent absence of sympathy or *rapport*, between the official performers of the services and the general congregation. The hymns were energetically sung by the appointed singers, the prayers earnestly repeated, and the address solemnly delivered by the minister, but the congregation neither stood nor knelt, and seemed to take no really cordial part in the proceedings. It is true that a sitting posture at prayer is customary, and by no means intended to imply irreverence; yet I came away persuaded that the Prārthanā-Brāhma-Samāj of Bombay, in spite of honest strivings after a pure soul-stirring Theism, is still chilled and numbed by the lingering influence of the old Vedāntic Pantheism, which it is unable wholly to shake off.

Before concluding this paper I should note that occasional Reformers still arise who make efforts to go back to the Veda, and to found a pure Theism on the doctrines contained in the hymns. A conservative Theistic movement of this kind has recently been inaugurated by a remarkable Gujarātī Brāhman named Dayānanda Sarasvatī Svāmī—now about 56 years of age—who calls his new church the Ārya-Samāj. He is a strong opponent of idolatry as well as of both Pantheism and Polytheism, but contends that the four Vedas are a true revelation, and that the hymns to Agni, Indra and Sūrya are really hymns to One God. In the printed statement of his creed he declares that he is not an independent thinker (*nāham svatantraḥ*), but a follower of the Veda; that the four texts (*Samhitās*) of the Vedas are to be received as a primary authority in all matters relating to human conduct; that the Brāhmaṇas beginning with the Śatapatha; the six Angas or limbs of the Veda, beginning with Śikshā; the four Upa-Vedas; the six Darśanas or

Schools of Philosophy, and the 1,130 schools of Vedic teaching (*śākhās*)¹ are to be accepted as secondary authority in expounding the meaning of the Vedas, and that adoration, prayer and devotion are to be offered to one God only, abstracted from all idea of shape and form, and without any second, as set forth in the Vedas.

Of course such a form of monotheistic teaching—including as it does the doctrine of metempsychosis (*punar-janma*)—is repudiated by the various Brāhma Samājes, and even by the Ādi-Samāj of Calcutta. Nor would Dayānanda himself admit an identity of teaching with the Brāhma Theistic movement. Nevertheless he is doing undoubted good by his uncompromising opposition to the later developments of Hindūism, including the whole circle of Purānic mythology.

And let us not be slow to acknowledge the good results likely to flow from all the agitation in Indian religious thought—all the upheaval of old ideas due to the various Theistic movements. Still less let us regard with suspicion the efforts of these modern Theistic Reformers, as if they were unfavourable to the progress of Christian truth. We may be quite sure that men like Debendra-nāth Tagore, Keshab Chandar Sen, and Ānanda Mohan Bose, are doing good work in a Christian self-sacrificing spirit, though they may fall into many errors, and may not have adopted every single dogma of the Athanasian Creed.

Let us hold out the right hand of fellowship to these noble-minded Patriots — men who, notwithstanding their undoubted courage, need every encouragement in their almost hopeless struggle with their country's worst enemies, Ignorance, Prejudice, and Superstition. Intense darkness still broods over the land — in some places a veritable Egyptian darkness thick enough to be felt. Let Christianity thankfully welcome and wisely make use of every gleam and glimmer of true light, from whatever quarter it may shine.

¹ That is "branches." Of these there are one thousand for the Sāma-veda, one hundred for the Yajur-Veda, twenty-one for the Rīg-Veda, and nine for the Atharva-Veda. See Patanjali's Mahābhāṣya.

ART. II.—*Notes on the Kawi Language and Literature.* By
Dr. H. N. VAN DER TUUK, Boeieleng, Bali.

[Communicated by Dr. Rost, from letters received in 1878 and 1879. The author's system of transliteration has been retained.]

ONE of the chief difficulties which I have to encounter in the study of Old-Javanese manuscripts consists in the faulty spelling introduced by the Balinese transcribers. The Balinese language is not closely related to Javanese, the latter being a foreign language in Bali. Only a few words are identical in both languages, while many others have in each case a more or less different form. Thus, the Old-Jav. *nyû*, coconut, is *nyuh* in Balinese; hence, the Balinese transcribers, finding the word *nyû* in a Kawi composition, change it into *nyuh*. Again, being unable in their own language to distinguish between *u*, *wu* and *hu*, all three being pronounced *u*, they write promiscuously *uçindra*, *huçinâra*, *wuçinâra*, as well as *hûçinâra* or *wûçinâra*, so that it is difficult to say which is really the Kawi form of this name. The metre sometimes helps us in settling the spelling of a word, but this can only be in the poems called *Kêkawin* (from *Kawi*, poet), the metre of which is essentially Indian and is regulated by long and short syllables; but, clearly, not in the poems called *Kidung*, wherein the metre is regulated by rhyme and the number of syllables. The *Kidung* are of far greater interest than the *Kêkawin*, the latter being simply imitations from the Sanskrit, containing nothing about ancient Javanese life, whereas the *Kidung*, on the other hand, supply us with valuable particulars in this respect. It is, therefore, a matter of regret that the manuscripts are so faulty.

The existing free translations of Kawi poems into modern Javanese are of little avail to the student of Kawi. In

their own poems, the Javanese introduce Kawi words, whether they understand them or not. Thus the word *krētërta*, victorious, the Kawi *krētārtha*, occurs with almost the same meaning as the Sanskrit *kritārtha*. Again, for *Maithilī* the Javanese say *Mantilī*; while long vowels are often represented by their corresponding short ones followed by a nasal, as *nirbinta* for *nirbhīta*.

Still, the Indian elements of Kawi are not so difficult to make out as the Malayan, modern Javanese having suffered too much wear and tear to afford a safe clue to Kawi, especially in words appearing in an abbreviated form in the modern language. Thus I found out, by a mere accident, that the Old-Javanese *lakētan* is the modern word *kētan* (a kind of glutinous rice for cakes, etc.), on learning that, in the Malay dialect of Kutay (E. coast of Borneo), the old form *lakētan* is still preserved. The Javanese dialects, of which we know as yet but little, will be of great assistance towards the unravelling of Kawi words. For the identification of names of animals and plants in Kawi, little help can be derived from the Javanese dictionary of Gericke and Roorda, in which, e.g., *manyar*, the name of the tailor-bird (*tēmpuwa* in Malay), is omitted, and *ijoan*, the name of a green variety of wood-dove (from *ijo*, green), is given under *joan*, an abbreviation of *ijoan*. A poetical name of the same bird, *manuk wilis*, green-bird, is not given at all. For a long time I took the word *atat*, the Balinese name of a small green variety of parrot of the size of a pigeon, for an original Balinese word, till I came across it in a modern Javanese poem, whence I concluded that the word must be one of the many Javanese words imported into Balinese. Complete copies of the Balinese interlineary translations of the larger Kawi poems, such as the *Bhaumakāwya* (relating *Naraka's* exploits and his death by *Wiṣṇu*), and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, are very rare, inasmuch as, generally, only the more attractive passages are translated. The language of these translations is not the spoken tongue, but rather that of poetical composition, and is more or less mixed with ancient and modern Javanese. Moreover, these documents generally

explain one Kawi word by another. Most of them appear to have been made in *Karānasēm*, an independent State, where many natives of Lombok who speak Sasak are settled. The language of *Karānasēm* is accordingly much influenced by the Sasak. The same applies also to the Kawi-Balinese-Javanese dictionaries called *Krētabasa* (*Krēta* = *Sanskṛēta* ?), which likewise appear to have been composed in that locality. About these I refer you to the "*Bijdragen van het Instituut*," iii. 6, 80.

The study of Kawi is calculated to throw light on a number of modern Javanese words which owe their origin to a mistake. Thus, *tēron* (brinjal, aubergine, *solanum melongena*) is the Malay *tērūn*; in ancient Javanese it is *tyūn*, Lampong *tiyūn*, Batak *tiun* or *tuyun*; in the Javanese medical books and the Malay dialect of Pělembang it is *chun*, in modern Balinese *tuiūn*, ancient Bal. *tēhun*, the Malay *r* being often represented in the kindred languages by *h* or a vowel.

I am unable to trace the origin of two Kawi words for the tailor-bird, *kuyaka* and *hiji* or *hijin*. They occur frequently in the *Tantrī*, a kind of Panchatantra, but derived from other sources. The *Tantrī* that I have read is a *kiḍung*, and not a *kēkawin*, and accordingly more modern. It must be derived from some Indian fable book, but the greater part of the fables are unlike those in the Panchatantra or the *Hitopadeṣa*. The lion is called *chaṇḍapiṅgala*, the jackal as personating the lion's first minister is called *Sambada*, which according to the *Krētabasa* means a dog. The names of jackals and dogs occurring in the poem are partly Sanskrit (*Sṛigāla*, *Sambuka*, *Swāna*), partly Malayan. The poem is most interesting, and its influence on the language has been great. The word *tantrī* in Balinese has come to mean any fable or tale in which animals are the chief actors. There are three recensions of the *Tantrī*, one in prose and two in poetry. The prose version goes by the name of *Kamandaka*, and is the least complete of the three. The two poetical versions are written in a kind of Kawi which is anything but pure, as the spelling is bad, and many words, properly

distinguished in the more ancient language, are confounded one with the other. I have consulted several manuscripts of these two versions, and have found that the few tales bearing some resemblance in the plot to fables in the Panchatantra and Hitopadeṣa differ from them in almost every detail. They slightly differ from one another as to the number of tales they contain. The one (A) commences in the metre *dēmuṇ*, and is the more popular of the two; the other (B) is rarely met with, and begins with the metre *kaḍiri*. The latter is the more modern version of the two and contains even Portuguese words (*miṇu*, e.g., a kind of beverage, is evidently = *vinho*). This version has but few tales, such as that of the deer, the mouse, the crow, and the pigeon king, in common with the Hitopadeṣa and Panchatantra. But the pigeon king is here called Kaṇḍagaṇa, the crow Hugata, the deer Tuṅgaṇa, and the mouse Hiranyākta; the tortoise has no special name. The hunter is called Haṣṭakrama. In the tale of the three fishes, B. gives their names as Anāṅgawidāta (for Anāgatawidhātā), Pradyumnamati, and Yadbhawishyati. One would be inclined to read Pradyutpannamati for the second name but for the occurrence of the synonymous terms Kusumāstrāntaka and Pradyumnāntaka. The substitution of antaka for mati is explained by the Malayan word mati (dead). The Tantri contain a great many synonymous terms, and are therefore of importance to the compiler of a Kawi dictionary. Thus, we have *tuhutuhu*, as the name of a black bird which lays its eggs in the nest of a crow and is considered to be ominous. In the Tantri it is represented as a clever songster, and much sought after on that account. The story runs that it obtained admittance to a large tree where a great many fish-eating birds were living. Being fond of the fruits of the *wunut* (Balinese *bunut*), a kind of fig-tree, it occasioned the death of the other birds by its excrements causing such a fig-tree to grow, by which means men got access to the high tree and possessed themselves of the young birds. This tale occurs also in the Malay version of the Tuti-nameh, where the part of the *tuhutuhu* is given to the *përliṅ* or *champerliṅ*, also

a black bird of a mischievous character. Of its synonyms, —parapuṣṭah, anyabhrētah, parabhrētah, kokila, pik, ku-won, kuwwan,—the first four are Sanskrit. The bird called in Malay *tiyuñ* goes in Kawi by the names *syuñ*, *bayan* (in Malay a kind of parrot), and *larwan* (*laron* in Javanese is the flying white ant). I have not met with a Sanskrit name of this bird in any Kawi composition. In the Tantri, Nandaka is the name of the bull that was left in the wood, and became the friend of the lion Chandaṅgala; the Brahman to whom the bull belonged is called Dharmapriya. In the story of the grateful animals, the name of the ungrateful goldsmith is Wenuka in B., whereas in A. and the Kamandaka it is Suwarnakara.

Some Sanskrit words have a signification in Kawi which can only be explained by analogy. A striking instance is supplied by the word *ñra*, which not only means Çiwa, but also a holy man. This second signification can only be explained from the Balinese. A priest is called in Balinese Siwa with reference to the person who employs him as priest to assist at a burial or to administer the toyatirta or holy water. Hence the owner of a hermitage, the chief hermit, is called in Kawi *sañ ñra* (*sañ* is prefixed to names of sainted persons, heroes, kings, etc.). The following passage from a Kidung proves this peculiar signification:—*Syapapuspattanira sañ ñra ināçrama*, what is the name of the sainted man of the hermitage?

It is as yet hardly possible to say whether many Prakrit words have found their way into Kawi. Some of them might almost be taken for genuine Malayan words. So, e.g., *hatal* (Bhâratayuddha xi. 33) could not be explained if the Malay *hartal* did not point to the Hindi *hartâl* (Sanskrit haritâla). The word is pronounced *atal* by the Javanese, which gives it quite a Malayan appearance. The form *akus* (metri causâ for añkus, Hindi añkuç) has passed into Malay; and as a Kawi word is found in the Buddhistic poem Sutasoma, xxii. 8. *Bhindaçâla*, a dart, is also the Prakrit form for bhindaçâla.

The poetic compositions on the island of Lombok are, with

the exception of a few in Sasak, modern Javanese. But the Balinese copyists at Karañasem change the spelling according to the Kawi, and thus write *wadwa* for the Javanese *wadya* (Sanskrit *badica*). This *wadya* or *wadwa* often has the sense of "servant, dependent;" hence, Nandīwara is called the *wadwa* of Çiwa (in the Kawi *uttarakāṇḍa passim*). In Lampong it is *baduwa*, and means "slave." In the Balinese version he is called N. makāla (*i.e.* mahākāla), the name of another servant of Çiwa.

My manuscript of the Brahmanḍa-purāṇa introduces at the commencement a King Daçamakreṣṇa or Diçimakreṣṇa, and the two bhagawāns Romaharṣana and Nemiṣeya, who are interrogated by him about the Manubaṅcakrama. To give you an idea of what the Sanskrit portion is like, I quote some çlokas from the beginning :

Daçamakreṣṇawakrante rajatjakūmatwasi
prasamimēm pi dharmena bhūmibhuh bhumipratamēm.
Amarendrabhawanawat. (The remainder wanting.)
Dikshitantēm jataçāstrēm, satwabjabjagattamahābuddhih
sutah porānikottamēm.

Rēṣayah saṁsīptanañcha, satyābjattaparayanah,
rējawah santanasobya, dantasantah wisatparah.
Poramanihakottamah, hagraṇīgekāremuddhah,
rāgadweṣawīwarjitah, manāmanāmasamatajñāṇa.
Romaharṣaṇemyañchaka, romaharṣanamityatat,
kramaṇēm mapradartena, notranañcha çubhāçikah.

Then follows a tedious account of the creation. Brahma created four Rēṣis, viz. Enanda the eldest, Sanaka, Sanat-kumāra,—the fourth is not mentioned. They were Brahma's equals in power and might. They would not marry. This distressed Brahma. Then he created the gods. Afterwards the nine divine Rēṣis were born, viz. Marichi, Brēgu, Aṁsira, Pulastya, Pulaka, Krētu, Dakṣa, Atri, Waśiṣṭha. Brahma creates Çiwa, whose names are Bhawa, Īça, Bhīma, Ugra Mahādewa, and Sarwa. The *Krētabasa* of the Brahmanḍa-purāṇa goes here by several names, viz. *Dasanama* (which is also Javanese), *Krakah* (Karaka), and *Ekalawya*. The last

name puzzles me. One MS. of the Krakah makes mention of a certain Chandragopita, who was perhaps the author of the work. Unfortunately, the dictionaries are not only very faulty, but they also only explain the Indian portion of the language, entirely neglecting the more difficult Malayan element. From this fact we may infer that these works were composed at a time when the ancient Javanese was still a living tongue, and the authors did not think it necessary to explain their own language. Thus, the words *içudhi*, *bânadhi*, *saradhi*, *tunâ*, *tûnîra*, *niçanga* (MS. *nimañka*), *apâsanga* (MS. *warasanga*), are explained by *tañkula* (quiver), whereas the real ancient Javanese word *unḍi* is left unexplained.¹ This state of things considerably increases the difficulties of translating an ancient Javanese text, especially in the case of *ᾰπαξ λεγόμενα*. An example may suffice. The word *lineñis* (Wiwâha, ii. 2) does not enable you to guess at its meaning from the context. It must be a passive of *añleñis*,—a word I have never met with. One of the Balinese translators renders it by “thin,” “leafless,” the other by “fat,” “leafy.” As a parasite (*katirah*) is spoken of which is winding itself around the tree (*lirañ*), the meaning “thin” seems the more probable one.

Of the eighteen parwas of the Mahâbhârata, only eight have been saved from the general ruin, viz. Âdiparwa, Virâṭap., Udyogap., Bhîṣmap., and the last four parwas. The best-preserved parwa is the Âdiparwa, but this also abounds in blunders, and especially the proper names have been so altered from their Indian originals as to be hardly recognizable. Thus Prêṣata, the father of Dru-pada, is called Prâśâda. Agniweça has become Niweçya, and Ghrêtâchi Ghrêtawîra. In the passage describing Droṇa's visit to the Pândawas and Kaurawas, the word *unḍi* (“a quiver” in ancient Javanese) takes the place of the Sanskrit *uñtâ*. The Udyogaparwa appears to be the most corrupted of all, and is besides full of lacunæ. Of the last

¹ In the Krêtabasa I find *rakṭaḍali* explained by *kêtambañ* (red glutinous rice), *krêṣnaḍali* by *kétan hirêñ* (black glutinous rice), and *mahâḍali* by *kétan wuduk* (glutinous rice tasting like fat).

four parwas there exists a poetical version, or Kēkawin, called Krēṣṇāntaka. There is also a Kēkawin of the Brahmanḍapurāṇa, much shorter than the prose version, and an Angastyaparwa. The Balinese call parwa every prose composition which has been worked up into a poetical form. Their wayaṅ, or puppet-show, appears to be based on the parwas. The genuine Balinese wayaṅ is called *wayaṅ parwa* (or, according to the Balinese pronunciation, *prawa*), as contradistinguished from *wayaṅ sasak*, which originally came from Lombok, and in which the puppets invariably have longer necks, thus resembling those of the modern Javanese. The wayaṅ sasak is principally performed in Karaṇasēm, where many inhabitants of Lombok are settled, and is Mohammadan, deriving its heroes on Bali and Lombok from "the Amir," which is the general name of Hamzah, Muhammad's uncle. The Javanese poem containing his exploits is called Menak; it has been edited by Winter. I have read "The Amir," and do not find that it differs materially from the Javanese Menak. The Balinese wayaṅ is pagan, and its heroes are those of the Arjunawiwāha, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Bhāratayuddha, the Bhaumakāwya, in fact of all the poems in which Indian heroes are the chief actors. The Balinese *dalan*, or performer of a puppet-show, takes his subject from the poems direct, and not, as the Javanese does, from a *pakēm* or prose summary. It is the wayaṅ that keeps up the Indian religion. Even little boys are acquainted with the names of Īwa, Indra, and other deities and heroes. In ordinary life the Indian gods are scarcely known, and Īwa's names, as Mahādewa, Iḡwara, etc., are taken for those of different deities. The eight cardinal points are each occupied by a god bearing one of the surnames of Īwa, Īwa himself being the ninth, and placed in the middle. It is probable that the Batak word *siwah*, for 'nine,' in the Dairi dialect, is to be derived from the worship of Īwa and his eight representatives. Some popular superstitions in Bali are just the same as amongst the Bataks. According to the latter, an earthquake is caused by Nagapadoha, a god upholding the earth on his arms and horns. To put an end to the earthquake, the

Batak calls out "*Sohul!*" (the handle of a chisel), to make Nagapadoha believe that Baṭāra Guru is speaking to him and ordering him to be quiet. When the earth was being created, Baṭāra Guru ordered a he-goat (Nagapadoha is considered to have horns) to uphold the raft that was floating on the surface of the water. In putting to rights the raft on which earth and animals were to be placed, Baṭāra Guru broke the handle of his chisel. By calling out "*Sohul!*" the Batak wants Nagapadoha to know that he must be quiet, in order to enable the god to restore the handle. The Balinese have a similar belief. If a woman, for the first time pregnant, lies down on the earth during an earthquake, she hears the people below say "*Kañchiñ! Paēt!*" which means both "fasten it with a *kañchiñ*" (a bar), and "work it with a chisel." To stop the earthquake, the Balinese call out "*Idup! Idup!*" (still alive), as the deity below that shakes the earth thinks that all men have perished. The people of Western Java, the Sundanese, call out "*Ochon!*" (we still live), in order to make the giant *Lindu* (Jav. 'earthquake') believe that people are still alive. That the Bataks were civilized by the ancient Javanese is proved by many Sanskrit words having retained in Batak the corrupted Javanese form. Thus, *irisaña*, in Batak, is the ancient Javanese *ġrsanya* and *rġsanya* (North-east, Sanskrit *aṡani*). (For the pronunciation of *ai* as *ġr*, see above.) Another example is *si-toṇoni* (spelling). The Balinese use the word *matġġenan* in speaking of a closed syllable, as *e.g.* the word *anak* is *matġġenan ka*, closed by *k*, which properly means, "it has to the right a *k*" (Jav. *tġġn*, 'right'). The Batak *toṇon* is the Javanese *tġġn* (right), as the Jav. vowel *ġ* is represented by *o* in the Toba and Mandailiñ dialects of Batak (as *bodil*, 'gun,' is = Jav. *bġdil*). The first day of the week of seven days is *raditya* in ancient Javanese, whereas the sun is *ġditya*. *Raditya* (*dies solis*) stands for *arditya*,—a transposition very frequent in the case of *r* and *l*. The Batak has *adintiya* and *artiya* instead of *raditya*. In Gericke's Jav. Dict. *raditya* is explained by *ra* (a prefix to the name of revered objects) and *ġditya*. But this cannot be correct, as

the sun is always called *āditya*, and the first day of the week *raditya* (see the ancient Javanese Inscriptions published by the late A. B. Cohen Stuart). In modern Javanese poetry both words are used promiscuously.

It is often difficult to trace the original of many of the Indian words which have passed into Balinese. The ægle marmelos is called *bila*, no doubt from *vilva*. Rumphius, the celebrated botanist, gives *bilak* as the Malay name of that fruit, which is unknown in genuine Malay. The *Mirabilis Jalapa* is called *noja*, which looks like Sanskrit. There are two varieties, one having a yellow flower, and the other a purple one. The flower is only open early in the morning, and at sunset. Hence, the Malay name (at Batavia) *kimbai pagi sore* (morning and evening flower). Another name in Balinese is *sañja-sañja* (a corruption of *sandhyā*). The mango has a Sanskrit name only in Batavian Malay, viz. *maṅga*, an abbreviation of *kāmaṅga*. On Bali it is called, as in Kawi, *poh* (cf. Malay *pauh* ^{طوب}), and in Javanese *pëlēm*, which is an abbreviation of the Menangkabau Malay *marapalam* or the Malaka Malay *ampëlam*. *Marapalam* is Tamil. The rose apple is *ñambu* in Balinese, *jambu* in Javanese, as in Sanskrit. In the Kawi copper-plate inscriptions, as well as in some Kawi works found in this island, *Majapahit* is written *Majhapahit*. *Maja* is the Javanese name of the vilva; hence the Kawi name of the place *Vilcatikta* (*tikta* = *pahit*, bitter). The ancient character for *jha* being confounded by the Balinese with the diphthong *ai* and pronounced *èr*, gave rise to another name of *Majapahit*, viz. *Maèrpahit*.

Among the most important *Kiḍung* are the *Malat*, the *Wasèn*, and the *Wanban Wideya*. These three somewhat voluminous compositions relate the exploits of the Prince of Koripan, after the loss of his beloved one, the Princess of Daha. The plot is nearly the same in each, but the names of the actors differ altogether. In the *Malat*, the name of the hero is Nusapati: he is the eldest son of the King of Koripan (*Kahuripan* or *Kagěsañan*), and when the Princess *Anrankesari* is lost he roves about under the assumed name *Amalatraçmi*

(one who conquers beauties), which the Balinese have shortened into *Malat*. In the *Wasèn* the hero is called *Wirânamtami*, and after the loss of the Princess of *Daha*, whose name is *Amahiraras*, he takes the name of *Tamasah*. When living at the court of *Daha*, in the vicinity of his beloved one, who was not aware of his being the prince of *Koripan*, he went by the name of *Kuda*, or *Huṇḍakan Wasèn Sari*, or *Wasèn Sari* (*kuda* and *huṇḍakan* mean horse, whereas *sari* and *sĕkar* mean both flower and princess). In the *Waṇbaṇ Wideya* the hero is called *Makaradhwaja*, and after the loss of *Warâstrasari*, princess of *Daha*, he takes the name *Waṇbaṇ Wideya*. The word *Pañji*, so popular in Malay, Javanese and Balinese literature, is not the name of a hero, but simply means a surname or adopted name. The name *Apañjyamalatraçmi* means "having the surname of the conqueror of beauties." The meaning of *Anrañkesari* is "who defies the flowers (by her beauty)," it has been corrupted by the Balinese into *Rañkesari*, which has no meaning at all.

As to the plot of these three poems, and the heroes and heroines occurring in them, they resemble more the Malay tales belonging to the *Pañji* cyclus than the modern Javanese poems treating of the same subject. The brother of *Anrañkesari* is *Wirânantaja*; he afterwards takes the name of *Malâyu* on being adopted by the King of a foreign nation called *Tanjawa* (i.e. non-Javanese). We may surmise from this that the modern name of the Malays, *Malayu* (which in Javanese means "to run away"), is quite of a late date, as it does not occur in the *Kawi* poems. Probably *Tanjawa* was the name which the ancient Javanese gave to the Malays. For the sake of the rhyme *Tanjawa* is occasionally written *Tanjawi*. But the name *Jawi* given to the language is properly an Arabic word, and has nothing to do with *Tanjawi*. The Arabs called all the nations of the Indian Archipelago *Jawi*, and the Malay authors of religious works applied the word to their own language. For an attempt to explain the origin of the name *Malayu* see my *Bataksch leesboek*, vol. iv. p. 43.

The story of Wirānantaja, and his bearing the name Malayu, occurs also in the Malay novel *Hantuwah*. Having no access here to Javanese MSS. treating of the same subject, I am unable to state whether it is found also in modern Javanese poems. I am inclined to think, however, that the origin of the Malay novels is traceable to the ancient Javanese poems, and not to the modern ones. I infer this from the form of some proper names which bear a greater resemblance to the Kawi form than to the Javanese. Thus, e.g. Bhagadatta, one of the heroes of the *Bhāratayuddha*, is called in Malay Bahgadata, and not, as in Javanese, Bagadēnta. The Kawi *wadwa* is in Malay وادو, and not wadya, as in Javanese. The above-mentioned word *hunda-kan* (Balinese *undakan*, only said of the horses of men of high caste) is found also in Malay MSS. (see my "Short Account of the Malay MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society," No. 7, ii). We find the name Malatrasmi applied to a woman in a Malay tale (l.l., No. 25). Lastly, we meet with the humblest form of the first personal pronoun in Balinese, *tityaṅ*, in a Malay tale in the form of *titiyaṅ* (l.l., No. 46). As far as I know, the word is never used as a pronoun in ancient Javanese; but *titiyaṅ* ("man," "your man") often occurs as a pronoun of the first person, principally in the Malay spoken on Java (=tuwanpuña oraṅ). In Kawi poems *titiyaṅ* means servant, dependent. It is not probable, however, that the Malay word was borrowed directly from the Balinese. I would leave the question open for the present.

Another popular poem is the *Bhîmâswarga*, which relates how Bhîma went to the Kawah (hell) in order to liberate Paṇḍu, whose corpse had been forcibly carried away by the dependents of Yama, called in the poem Chikarabala, a corruption of Kinkarabala. The Javanese call him Chinka-rabala, and make him one of Çiwa's dependents.

Nawaruchi is a poem relating the treacherous conduct of Droṇa towards the generous but weak-minded Bhîma, who is sent abroad to fetch the toya pawitra, and encounters all sorts of dangers, till he dies, and is brought to life again by

the bhagawân Nawaruchi, a man whom Çiwa had adopted. This tale occurs also in Malay, where Nawaruchi has been turned into Tawaruchi (ç easily passed into ÿ). Pawitra has been corrupted in the Malay tale into Kawitra. I cannot make sense of Nawaruchi; but Wararuchi is the name of the author of the Sârasamuchchaya, a very corrupt prose work which contains moral precepts. This work contains many çlokas taken from the Mahâbhârata. The vocatives Kaunteya and pâtha occur, but not frequently. Some çlokas I have been able to correct from the Hitopadeça and Panchatantra, where they also occur. Thus, *e.g.*:

daridran bhaja, kaunteya, ma prayacheçware dhanam,
wyadhitasyoçadham pathya nnîrajawya kimoçadhaih,

may be corrected from Hitop. i, 14. In the Javanese translation the equivalent of içwara is sugih (wealthy). The çloka

pûrwe wayasi yah çântah sa çânta iti me matih
dhâtûşu kşîyamâneşu çamah kasya na jâyate,

is from the Panchatantra i. 181. The third çloka of the Hitopadeça (Introd.) is given as follows: arjayet jñânam arthâç cha widwân amarawat sthitah, keçewiwa grêhîtah san mrëtyanâ dharmam âcharet. The text is very corrupt and full of lacunæ. The Mahâbhârata is referred to as Bhâratakathâ. The words *pûrta* and *işta* have the meaning of meritorious works, such as providing the country with wells, resting places, temples, etc. Though the ancient Javanese translation is here and there rather free, it is interesting as giving an insight into the meaning of many Kawi words.

No good copies of the *Nawaruchi* and *Bhîmâswarga* appear to exist, probably on account of these poems being too popular, and having suffered too much by transcribers belonging to the uneducated classes. The same may be said of the *Sritañjun*, of which kiðun I have consulted many MSS. The variety of readings is quite bewildering. This poem is very interesting, being entirely pagan, though copies of it in the Arabic character exist at Bañuwani, where it was probably composed at a time when a great part of

East Java still adhered to the Indian faith. From the journals of Dutch navigators, we know that after the fall of Majapahit till late in the seventeenth and at the beginning of the eighteenth century the Eastern portion of Java had not yet embraced Islam. The Balinese know nothing of what is related by Sir S. Raffles, and some Dutch writers, all of whom placed too much reliance on the Javanese chronicles, namely, that those Javanese who objected to adopting the new faith fled to Bali immediately after the conquest of Majapahit by the Musalmans. The comparatively small island of Bali was already a dependency of Java before the rise of Majapahit. Besides, those pagan Javanese could take refuge in Javanese states, such as Panarukan and Balambangan, without having to go to Bali. The Balinese played till late in the eighteenth century a conspicuous part in the wars against the Western Muhammadan states, and there is a village in Bañuwani, called Chunkin, the inhabitants of which were still pagans fifty years ago. The Sritañjun does not contain a trace of Muhammadan influence; it is only in the Javanese copies that a few Arabic words occur. In the copies found on Bali, the author calls himself Chitragotra, and says that he composed the Sritañjun after the *Sudamala*. The latter poem relates how Sadewa (Sahadewa) delivered Durga of her Râksasa form, the consequence of a curse by Çiwa, who had convicted her of adultery with a young cowherd, and had assumed that form to put her to the test. Uma, being transformed into a monster, received the name of Durga, and was compelled to dwell in the cemetery Gandamayū. Sahadewa delivered her of the consequences of Çiwa's curse, and went thenceforth by the name of Sudamala,—a corruption from çuddha (purified), and mala (a temporary monstrous form caused by the curse of a god). Sritañjun is a sequel of the Sudamala. Sritañjun, the daughter of Sahadewa, is married to Sidapakṣa (in the dialect of Bañuwani Sidâpoksâ), her cousin, the son of Nakula. He stabs her under the impression that she had committed adultery during his absence in Indra's heaven whither the king had

sent him in order to seduce Sritañjuñ. From the circumstance of her blood emitting a delicious scent he concluded that the king had slandered her. According to the tradition, Bañu (water) wañi (well scented) has its name from her, but the poem itself says nothing about this. The wicked king, Sinduraja, is at last killed by Sidapakṣa, who is assisted by the Pāṇḍawas. Both poems, though kiḍuñs, contain many old words. I have not been able to explain from the Sanskrit the proper names occurring in them. Is Gandamayū Sanskrit? A corruption from Gandamaya is not probable, as the termination maya is well known in Kawi (kañchanamaya, ratnamaya, etc.).

With reference to the antiquity of the Kawi compositions to be found in the island of Bali, it is as yet impossible to fix any dates. It is worthy of notice that a few Tamil and Persian words are found even in the earliest Kawi compositions. Thus, pane or (metri causâ) paney, a kind of jar to cultivate the lotus in, is undoubtedly Tamil. Persian words are joñ جنك, taraju ترازو, and gulû گلوله. The last-named is julû (throat) in Javanese; but this may be an accidental resemblance.

There is hardly any trace found of Arabic words. A curious example is majum (v.r. majyum), "a soporific mixture causing a person to fall into a death-like sleep." This word is معجون, well known to readers of Malay novels: it occurs in the Wanbañ Wideya, a thoroughly pagan poem.

The Kawi of Bali differs from that of Java. In modern Javanese poems the word swanita (wanting in Gericke's Javanese Dictionary) means "sweat," whereas in the genuine Kawi it means "blood," and is synonymous with çonita. In modern Javanese poetry chañtuka is found in the sense of "frog," whereas in the genuine Kawi only mañḍûka is used. In making use of such words, the Javanese, having for a long period neglected their pagan literary compositions, only guessed at the sound. Amongst the Balinese words which are a puzzle to me is kañeri, "oleander," a translation of the Sanskrit açwamâ-raka. Hunter (Orissa, ii. App. p. 176) mentions kaniyâri

as the name of the oleander. But how did kañeri get into Balinese, as it does not occur in Kawi books? According to the Balinese themselves, the oleander was introduced by a European some thirty years ago at Baduñ, where Mr. Lange, a Danish merchant, caused it to be planted in his garden. Most probably it had been introduced by some Indian merchant into Singapore, whence Mr. Lange procured it. The word kañeri may be known in the Straits, but I have never come across it in Malay compositions. The Javanese poem *Denwaruchi* bears but little resemblance to the Nawaruchi, and is very tedious. It has been published at Samarang by Messrs. van Dorp & Co.

One of the Buddhistic kēkawin is the *Arjunawijaya*, which mentions Amitābha, Amoghasiddha, Wairochana, Akṣobhya, and Ratnasambhawa (?). Some of these names are also found in the Sutasoma, of which I have spoken before, and in certain invocations where they are described as bhaṭāra (bhaṭṭāra). I give here a literal transcript of the invocation (mantra) of the Dharmapañulih for the aversion of evil influences. Some passages of it are very corrupt, and cannot be mended without the aid of a better MS.—Uñ dwipada kita, pamulih mareñ pūrwapada, pamarēk mareñ bhaṭārākṣobhya, uñ huñ ya namah swaha. Uñ chaturpada kita, pamulih mareñ dakṣiṇapada, pamarēk mareñ bhaṭāra Ratnasambhawa, uñ trañ ya namah swaha. Uñ anahipada kita, pamulih mareñ paçchimapada pamarēk mareñ bhaṭārāmitābha, uñ hrih ya namah swaha. Uñ byuhpada kita, pamulih mareñ uttarapada, pamarēk mareñ bhaṭārāmoghasiddha, uñ ah ya namah swaha. Uñ ekapada kita, pamulih mareñ madhyapada, pamarēk mareñ bhaṭāra Werochana, uñ ah ya namah swaha iti dharmapamulih. Namō Buddhāya. “Uñ, ye two-footed ones, return to the East, present yourselves before god Akṣobhya.” The rest needs no translation. *Byuhpada* means “many-footed.” Instead of *anahipada* we have perhaps to read *ahipada*, “serpent-footed,” unless it be a blunder for *apada*. Many tales are found in the *Arjunawijaya*, which have been derived from the *Uttarakāṇḍa*. There are two editions of the modern Javanese recension,

one by the late C. F. Winter, and the other by Dr. Palmer van den Broek. The latter recension is a tedious enlargement of the former, which is as short as the Kawi poem itself. In both, however, many episodes are left out, such as those of Wedawatî and Râwana, and Nandîçwara and Râwana's endeavours to procure admission into Çiwa's abode. The original poem has been frequently misunderstood and spoilt in the translation.

ART. III.—*The Nirvana of the Northern Buddhists.* By the
Rev. J. EDKINS, D.D., of Peking.

THE word "Nirvana" expresses the doctrine of immortal hope as held by the ten Buddhist nations; the Singhalese of Ceylon, the Ghoorkas of Nepaul, the Tibetans, Mongols, Chinese, Coreans, Japanese, Cochin Chinese, Siamese, and Birmese.

The happiness they are looking for beyond this life, according to the teaching of Shakyamuni, is the Nirvana. Very interesting it is to inquire what all these races think of the future existence of the soul and of the real nature of death.

The religious thinker in all lands meditates much on death, and assigns to it according to his idea its own special significance. Death is to all men the inevitable end of their bodily activity, and presents in all countries to every reflective observer the same phenomena. But the metaphysical Hindoo, the believer in the necessary evil attaching to matter, will not look on death in the same way as the singer of some Scandinavian "Saga," or as the hunter in the primeval forests of America.

What more natural, then, that the meditative Buddhist in his cloister erected on the banks of some ancient Hindoo river, accustomed as he was to look on human life as utterly bad and delusive, should learn to regard death as the joyful enfranchisement of the captive soul, a rest from the weary longings and disappointments of poor human nature?

Those men among the contemplative monks of Hindoo antiquity who had the sharpest intellects and the highest spiritual development became the leaders of the multitude. What they said was truth and law. It was accepted by inferior men, who taught it as authoritative. The Nirvana is a doctrine of death suited to a monkish system which declares all the joy of life to be deception, and looks with philo-

sophical pity on the grandeur of kings and the glory of heroes. Life is to them a painful struggle with Mara, the chief of demons. All things are born but to suffer and to die. Even death does not, without the aid of Buddha's wisdom, extricate them from the wheel of successive births and deaths in the wider world, of which this world forms a part. From this evil destiny, the Nirvana sets them free for ever. The wise course for a man to take is to aim at the attainment of the Nirvana during his present life by moral and monastic methods, so as to be extricated now from the "Samsara" or world of delusions.

The northern Buddhist nations are seven, and the southern three. The Tibetans and Mongols gave up their old religion when they became Buddhists. The worship of non-Buddhist divinities, and the faith of wizards, which they formerly had, was exchanged for Buddhism, with its hope of the Western Paradise and its Nirvana. The most educated amongst these nations are the Lamas; and it is their duty to read the Buddhist metaphysics. They accept the Buddhist denial of the reality of the world, and with it they receive the Nirvana, its proper accompaniment. The inferior Lamas and the common Tibetans and Mongols believe in the metempsychosis, and in the heavens and hells, and other states required to complete the retribution which attends all human actions according to that doctrine. The belief in the souls of faithful worshippers being conveyed at death to the Paradise of "Amitabha" in the extreme west is very widely spread among these classes, and this doctrine tends very much to keep the Nirvana out of sight. The same is true of the Ghoorkas.

The Chinese faith in Buddhism has been very much kept in check by Confucianism. The spirit of that religion is highly sceptical. So also is the Buddhist metaphysical philosophy. Buddhism adapts itself with great readiness to this state of things. It has fictitious worlds of joy and misery for the credulous, and a series of bold negations for those who are fond of nihilism. On the whole the balance is on the side of unbelief. The deniers of the Buddhist hope

are in China bolder than its defenders. Still it is professed. The Chinese Buddhist looks for the Nirvana or for the western Paradise as the goal of his efforts. But he is rather shy of a controversy with the Confucianists, because they have on their side position, confidence, learning and imperial decrees. On his tombstone he does, however, express hope of the "Nirvana" or of the heaven of "Omito fo." At least his friends do so for him in monumental inscriptions. The rich Confucianist also after his death has priests invited by his family to perform funeral prayers for his quick release from the sufferings to which he may be subjected by the order of "Yama," king of death, in the prisons of the Buddhist purgatory. As to the Nirvana, no Confucianist hopes for it.

The state of things in regard to hope of the future life is much the same in Corea and Japan. In Corea Confucianism is strong, as strong perhaps as in China, at least among the upper classes. Buddhism is there despised by the educated. In Japan, Buddhism is stronger because it was the favourite religion of the Sioguns. The Paradise of the Western Heaven was very much thought of in the time of their domination. It has influenced not a little the religious life of the people, who seem to look for future happiness in this form as a certainty. This at least is implied by inscriptions to be seen on many graves. Just as this hope has become definite, the expectation of the Nirvana has become dim. The Western Heaven once accepted, there was not much hope for the colder and more abstruse idea of the Nirvana. The Nirvana is a heaven devised by metaphysicians, the result of logical necessity, and the expectation of it, and the striving after it, are very much limited to metaphysical logicians.

Neither in China nor in Japan is the transmigration of the soul into an animal body at death entertained much as a serious article of faith. The flesh of animals is used for food commonly in both these countries with as little scruple as amongst ourselves. This is the case outside of the monastery. Some of the examples of the opinions held on this and other

connected subjects by monks themselves at the present time will be given further on.

The way is left open for a belief in heaven and hell in a manner more like the Christian doctrine. It is not difficult to observe, in the popular way of thinking on this subject, an approximation to the idea of a single abode of joy for the good, and a single abode of punishment for the wicked. The popular consciousness has shaped out a niche into which the Western Paradise of "Amitabha" fits aptly. Among the Buddhist hells the eighteenth is the most spoken of. The Buddhism of Cochin China may be looked on as an offshoot of Chinese Buddhism. Amongst the three Southern Buddhist nations the transmigration of souls is probably much more believed among the people than in the north. The Buddhists of Ceylon, Birmah, and Siam have this doctrine as an article of faith and universal education. With it is joined the Nirvana. There is no Western Paradise. They have not among them the same appetite for the sensuous that is found among the nations of more temperate climates. They are more readily content with annihilation. This is perhaps a result of listlessness of nature. More sinewy and vigorous races are not so pleased, as they are, to be extinguished in the Nirvana. Hence, the effort of the Northern Buddhists to attain a Paradise where a certain conscious existence is enjoyed, need not surprise us.

From this brief statement of the different views held on the immortality of the soul by the Buddhist nations it plainly appears that the treatment of the immortal hope that ever springs up freshly in the human soul by a mode of argument mainly metaphysical has been to a large extent suicidal. The hope itself has become in many cases suffocated by dry discussion respecting it. Unless the argumentative faculties are in a most vigorous condition, the hope expressed by the doctrine of Nirvana becomes nothing better than passive resignation to be extinguished. Those, also, who are by their natural gifts and metaphysical training able to enter with any sort of zeal into the attempt at reaching the Nirvana, are so few, that this form of the hope

of immortality becomes useless as a stimulus to virtue on any large scale, nor does it afford any adequate satisfaction to the human soul in its longings after higher life and knowledge. The Nirvana is essentially abstruse and unreal, and not adapted to become a powerful element in a popular religion.

Yet it should not be inferred that the Buddhists of any of the ten nations have entirely abandoned it, even in those lands where it has the least practical influence. Some account will now be given of the way in which it is talked of by the Chinese Buddhists in their books still reprinted, and in the modern life of the monastery.

In "the Sutra of the Diamond and of the Good Law," the term "Nirvana" is explained as meaning destruction and salvation combined. The translator Hiuen Tsang further explains it as "round and still." This is still further described as complete in virtue and freedom from all checks to progress. Another writer adds that the Nirvana consists, not in the removal of entanglements only, but in final exit from the world of transmigrations. Another writer explains it as "joy and peace." This is a destiny, it is added, which the holy man and the common man may each share if they follow Buddha's method. He who enters the Nirvana is said to "arrive at the shore." "That" is in antithesis to my personality. "I" becomes lost in the objective. In this way of speaking, the moral Nirvana is exchanged for that of extinction of individuality and absorption in the universe. When this modification of the doctrine assumes definite shape, Buddhist writers like to introduce statements of reservation. For example, while the body of Buddha was consumed in flames, his doctrinal self (*fa shen*) exists for ever, and his wisdom and efficacious power cannot cease to be.

They also divide the limited Nirvana from the absolute Nirvana, or as they say, the Nirvana with a remainder, and the Parinirvana without a remainder. The former of these is realized in the cessation of all the entanglements and annoyances of the three worlds, and this is during the present life. The absolute Nirvana (Parinirvana) follows cremation and the loss of consciousness. The Nirvana

of present attainment has a knowledge of misery without being quite rid of it, breaks away from many evils without entire enfranchisement. The final Nirvana is that form which is preferred by the Mahayana school, so much favoured by the Northern Buddhists; and it follows the attainment of all kinds of merit and of wisdom, such as are illustrated in the actions of the Buddhas and Bodhisattwas.

The distinction of Nirvana as moral victory, from Parinirvana "annihilation," has come partly from a consideration of the need for reconciling the realized perfection found in Buddha and the Bodhisattwas during their life, with the absolute rest of death. Both are perfection, and the annihilation doctrine must not be so held as to endanger the recognition of the complete virtue of the reforming preacher, who has already attained rescue from temptation, and undertakes to show to others how they also may be free. The "Lotus Sutra" states that the Nirvana is not to be sought for myself alone. I must seek the Nirvana in the way that Buddha sought for it. He postponed it till he was a very old man in order that he might first save multitudes by leading the way to ultimate happiness. This is called Showing the Nirvana. So also the Bodhisattwa is represented as first having his mind fixed in contemplation on the Nirvana, and cultivates the virtues which render him successful in this course of benevolence. Then there is a third stage in his progress. He leads disciples on to the perception of the secret doctrine, and deliberately postpones his own entrance into the state of absolute perfection till he has placed them in safety. The fourth stage is his own entrance into the Nirvana after the expiration of the destined time assigned him at his own wish for aiding in the rescue of others from misery.

After this preliminary sketch, I shall proceed to show, from the Northern Buddhist literature, that the Nirvana means death, and that the peculiarity of the expressions made use of by the Buddhists when speaking of it arose from a desire to ennoble and glorify the death of their great religious guide, Shakymuni Buddha.

The doctrine of Nirvana is very much connected in the life of Buddha with the phenomena and experiences of death. Perhaps this circumstance has not been sufficiently kept in view by European students of the Buddhist teaching on the Nirvana.

The usual translation of the Sanskrit word "Nirvana" in the Chinese translations is *mie tu*, "destruction and salvation." The idea is that salvation is found in extinction. Death is viewed as a glorification. Death coming to a good man is looked at with an honorific feeling. Its painful features should be covered over with well-rounded phrases. The frequency with which the term *mie tu* occurs is proof of the correctness of the statement, that the Nirvana is another name for death. It is *εὐθανασία*. It is the triumph of ascetic life over the body. The body, says the Buddhist, is impregnated with the principles of evil, and in the Nirvana evil is finally conquered. The hero who holds the refined doctrines of the Buddhist metaphysics cannot be supposed by any man who is in sympathy with them to be capable of being vanquished in the struggle with matter. The Buddhist ascetic easily subjugates the body. Whatever happens to it, he retains dominion over it. Even when the body dies, the ascetic still triumphs. His confidence in the permanent certainty of the doctrines in which he believes is not weakened by death. Belief in the Nirvana thus seems to be the assurance felt that in death the highest possible condition of the soul is attained.

Here there is need of care in the use of certain terms. In the Nirvana there is no life, no death, no present, no future. We must not then speak of the Nirvana as a higher life, that would be to say that living is a permanent state. This the Buddhist must carefully avoid. Consciousness must not be predicated of the soul, nor must the soul be imagined as having individual existence or any realized independent life. This would be to transgress the fundamental ideas of Buddhism.

In the use of terms we must allow a certain freedom to the Buddhist logician. Then let us judge of the doctrines they

teach, in a perfectly fair and reasonable manner, taking phrases in the sense assigned to them by the Buddhist. But we need not be deterred by his airy metaphysics from the exercise of common sense in judging of the true meaning of the term Nirvana, and of the dogma that the world is unreal. A little actuality, a little realism introduced into the discussion of the true meaning of the Nirvana, and of the dogma of the non-reality of all things, will help us greatly. To understand Buddhism as a religion having popular power, we must remember that the world is real after all, and must also allow ourselves to regard death as the Nirvana. The world must still be to us visible, tangible and audible.

The Buddhist Sutras are intensely realistic. Thus, the great Nirvana Sutra contains in its descriptions of Buddha's death minute details of a material kind. The assembly that gathered to witness the death of Buddha was so deeply moved, it is said, with grief, that all raised their hands and struck their breasts. They wept loudly and bitterly. Their limbs and finger joints all quivered with emotion. They could not contain themselves. All the minute pores of their bodies gave forth blood, which was sprinkled on the ground.

The last food eaten by Buddha was offered by Chunda, an artisan of Kushinagara. When the assembly knew that Buddha had consented to receive his offering and partake of the food, all were filled with delight. They said to him. "You are like the moon on the fifteenth day when it is full, and the sky is clear without a cloud. Just as all look up at the moon with admiration, so do we look up to you, because Buddha has made his last meal of the food you offered. Honour to you, Chunda, whose body is that of a man, but whose heart is like that of Buddha. You are now a son of Buddha, just as Rahula is his son." Chunda was delighted, and leaped with joy. His feeling was like that of a man, who, his father and mother having died, saw them suddenly restored to life.

When Buddha was about to die, the intelligence was widely spread, and the phrase employed to indicate it was

that he was at once about to enter the Nirvana. Here follows an example of the language made use of. "Joo lai, being about to enter the Nirvana, all the Devas and their companies of followers came to pay their respects and offer gifts. Only Brahma did not come. The assembly was much grieved, and recited Gathas to express their thought. Buddha then, by the exercise of his marvellous power, caused the creation of some of those beings whose nature is hard and indestructible as the diamond. They, revealing their great energy, caused three thousand worlds to shake as they ascended to the palace of Brahma. To him they said, 'How mad and foolish you are! Buddha is about to enter the Nirvana. Why do you not go?' They then made use of their unconquerable strength, symbolized by the name diamond, to point out to him the true state of things. Brahma then went to the place where Buddha and the assembly were gathered.

"Buddha, as he lay, pillowed his head on the north, pointed with his feet to the south, directed his face toward the west, and had his back toward the east. Joo lai, in the middle of the night, quietly, and without a sound, at this hour went into the Nirvana. There were four pairs of the Sara tree growing there. As he entered into the Nirvana, the two pairs of trees on the east and west united and became one tree. So also the two pairs of trees on the north and south became one tree, letting fall a magnificent canopy, which overwhelmed Buddha as he lay. They changed to a white colour to indicate their sorrow, looking white as storks. The great assembly uttered loud sounds of lamentation, which shook the surrounding worlds.

"Then all the people hastened into the city. There they made a gold coffin ornamented with the seven precious things, and also banners and canopies of sandal wood, flowers and other fragrant things. These they brought and presented as their offerings. The multitude after this, weeping, lifted Buddha into the coffin. They then appointed four strong bearers to carry the coffin into the city. They could not lift it. Sixteen were then appointed, but they also

failed to lift it. Then Aniruddha said to the bearers, 'If all the people in the city were to join in the lifting it, they would not succeed, we must obtain the assistance of the Devas.' Before he had finished these words, Indra Shakra appeared, holding a splendid canopy hanging in the air. A multitude of Devas arrived with Indra offering service. Then Buddha felt pity and raised himself in the air in the coffin to the height of a Tala tree.¹ The coffin of itself entered the West Gate, and came out by the East. It then entered the South Gate, and came out by the North. It went round the city seven times, slowly moving in the air, till it reached the place of burial."

"Buddha entered the Nirvana on the 15th of the 2nd month. On the 22nd, when he was about to leave the coffin, the weeping crowd lifted him out and placed him on the couch of the seven precious things. Here he was bathed with fragrant water, and his body wrapped round from head to foot with embroidered cloth, and white satin. He was then replaced in the coffin, which was lifted upon an elevated frame made of fragrant wood. The multitude of those who held fragrant torches and proceeded to stand round the coffin then all entered the state of destruction."

Then follows an account of Buddha raising himself in the coffin on the seventh day after his death to pay respects to his mother. She came from the Tanti Paradise to weep. The coffin was opened. Buddha rose, joined his hands, and said, 'You have come down from a distant Paradise.' He also said to Ananda, 'You should know that it is for an example in after-times to those who are not filial that I have now left my coffin to ask respecting the health and peace of my mother.'

Enough has been given to show the strong realistic form into which the entrance to the Nirvana of Shakyamuni has been worked by the northern school of his disciples. Buddha's resurrection and the performance by him of magical feats after his death may be taken to show that in a certain way

¹ Tala, the palmyra palm. As a measure of length, seventy feet.

he was supposed still to be possessed of consciousness. Realistic views would lead to this. The belief in the universal presence of Buddha in nature as an inherent divinity manifesting himself in the successive phenomena of the physical world would naturally follow such descriptions. To the popular mind of Mongolia Buddha is a powerful divinity who exercises a providence over the world. To the strict Buddhist trained in the metaphysical doctrine of his creed this is an impossibility. Consciousness is lost in the Nirvana. But among the multitude, realism triumphs over metaphysical opinion, and Buddha is regarded as a mighty living power.

This view may throw light on the question raised a few years ago by Professor Max Müller. He stated that the Nirvana means spiritual freedom, and is not inconsistent with a belief in the continued existence of the soul. In the Nirvana we have an esoteric doctrine for the learned who have adopted the opinion that the body and the visible world are delusive, and try to convince themselves that life itself and all its pleasures are not worth having. In the popular belief we have a Nirvana of Victory over moral evil with an esoteric faith in the reality of the world, and of Buddha as a powerful God capable of being addressed in prayer and affording protection to every devotee. But the objection may be raised that the metaphysical view is the only genuine Buddhist orthodoxy. If so, it will be difficult to maintain that Buddha can in any proper sense be said to be living after his entrance into the Nirvana. The Nirvana is "destruction." It is rescue from the state of alternate living and dying to which mortals are exposed. To live is to suffer. Not to live is to be happy. But the belief in metempsychosis makes of death not the extinction of an unhappy existence, but only the door to another form of it. Therefore the Nirvana is made the escape from death as well as life. Death is not a cure for human misery. The Nirvana is so, because it is a permanent state of rest in unconsciousness.

The Hindoo race is fond of metaphysical dogma. The

nations north of India are not so. To them the metempsychosis is not a strongly pronounced belief. To disbelieve in the actuality of the world is against their better judgment. There is not much depth in the convictions, if they are so to be called, of the Northern Buddhist on this point. He is obliged to accept it dogmatically, but in his explanation he shows that his faith is rather in the destructibility of matter, and in its changeableness, than in its non-reality.

So in regard to the present state in which Buddha is believed to be, the Northern Buddhist mind cares little or not at all for the abstract dogma that entire freedom from life and from death is the only perfect condition. The way is open for the belief that he exists. This is specially so in regard to Amitabha, the guiding Buddha, who is represented as residing in the regions of the "pure land," "*tsing too*." The Buddhist does not limit himself to any strictly self-consistent scheme which might require the denial of the existence of the Buddhas because they have entered the Nirvana. He makes a Buddha wherever he pleases, and invents a universe on paper, in which he may display his qualities and powers as a mediator. He regards Buddha as a divinity possessed of power to save. Every invocation "Omito Fo" is a recognition of the present agency of this Buddha, whose help in saving may be obtained by prayer.

The legend of Omito melts away indeed under investigation, and is sacrificed by the Buddhist without regret. It is a means to an end. That end is spiritual and moral improvement. Any legend that would help the devotee equally well on the path of progress would be equally welcome. This and every other legend in the Sutras is intended to aid in contemplative devotion.

The early compilers of the Sutras and Shastras made Buddhism abstruse and metaphysical. The promoters of popular Buddhism have made it more like what the part it was to perform as one of the world's great religions required it to be. If the first is orthodox Buddhism, the second is practical Buddhism. The orthodox form is abstruse and dim. It fails in clearness, intelligibility and

impressiveness. The second is suited for the ordinary class of believers. It deals in images of clay, symbols, legends, masses for the dead, and so forth. It is better apprehended by the common mind. Practical Buddhism is found at the present time to be predominantly of this kind. If it be asked whether the common Buddhists of the present day understood by the Nirvana anything else than an honorific description of death, it must be answered that many of them do not. There is need here for some further elucidation of that practical aspect of the Buddhist Nirvana, which is of great importance, and to which the great unrivalled Pali scholar, Mr. R. C. Childers, has drawn attention in a fragmentary note, followed by Mr. Rhys Davids in the *Contemporary Review* of February, 1877. The Nirvana is an ideal moral perfection attained gradually by progressive advance in the Buddhist virtues and steady perseverance in contemplation. The life of the ascetic approaches gradually nearer to the Nirvana.

He makes use of the doctrine of the Nirvana as a means to approximate towards moral perfection, and in doing so he rises upward towards the final Nirvana, his progress being in proportion to his self-knowledge and self-improvement.

The practical use of the doctrine of Nirvana, as of all Buddhist doctrine, is to assist in contemplative moral training. For example, Buddha, the Law, and the Priesthood, the Devas, the rules of discipline and alms-giving, are, in the Nirvana Sutra, called the six subjects of meditation. They lead to six different developments, viz. the merciful moral teacher (Buddha), the mother Buddha of the past, present and future (Law), the field of happiness cultivated by men and Devas (Priesthood), long life and great joy (Devas), purity in body and mind (resulting from discipline), and relief to the poor and distressed (alms-giving).

In the course of meditation prescribed by the Nirvana Sutra it is said that there are six things rare to attain. They are, (1) to be born in the age when Buddha appears, (2) to hear the correct doctrine proclaimed, (3) to exhibit the true spirit of almsgiving, (4) to be born in the country

Magadha,¹ (5) to receive at birth a human body, (6) to have the five senses, with the powers of body and mind all complete.

The course of Buddhist thought is marked by a scholastic spirit which delights in numerical categories. Thus, in the Nirvana Sutra, there are six objects that hold certain things. The earth holds living things, and things not living. Mountains hold the earth, and prevent it from falling to ruin. The eyes hold light. Clouds hold water. Men may hold the law. A mother holds a child.

The same Sutra details seven methods of moral improvement. They are the knowledge of the law, embracing the twelve principal sutras. The knowledge of the meaning of terms and doctrines found in Buddhist literature. The knowledge of the times to practise the six means of salvation, viz. alms-giving, monastic rules, patient endurance of insult, zeal in making progress, contemplation (Dhyana), wisdom (Pradjna). The knowledge how to feel content with the food, clothes, and medicines which are supplied. The knowledge of one's self in regard to faith and discipline. The knowledge of companions in reference to sitting, walking, coming, rising, exposition of doctrine, and catechizing. The knowledge of the distinction of high and low among disciples according to their amount of faith and goodness.

The same Sutra also treats of eight contradictions. These are purity, individuality, joy, permanence, and their contradictions, with a repetition of the same in a different order, the contradictions occurring first.

The Nirvana is at the top of an ascent mounted by successive steps. Thus to become a monk and abandon family life is the first step. To practise contemplation is the second step. Moral evil and disorder are thus abandoned. The acquisition of wisdom is the third step, and thus puts a stop to wrong thinking. The entrance to the Nirvana is

¹ Magadha is the modern Behar. It means the "Middle Kingdom." In the old nomenclature, Birmah was eastern India, so that the lands watered by the Ganges, and its tributaries, were considered as Central India. The lands watered by the Indus, and its tributaries, were Northern India.

the fourth step, and thus extricates the ascetic from life and death.

When Childers claims for the word "Nirvana" two distinct meanings, one annihilation and the other moral perfection or sanctification, he perhaps asks too much, for we must find some way to unite them. Metaphysics constitutes the logical framework of Buddhism, and requires the Nirvana to mean annihilation. The ethical element is however its life, and may be called its flesh and blood.

Buddhism is a failure unless there is a victory over the passions. Entrance into the final Nirvana is impossible, its rest can never be attained, except there be first a successful struggle with the world's temptations. Now it is perhaps better to say that Buddhism is one, whether the view we take be predominantly metaphysical or predominantly practical. So of the Nirvana. It is, when described philosophically, a complete release from the whirl of life and death and all the miseries of the Samsara. It is, when described as a life, a gradual process of moral improvement, culminating in a sort of return to the Absolute.

Four methods are mentioned as helping towards the Nirvana. The first is to approximate to virtue by knowledge. The second is to listen to correct instruction. The third is to meditate on that instruction. The fourth is to act in accordance with professions made.

The four virtues of the Nirvana are stated to be permanent tranquillity, joy, entire freedom and purity. By the first of these, viz. tranquillity, change and death are rendered impossible. By the second, joy, outward misery and inward grief are avoided. By the third, self-acting freedom, a really virtuous heart acts spontaneously with no check from without or from within. By the fourth, purity, the three delusions lose their power, and the soul is freed from the tendency to transgress the ten chief prohibitions. The three delusions are, the delusions of the thoughts, of the world, and of ignorance. The ten prohibitions are against killing, stealing, adultery, lying, etc., including the last five of the Ten Commandments of the Bible.

The approach to the Nirvana is made by moral improvement. This may be illustrated by the following extract from the great Nirvana Sutra: "If a thievish dog entered a man's house by night, the servants of the house on becoming aware would drive him out, scold him and say, 'Go quickly out, or we will take your life.' The dog hearing will run away and not return. So should you treat the devil. Say to him, 'Do not put on this appearance any longer, for if you do you shall be bound with five ropes.' The devil hearing this will go away as the dog did and not return." Kashiapa replied to this speech of Buddha in the words, "If any one can in this way subdue the devil, he will come near to the Parinirvana." See Chapter vi. page 3.

So it appears that to gain conquests over the evil one is to approach the Nirvana. He who conquers resolutely and persistently arrives at a higher point in the road to perfection than others.

Sometimes the three virtues are spoken of; the words *mahaparinirvana* are explained, *maha* great, *pari* destroy, *nirvana* salvation. The first is the embodiment of the law, the second is the wisdom of the "Pradjna Paramita." The third is liberation. Elsewhere these three virtues are assigned to Buddha.

Nothing is omitted from the Nirvana. It is conceived of as perfect, and not only must fortitude, watchfulness, and constancy in the victory over evil be embraced in its circle of perfection, but it must also include the immense knowledge and beauty of complete wisdom supposed to inhere in the Buddha and Bodhisattwa.

The personal embodiment of the law in the moral character, and in the teaching of Buddha, his perfect wisdom, and his liberation of himself and his disciples from the clogs and bonds of a worldly spirit, are also, as in this instance, predicated of the Nirvana.

It may be well asked what could prevent the assignment of the same perfections to the Nirvana that are represented as belonging to Buddha. The Buddhist writers of the period when these views were taking form strove to exalt

the character of Buddha till it lost its personality and consisted of general characteristics. This was represented as taking place when he entered the Nirvana. The word "Buddha" is a state rather than a person. He who shows the way to the Nirvana is himself possessed ultimately of the same characteristics as is the Nirvana itself. Buddha is a hero with lion-like strength and bravery, who in an instant snaps the bonds that entangle him, and tramples over the most powerful temptations of the world. The goal of his victories is the Nirvana. The description then of the Nirvana, which is the state at which Buddha ultimately arrives, cannot essentially differ from that of Buddha when liberated at length at death from every bond of individuality. Terminating his material and mental existence, he becomes lost in the absolute state which is accounted the only real salvation.

The Nirvana then may be identified with Buddha. This can be seen in the *Kiau cheng fu shu*, chap. iii. p. 32. I say "may be," because I cannot point to the assertion in a Buddhist work that they are identical. In the criticism of an outsider they may be conveniently identified. In speaking of the death of a distinguished Buddhist, remarkable for a pure contemplative life, the Chinese would say indifferently that he has become Buddha, or that he has realized or entered the Nirvana. Such modes of speaking are used only of men who are noteworthy for Buddhist sanctity.

While considering the subject of the Nirvana, I have asked many priests in and out of Peking what they understood by it. While many somewhat ignorant priests have told me the Nirvana means death, or at best Buddha's death, a very learned priest said it is not death, but the state of non-existence and absolute deliverance from life and death. I reminded him that in China much is said of the peaceful land in the west, the world of supreme joy, and asked him, in the case of a priest who constantly meditated on this legend, if there was a greater probability of his going to that heaven in the west, than into the Nirvana. He refused to

admit that there was any such probability. I then asked him if some men would really become horses or donkeys in a future state. He would not consent to this, nor admit that there was any reality in Buddhist descriptions of metempsychosis. Yet he avoided saying absolutely that there is no reality in them, and added that the essential point in all religions is virtuous conduct. As to dogmatic views on any subject, they are all very well for those who accept them, but they do not hold the same important place that is held by practical morality. He would not allow that he has any distinct faith in a future state, for himself or for his friends. He looked on any definite confidence of this kind as "sticking to form," which means clogged by material considerations, and corresponds to the use of the phrase "the letter" in St. Paul's writings, at least to some extent, as in 2 Cor. iii. 6, "not of the letter, but of the spirit: for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." In the idealism of the Northern Buddhists, things are represented as "forms" *siang*. The phrase "sticking to forms" means to be under the controlling influence of things as they appear. Those who stick to form, therefore, are in a state of delusion, caused by the devil who leads us to believe that the phenomena produced by his magical power are real. Such is the clinging nature of this tendency to be deluded that it does not easily leave even the man who is engaged in contemplations on the Nirvana.

The moment he comes to have views too definite on what the Nirvana is, he may be said to be "sticking to form." Our delusion is great in proportion to the definiteness of our conceptions. This is how, as I think, the opinions of this priest, who is still living near Peking, should be explained. He has a great local reputation for Buddhist wisdom, but will not allow that he has written a book. On his table were piled several works, written by Chinese Buddhists once well known. He came back again and again to morality as the basis of the Buddhist system, and I left him with the feeling that his view of the reality of a future state is very dim indeed, amounting almost to entire scepticism. One thing he

said was, "The soul is without form or substance. How can it be said to have a future state? How can anything distinct be affirmed of it after death?"

He declines therefore to say whether there is a future life or not.

The Chinese Buddhist monks read in childhood the Confucian books as well as their own. This may account for the prominence assigned to morality by this priest.

Another priest I lately conversed with was less combative in argument than this priest, and less sceptical with regard to dogma. He is fifty-five years of age, and was received into the priesthood with eighty others when a youth, at a temple near the northern west gate of Peking. In that temple he says there was a very unworldly ascetic old man, who had risen so entirely above the world that he was quite sure of entering the Nirvana. As to ordinary priests, he thought they will have to go through the long purifying process of the metempsychosis first. The ascetic he referred to as not needing any further trial or purification was occupied with the thought of Buddha, and so entirely devoted to his contemplations that there could be no doubt with regard to him.

I asked this priest, "Will you be burnt after death, or buried without burning?" He replied that it was his own wish to be burnt, and consequently it will be done. This is the case usually. The dying priest himself decides if he shall be burnt or not. I asked him what was the Nirvana. He replied, "It is neither life nor destruction." "Will you after death see the Shakyamuni Buddha?" He replied, "Yes, certainly, but not with the body. It will be by means of the 'Buddha nature' that I shall be able to see his Buddha nature." "But," I asked, "is not the metempsychosis real?" "Yes," he answered, "certainly it is. There can be no doubt about it. The calamities and good fortune that fall to the lot of men are proof of it. Why should some men be rich and others poor? It can only be from the secret operation of causes originating in the acts of former lives." He added that a rich man if he act ill will lose his riches in the next life,

and that if a man had in a former life mixed elements in the quality of his actions, some being good and others evil, he will in the present life have a corresponding character, and be upon the whole a man of mild and moderate temper.

From this instance it appears that moral goodness is that which prepares men for the Nirvana, and that the ascent to that highest state is accomplished by first proceeding through the lower in the path of progress. These lower steps are in this world or in other parts of the metempsychosis, which it will be remembered extends over the six regions of life known as Devas, men, animals, giants, hungry ghosts, and hell.

On the whole it may be said respecting the views held on the Nirvana by the Northern Buddhists that they comprehend all varieties. They have a popular teaching, and a higher Gnosis. They teach the metempsychosis, but do not insist on it. If it suits your state of mind, well. They will show you how by Buddha's wisdom you may reach the final escape from the delusion of existence in which you are enthralled, and leaving the sea of misery arrive at the Nirvana's peaceful shore. The means are found in moral reformation and contemplative devotion.

But if you are sceptical, they have a higher Gnosis, the Mahayana. You must submit to a pitiless argument to prove that nothing exists which men think exists, and that annihilation is desirable. You must learn to look on life itself as painful. The moral feelings and convictions are founded on an intellectual weakness. Love, piety, and benevolence are but delusive elements in the great delusive whole to which the unenlightened at present belong. In proportion as you can recognize this, do you approximate to the Nirvana, for in that there is no distinction of life and death, or of good and evil.

But then comes again the inextinguishable consciousness of future existence. The disciple will not be content with this pitiless logic, and the Mahayana finds for him a suitable doctrine, that of the western Paradise. The Buddhist teacher will not allow that imperfection exists in Buddha's teaching.

Those who long for heaven have a heaven provided for them. This is, however, only a means to an end. The higher Gnosis knows only annihilation, and bases it only on what is held by its advocates to be metaphysical necessity. Should another objector appear and say that the Nirvana is attainable now, and that not only did Buddha himself reach this state, but that all those who give themselves to a life of pure devotion and fixed contemplation may attain it, the upholders of the Mahayana consent to this, but add that it is merely a temporary and limited Nirvana, which is preliminary to that which they hold to be final.

ART. IV.—*An Account of the Malay "Chiri," a Sanskrit Formula.* By W. E. MAXWELL, M.R.A.S., Colonial Civil Service.

THE presence of a large number of Sanskrit words in the Malay language has often been pointed out, and the purity with which they are reproduced has been a subject of remark, showing, as it probably does, that they have been borrowed direct from the parent-language, and not from any of the Sanskrit-derived languages of India. Their sense, equally with their pronunciation, has varied little, and though many of them are more commonly met with in books than in the colloquial dialects, they are more completely part of the language than the ever-increasing crowd of Arabic words which have been introduced into it since the faith of El-Islam became established among the Malays. There is no documentary evidence, however, to show that the Sanskrit character was ever known to the Malays. What their alphabet was before the introduction of the Arabic character, or whether they ever possessed one, is unknown, though it has been conjectured that the Battak alphabet, or one closely resembling it, may have been in use among them.¹

Mohamedans by religion, and acquainted with no written character but that of the Arabs, a Sanskrit invocation in use among the Malays would appear to be an absolute anachronism. Yet this is what the Malay *chiri* seems to be. Perfectly unintelligible to the people who have handed it down for generations by oral repetition, and in Mohamedan times by means of the Arabic character, and much corrupted

¹ On this subject see "Ueber den ursprung der Schrift der Malayschen Völker," von Dr. Friedrich Müller. Wien, 1865.

in consequence, it seems, nevertheless, capable of identification as an address of praise, either to a Hindu god or to a Hindu king.

Being in Perak in an official capacity during the military operations in that State in 1875-6, I ascertained that it was generally believed by the natives that among the treasures said to comprise the *regalia* of the Sultan was a mysterious document written in the *bahasa jin* (language of the Genii), on the possession of which the safety of the kingdom depended. The name given to it was *Surat chiri*; *surat* in Malay meaning a document, and *chiri* a "sign" or "written testimony."¹ All inquiries for the document in question, or for copies of it, proved fruitless for a long time. They tended to prove, however, that no manuscript in the Sanskrit or other ancient character existed in Perak, and that the document called *chiri*, whatever it was, was written in the ordinary Malay-Arabic character.

Communication with Johor, the state in which the de-throned Sultan of Perak was living, produced little result. The original *chiri* was said to have disappeared several reigns back, in one of the petty wars which were formerly common in Perak, and though a substitute had been written down from the dictation of one of the privileged family trusted with the reading or reciting of the mystic formula, even this had been mislaid, and could not be found. In 1879, chance brought to light a copy of the document for which search had so long been made. A chest of native manuscripts which had belonged to former Sultans of Perak was opened at the British Residency, and among them was a small MS. volume containing the laws of the State. This transcript was dated the 18th Rajab, A.H. 1234, so it is about sixty years old. On the last page of it was a copy of the "Chiri." This I now subjoin, with a transliteration of it in Roman characters.

¹ *Chiri* is a Javanese word, but is found also in the Menangkabau dialect of Malay.

CHIRI.

اینله چیری

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

سَسْتَا سَسْتَتَبْ فَرَمَدَهْ فَرَحْرَا فَرَحْرَهْ فَرَمَكَبْ فَرَمَكَمْ سَوَجَنَّا سَوَجَنَمْ
 بُونَا بُونَمْ بَكْرَمَا بَكْرَنْم سَوْرَنَّا سَوْرَنْم بَعْكِي بِيَجْرَا تُعَكَّةْ تَعَكِّي دَرِي دَرِنْدَهْ
 دَرِ دَرِگَتْ مَلَرَكْتْ مَهْدِي بَوَقْلْ يَمِيمْ بِيَدَرِيمْ نِيلِمْ قَوْلَمْ مَرَدَكَمْ دَرَكَمْ
 كَوْمَلَمْ سَوْرَنْ مَانِكَمْ شَهْرَا اَلَلَهْ بَدَنْ بَدَنْ اَلَلَهْ تَا جَلْ جِيْبَرْتْ سَمِسْتْ
 فَرُوْنِ سَنَمْ اَوْنْ كَرْتْ نَكْرِي نُكَارْ سَرِي سَكُنْتَخْ مَهَا مِيْرُوْدِ فِتِكْتْ اِزْنَا
 قِيْنَتِي اَهْوْ سَوَسْتِي مَهَا سَوَسْتِي مَهْرَجْ

اِنْدَرْ چِنْدَرْ بَوَقْتِي يَهْوَنْ اَنُو كَرْنِيَا نَامْ اَنُو تَاوَتْ جِيوَتْ فَرِي فَرِنْتْ
 تَكَّةْ مَنَكُهَكَنْ سَتِيَا بَقْتِي گَبَاوَهْ دَلْ فَاذَكْ سَرِي سُلْطَانْ عَادِلْ اَلَلَهْ وَزِيْنْ
 كِيُوْبَكِي دَلْ لَحْخَتَكَنْ اَلَلَهْ كَرَجَانْ فَاذَكْ سَرِي سُلْطَانْ مُظْفَرْ شَاهْ ظِلْ
 اَلَلَهْ فِي الْعَالَمْ بِرَحْمَتِهْ كِيَا اَرْحَمَ الرَّحِيْمِيْنَ

Bi-smi-llāhi-r-rahmāni-r-rahim.

Sastata sastatab parmada parkhara parkharaah parmakab
 parmakam sojana sojanam buana buanam bakarma bakarnam
 sawarna sawarnam bangka baichara tongkah tinggi dari da-
 randah dari darakata malarakta mahadea bupala beiram bei-
 dariam nilam pualam murdakam durakam kumalam sawarna
 manikam *shahara Allah badan badan Allah* tajila jibarat
 samista parwaban sanam awina karti nagari nugara Sri
 Saguntang Maha Miru dipatikatu izna payanti Aho sa-
 wasti maha sawasti Maharaja Indra Chandra bupati bahutan
anu karunia nama anu tawat jiwat pari parnanta tegoh
menegohkan setia baqti kabawah duli paduka Sri Sultan Adil-
ullah wazina kayubaki di lanjutkan Allah ka-raja-an Paduka
Sri Sultan Moʻsafir Shah Dil-ullah fil alam biyyarhamati
*kaya-rahmani-r-rahimin.*¹

This mystic document is looked upon by Perak Malays

¹ Malay and Arabic words are in italics.

as a solemn form of oath, and it is always read when the newly-appointed holder of any one of the important offices of the State is invested with his title and honours. The hereditary custodians and readers of the *chiri* are the family of which the chief called *Sri Nara Diraja* (an hereditary grand chamberlain) is the head. They belong to the *bangsa muntah lumbu* ("tribe of the cow's vomit," an allusion to a myth which will be detailed further on), and they avoid the flesh of the cow, as well as milk, butter, *ghi*, etc.

When the *chiri* is read at the installation of a chief in Perak, the candidate stands on the ground below the Raja's *balei* or audience-hall, which is usually a small open pavilion connected with the Raja's residence. The reader stands above, in the hall which is raised—after the fashion of Malay buildings—a few feet off the ground, by means of piles driven into the earth. The *balei* being open on all sides, the reader can take his stand immediately above the recipient of the royal favour, who stands below. The *chiri* is then read, and at a particular passage towards the end of it, where the word *anu* (such-a-one) occurs, the name of the new chief is introduced. Water, in which the royal sword of state has been dipped,¹ is poured from above, its course being directed by means of a plantain-leaf. The new chief receives it in the palms of his hands joined together. He usually receives from the Raja a change of raiment (*turun tiga*), consisting of three garments.

The practice of reading at the installation of chiefs a mystic formula called *chiri*, unintelligible to the Malays who use it, exists at the Court of the Malay Raja of *Brunei* (Borneo), as well as in Perak, and I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Hugh Low, C.M.G., Resident of Perak, for a copy of the Borneo version.²

¹ The dipping of weapons into water or other liquid on the occasion of a solemn oath or engagement is an aboriginal custom which the Malays have, in common with other Indo-Chinese races, the Karens of Burmah for instance. See Journ. Ind. Arch. vol. iv. p. 503; McMahon, "The Karens," etc. p. 286; Forbes, Burmah, 252; Pallegoix, Siam, i. 261.

² The names and dates introduced record the appointment of one "Pangeran Hashim" to be "Pangeran Kasuma Nagara," and of a Chinese named Lee Cheng Lan to be "Captain-Major Darma Raja."

It will be observed that it differs very much from the Perak version, though some of the words are identical, or nearly so; and it is preceded by an Arabic introduction, from which the Perak *chiri* is free.

BRUNEI CHIRI.

اين چيري مغلر چتره

الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلاة والسلام علي سيدنا محمد وعلي
اله وصحبه الكرام فرد الله خيرها وطالا لله عمرها وكمل عزها وفصلها وادم
حياتها ويعطي الله دولت في الدنيا الي دارالآخر لانكم رجول عاقل من
كل رعت والوزير الايمان والاسلام بتوفيقى الله

أَهْوَتْ سَرَمَتَ

سَرِي بُوَهْنَسِيَاكُفْ فَرَكَّاسْ فَرَسَخْ سِيَايَا فَرُبُوَهْنْ أَوْجَنَ مَدَّنَا دَكَبَجُوْ
بَلَاءَ فَرَاكَمَ سَرِي بُوَهْنْ كَرَّتْ مَسَكَلَخْ كَفَرَمَالْ وَرَنَ وَتِيكَا سَيِّدِيْ وَأَبْهَوَا
فَغَيْرَانَ هَاشِمَ دَنكَرَا نَامَ فَرِي نَامَ فَغَيْرَانَ كَسُومَ نَكَارَا أَيُّوتْ سِيَايَا
أَفَرِي مَنَكِهَكْنَ سَتِيَا بَقَتِي كَبَاوَهْ دُولِي فِدُوْكَ سَرِي سَلْطَانَ الْعَادِلِ الْمُعْظَمِ
دَنكَرِي بُرُونِي دَارِ السَّلَامِ دَوْلَتِ قَايِمِ مَا دَمَتْ بَرِ الْعَالَمِينَ آمِينَ^٣

وكذلك في سنة^{١٢٧٢}

Ini-lah Chiri meng-glar Chatriyah.

[This is the "Chiri" when the title "Chatriyah" (*Kshatriya*) is bestowed.]

*Alhamdu lillāhi rabbi-l-‘ālamīn, waṣ-ṣalātu w-as-salāmu ala
seyyidina Muḥammadin wa ‘alā ālihi wa ṣaḥbihi-l-kirām. Fa
radda ‘llāhu kheyrāhā wa-ātala-llāhu ‘omrahā wa kammala
‘izzahā wa fadlahā wa adāma hayātahā wa yu’ti-llāhu daulatan
fid-dunyā ila dār-il-ākhirāh liannakum rajūlun ‘āqilun min
kulli ra’iyyatin wal wazīru eḥ’ imānu was-salamu bitawfiqi-llah.*

Ahota Sarmata.

Sri buhana sichakap parkasa parsang sichaya parbuhana
aubajana madna dikabaju bala parakarama sri buhana karta
maskalang kaparmalawarna witikaya Saidi-saidi wabahua

*Pangeran Hashim di nagra nama pri nama Pangeran Kasuma
Nagara ayota sichewa-chewa pri menegohkan setia baqti
kabawah duli paduka Sri Sultan-al-adil-al-mu'a'dam di negri
Brunai dar-assalam daulatun qāimun ma dunta beyna-l-ālamīn.
amin. amin. amin.*

Wa kaḥālīka fī sanah 1272.

Translation of the Arabic in the "Chatriyah" Formula.

Praise be to God the Lord of all creatures, and blessing and peace upon our Lord Muhammad, and upon his family and companions, the noble! May God bring back their blessing and prolong their life, and make perfect their glory and their excellency and make perpetual their life! And God shall give prosperity in the world until the world to come—for that you are a wise man out of all the people and ministers. May there be faith and peace by the providence of God!

[Then follow the Sanskrit formula and a few Malay words.]

May thy prosperity endure so long as thou remainest in the world. Amen. Amen. Amen.

And thus was given (or taken) in the year 1272.

این چیری مشکله منتری

اهوت سرمهت سري بوهنا سیچاکف فرکاس فرسخ سیچای فربوهنا
اوبجن مدننا دیکچو بلا فرکرام سري بوهن کرت مسکالکو فرملا مالي
ورن وتیکا ایوت سید^۲ یوا فربو بهوا فري انچی^{*} باب لی چیغلن
دنکرای نام کفیتن مایور درمه راج مناکوهکن ستیا بقتی کباوه دولی
یغدفرتوان السلطان العادل یغمها ملیا دنکری برونی دار السلام دولت
قایم تریما اولیهم هی توهن سرو عالم سکلین ادان
بتاریخ سنه^{۱۲۸۰}

Ini Chiri meng-glar Mantri.

[This is the "Chîri" used in bestowing the title of "Councillor."]]

Ahota sarmata sri buhana sichakap parkasa parsang

sichaya parabuhana aubajana madanana dikabacho bala parakrama sri buhana karta maskalangku parmala malei warna watika ayota sida-sida yua perbu *Bahwa pri Inche Baba Lee Cheng Lan di-nagra-i nama Kapitan Maiur Darmah Raja menegohkan setia baqti kabawah duli yang di per tuan al-Sultan-al-adil yang maha mulia di negri Brunai dar-assalam daulatun qaimun trima ulihmu hei tuhan sru 'alam sakalian adania.*

Betarikh sanah 1280.

The Malays of Perak say that the *chiri* was first introduced in the time of the first Malay Raja, who came down from the mountain Sagantang Maha-Meru, and appeared suddenly in Palembang, in Sumatra, riding on a white bull. It is not necessary to trace here the origin of the myths connected with the early Malay rajas. It is sufficient to say that it can probably be shown that some of the incidents which appear in Malay traditions bear close analogy to descriptions which are found in Hindu mythology, and that there has evidently been confusion between the history of the first Malay Raja and legends of the Hindu god Çiva, attributes of the latter, the white bull for instance, being introduced into the narrative which purports to treat of the adventures of the former.

The Malay narrative in question is to be found in the *Sajarah Malayu* ("The Malay Tree"), which is an historical account of the royal line of Malacca.

The best known version of this work is the one purporting to have been cast in its present form by a Johor chief in A.H. 1021, but every Malay State which claims the descent of its royal line from the kings of Malacca has probably its own written genealogical work, in which the ancient legends, or some of them, are introduced. A record of this sort, which formerly belonged to the Rajas of Perak, is in my possession, and from it I extract the following passage, in which the first mention of the *chiri* is made. The first Raja has just descended from the heaven of Indra (*ka-indra-an*) upon Mount Sagantang Maha Miru, and with two com-

panions¹ has manifested himself to two women of Palembang named *Pak* and *Malini*. They have received him joyfully, and the local chieftain has abdicated in his favour. The story then continues :

مک اد سیکور لمبو هیدوفن ون فق دان ون ملیني فوته ورنان
 سفره فیرق مک دشن تقدیر الله تعالی لمبو ایت فون منتیکن بوه
 مک در فد بوه ایتله کلور سورغ مائسی بط نمان مک ای بریبری
 مموچ دمکین بویی فوجین مک راج ایت دگلرن اوله بط ایت سری
 تریا بونا اک فون اتق چچو بط ایتله اورغ یخ ممباچ چیری درفد زمان
 دهولو کال

"Maka ada sa'ekor lumbu hidopan Wan Pak dan Wan Malini puteh warnania seperti perak; maka dengan takdir Allah taala lumbu itu pun muntahkan buih, maka deri pada buih itu-lah keluar sa'orang manusia Bat namania, maka iya berdiri memuji dimikian bunyinia pujinia, maka raja itu diglar-nia ulih Bat itu Sri Tria Buana. Ada pun anak chuchu Bat itulah orang yang membacha chiri deri pada zaman dahulu kala."

"Now there was a certain cow, the support of Wan Pak and Wan Malini; in colour it was white, like unto silver. By the decree of God most high this cow vomited forth foam, and out of the foam there came forth a man. Bhat was his name. And he stood up and repeated praises, and his praises were after this wise : . . . The Raja received from Bhat the title of Sri Tribuana. It is the posterity of this Bhat who have been the readers of the *chiri* from the days of old (even until now)."

Here, it will be observed, there is a hiatus in the sentence which makes mention of the eulogium pronounced by Bhat; the actual words used by him are omitted, though it would seem from the context that the original narrative must have included them.

¹ One of whom, in some versions, bears the significant name of *Kisna Pandita*, *Kisna* = *Krishna* or *Vishnu*: so here we have two out of the three princes identified by attribute or name with gods of the Hindu Triad.

Turning to the *Sajarah Malayu* we find the same passage in slightly different language, and an attempt is made in some copies to set forth the formula of praise used by Bhat. The following extract shows the different readings to be found in four separate manuscripts in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society :—

From MS. No. 80 in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society.

اهو سوسنت¹ فادك سري مهراج سرعت² سري سفت بوان سوران
بوم بوجي بال فكرم نكالخ³ كرنا⁴ مگت ران⁵ موكاتري بوان فرلرسخ⁶
سكربت بنا تشك درهمون⁷ بسران⁸ كت ران شغها سان وان⁹ ويكرم
وان¹⁰ رونب¹¹ فلاو دك¹² سديلا ديو ديد فراودي¹³ كال مول¹⁴ مولي
مالك¹⁵ سري درم راج الد راج¹⁶ فرميسوري

N.B.—This is the passage alluded to on page 24 of Leyden's *Malay Annals*.

¹ MSS. Nos. 18, 35, and 39 have سوست.

² MS. 18 has سرعيت.

³ No. 18 has سكلخ.

⁴ No. 18 has كرت.

⁵ MS. 39 has رتن. MSS. 18 and 39 agree with 80.

⁶ MS. 35 has فراسخ. MSS. 18 and 39 have فرسخ.

⁷ MS. 18 has درم ران.

⁸ No. 18 has شران.

⁹ MS. 18 has ران.

¹⁰ MS. 18 has ودت.

¹¹ MS. 18 has روني. MS. 35 has روني. MS. 39 agrees with 80.

¹² MSS. 18, 35, and 39 have فلاويك.

¹³ MS. 18 has فرابردي.

¹⁴ مول is omitted in MS. 18.

¹⁵ MSS. 35 and 39 have ماليك.

¹⁶ In 35 and 39 the word راج is repeated again before the final word. In 18 the final words are سري درم راجراج فرميسواري.

Transliteration of the above.

Aho susanta (or *sucasta*) paduka sri maharaja sara'at (or *sari'at*) sri sifat buana surana bumi buji bala pakrama nagalang (or *sakalang*) krana (or *karta*) magat rana (or *ratna*) muka tri buana paralarasang (or *parasang*) sakarita bana tongka daramuna besaran (or *darma rana sharana*) katarana singgha sana wan (or *rana*) wikrama wan (or *wadat*) runab (or *ratna* or *runei*) palawa dika (or *palawika*) sadila dewa dida prawadi (or *prabudi*) kala mula mulai (or *kala mulai*) malik sri darma raja aldi raja (or *raja-raja*) paramisuri.

There is a chapter in the *Sajarah Malayu* which treats of the ceremonial of the court of a Malay Raja. The organization is attributed by the chronicler to the first Mohamedan Raja of Malacca, but it is evidently of Hindu origin. The recitation of the *chiri* on the occasion of the appointment of a chief or other officer of the court is alluded to in the following passage:—

"Whenever the Sultan bestowed a title upon any one, he sat in the audience-hall, faced in the customary manner by his ministers. Orders being given that the person to be honoured with a title should be fetched, he was escorted to the royal presence, if a noble, by persons of high rank; if of minor rank, by persons of the middle class; if a common person, by men of the lower class. If the recipient of the title was entitled to mount an elephant, he was brought on an elephant; if a horse was his proper means of conveyance, he was brought on a horse; and if he was entitled neither to an elephant nor to a horse, he was escorted on foot, umbrellas, drums and pipes being used in the procession in any case. The umbrellas were blue, green, or red, as the case might be, the yellow umbrella being the highest permitted to be used. (The use of the white umbrella, and of the royal drum (*nagara*), is altogether forbidden.) The pipe (*nafiri*) may be used in the highest cases. The yellow umbrella is the token of the princes of the blood and of the chiefs. Purple, green, and red umbrellas betoken officers of the court, chamberlains, chief warriors, etc. The blue and

black umbrellas may be used by any one having an honorific title.

When the recipient of the title has arrived, he is made to wait outside the audience-hall while the *chiri* is read in the presence of the Raja by one of the posterity of Bhat."¹

The foregoing extracts summarize all that I have been able to gather respecting the *chiri* from native historians, and it is necessary to go back to the legend of Bhat for internal evidence which may throw some light upon the origin of the formula to which such superstitious importance has been attached in the kingdoms of Malacca, Perak, and Brunei.

Bhat is the usual name in India for a bard or encomiast, and in Gujarat a distinct tribe bearing the name of Bhat, and claiming a semi-divine origin, exercised in former days the very functions ascribed by the Malay annalist to the Bhat of his story, namely, the recitation of laudatory verses and the compilation of genealogies.

Abul Fazl gives an account of the Bhats of Gujarat, which seems to indicate the region from which the Malays have derived their legend.

"The ninth division (of Surat) is inhabited by the Charun tribe. The Hindoos say that Mahadeo created out of the sweat of his forehead a human form, whom he called Charun, and gave him charge of his own ox. This Charun composed verses, sang the praises of Mahadeo, and revealed to mankind past and future events. This tribe, who bear his name, are his descendants. The greatest part of them employ themselves in singing hymns of celebration, and in reciting genealogies; and in battle they repeat warlike fables to animate the troops. They are also famous for discovering secret things. Throughout Hindostan there is hardly a great man who hath not some of this tribe in his service. . . . There is also another tribe called *Bhawt*, who at least equal the Charuns in animating the troops by martial songs, and in chronology excel them; but the Charuns are better soldiers. They say that Charun was created from the

¹ Translated from MS. No. 80 in the Raffles Collection of Malay MSS. in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society.

will of Mahadeo, and that Bhawt issued from his spine; and wonderful stories are told of these miracles, the relation of which would cause prolixity."¹

The Malay story of the man Bhat, who was produced from the vomit of a cow or bull, has no slight analogy with the accounts of the supernatural origin of the Charuns² and Bhats given by Abul Fazl, whose alleged fear of "prolixity" has perhaps deprived us of some "wonderful stories" which might more nearly approach the Malay version.

The author of *Râs Mâlâ* ("Hindoo Annals of the Province of Goozerat"), has a good deal to say about these tribes.

"Closely connected with the Rajpoots are the Bards, the Bhâts and Châruns. Of their origin nothing is known, but they assert themselves to have sprung from Muhâ Dev or Shiva. They are in some places cultivators, in others bankers, but their more legitimate occupations are those of acting as securities for the performance of engagements, and of recording the genealogies of their Rajpoot clients. . . . In his heraldic and poetical capacity, however, it is that the bard has been longest and most favourably distinguished. When the rainy season closes, and travelling becomes practicable, the bard sets off on his yearly tour from his residence in the 'Bhât-wârâ' of some city or town. One by one he visits each of the Rajpoot chiefs, who are his patrons, and from whom he has received portions of land or annual grants of money, timing his arrival, if possible, to suit occasions of marriage or other domestic festivals. After he has received the usual courtesies, he produces the 'Wye,' a book written in his own crabbed hieroglyphics, or in those of his fathers, which contains the descent of the house, if the chief be the 'Terlâyuh' or head of the family, from the founder of the tribe; if he be a 'Phutayo' or cadet, from the immediate ancestor of the branch, interspersed with many a verse or ballad, the 'dark sayings' contained in which are chanted forth in musical cadence to a delighted audience, and are then orally interpreted by the bard with

¹ Ayeen Akbery.—Gladwin, Calcutta, 1785, vol. ii. p. 85.

² Chârana, a panegyrist.—Benfey.

many an illustrative anecdote or tale. The 'Wye' is not, however, merely a source for the gratification of family pride or even of love of song; it is also a record of authority by which questions of consanguinity are determined when marriage is on the *tapis*, and disputes relating to the division of ancestral property are decided, intricate as these last necessarily are from the practice of polygamy, and the rule that all the sons of a family are entitled to a share. It is the duty of the bard at each periodical visit to register the births, marriages, and deaths which have taken place in the family since his last circuit, as well as to chronicle all the other events worthy of remark which have occurred to affect the fortunes of his patron; nor have we ever heard even a doubt suggested regarding the accurate, much less the honest fulfilment of this duty by the bard."¹

It is not known to me if those Malays in Perak, who claim to be the descendants of the Bhat of the Malay legend, still exercise any hereditary functions. It is probable that the reading of the *chiri* is the sole remnant of the numerous duties which their progenitor may have had in common with the Bhats of Gujarat. Mohamedan law has of course long since placed all ceremonies connected with marriage in the hands of the Imams and Khatibs, and the average Malay does not suppose that any other ritual was ever known to his race, whom he assumes to have been Mohamedans since the days of Nabi-ullah Ibrahim and Nabi-ullah Daud. It is worthy of remark, however, that, in the *Sajarah Malayu*, the original Bhat who sprang from the cow's vomit is twice described as officiating at marriages, which is one of the peculiar functions of a Gujarat Bhat according to Forbes. On one occasion he marries two women of Palembang to the two companions of Sri Tri-buana, the first Malay raja, and subsequently he takes a prominent part in the rejoicings at the marriage of the raja with his queen Wan Sundari.

I do not of course claim for Gujarat or for Hindu sovereigns a monopoly of the services of a tribe of professional

¹ Forbes.—*Râs Mâlâ*, ii. 262.

panegyrists. Col. Wilks, in his "Historical Sketches of the South of India,"¹ has the following note about them:—

"Bart,—Baut,—Batt, as it is differently pronounced, is a curious approximation to the name of the western *bard*, and their offices are nearly similar. No Hindoo raja is without his *bards*. Hyder, although not a Hindoo, delighted to be constantly preceded by them; and they are an appendage to the state of many other Mussulman chiefs. They have a wonderful facility in speaking improvisatore on any subject proposed to them, a declamation in measures which may be considered as a sort of medium between blank verse and modulated prose; but their proper profession is that of chanting the exploits of former days in the front of the troops while marshalling for battle, and inciting them to emulate the glory of their ancestors."

That the early legends connected with the first establishment of a monarchy among the Malays should have the palpable impress of Hindu imagination, is what any one conversant with the ceremonies and phraseology of a Malay Court would naturally expect. Ceremonial observances of Indian origin are common among Indo-Chinese rulers, the kings of Burmah, Siam, and Cochin-China, as well as the minor sovereigns of Java, Sumatra, and Malaya. The very idea of royalty comes from the West, and must have been quite unknown to the Indo-Chinese tribes in their primitive state. It does not, of course, follow that Burmah and Siam received their Indian teaching at the same time or from the same quarter as Malay countries. The most contradictory opinions have been entertained from time to time by different scholars as to the particular part of India from which the Malays and Javanese derived the Indian civilization which they obviously possessed for many centuries before these races came under the notice of Europeans. An examination of the antiquities of Java, and a very considerable acquaintance with the language and literature of the Malays, were insufficient to enable Sir Stamford Raffles to form any conclusion as to the

¹ Longman, London, 1820, vol. i. p. 20.

identity of the region from which Hindu influences came to the Far East. In his "History of Java" the subject is approached more than once, but no definite opinion is put forward. In his Introduction to Leyden's "Malay Annals" there is no attempt to solve a problem which that particular work is so specially calculated to suggest.

Crawfurd, and Leyden before him, inclined to the belief that the inhabitants of Telinga, or Kalinga, the "Klings" of the Malays, were the people who effected in the Eastern peninsula and islands the introduction of Hinduism,¹ but there is little in favour of such a theory. Words in the Malay language derived from Tamil or Telugu are exceedingly few, and we look in vain for other signs of affinity, while tradition is equally silent on the subject.² There is much to be said on behalf of a theory that would point out Gujarat as the part of India from which in very ancient times Hindu settlers went forth to colonize the more remote East. The earliest incident chronicled in the *Sajarah Malayu* is the conquest of the Malay Peninsula by a Raja Suran, King of "Amdan Nagara," a place which one commentator³ has sought to identify with Hamadan, a town in Persia. I find, however, that in an article on the History of Vijayanagar,⁴ in *Asiatic Researches*, "*Amdanagara*" is treated as synonymous with Gujarat.

Javanese tradition specifically names Gujarat as the place from which a large colony proceeded to Java in the year 525 (A.D. 603-4) under a chief called Sawéla Chála. The colonists, as soon as they had established themselves, communicated with the parent-country, Gujarat, and were joined by their friends and relations in large numbers. "From this time Java was known and celebrated as a kingdom; an extensive commerce was carried on with *Gúj'rat* and other

¹ *Asiatic Researches*, x. 171; *Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands*, *sub voce* Hindu.

² Marsden combated the Telinga theory, in the introduction to his *Malay Grammar*, pp. xxix-xxxii, but it has been re-asserted by Mr. Taylor in an essay "On Early Relations of Continental India with Sumatra and Java," *Madras Journal*, (1850), vol. xvi. p. 104.

³ Braddell, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* vol. v. p. 132.

⁴ *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xx. p. 1.

countries and the bay of *Matárem*, then a safe place for shipping, was filled with adventurers from all parts."¹

Nor is this legend of Bhat and the establishment of a family of bards and genealogists the only story in Malay tradition which has its parallel in Gujarat history. The account given by Abul Fazl of the founding of Putten is wonderfully like the tradition of the founding of Malacca as it is related in the "*Sajarah Malayu*." Gladwin's translation gives the episode as follows:²

"In the books of the Hindoos it is written that in the year 802 of the era of Bickarmajeet (Vikramaditya), corresponding with A.H. 154, Bunsraj was the first king who made Guzerat an independent monarchy, which happened after the following manner. Rajah Sirry (Sri) Bhowrdeo, who reigned in Kinoje, put to death one of his subjects named Samunt Singh for being of a base and turbulent disposition, and then plundered his family. The wife, who was pregnant, fled into Guzerat, and there in the wilds was delivered of a son, who is this Bunsraj. By chance Syeldeo, a hermit of Owjain, happening to pass that way, took compassion on the woman and gave the child in charge to one of his pupils, who carried him to Radhunpoor, where he was brought up. When he came to manhood, he associated himself with a gang of highway robbers, whose number increasing, they at length seized the royal treasure which was going to Kinoje.

"Champa,³ a market man, was one of his confederates, and they raised and disciplined troops, by whose means Bunsraj was enabled to establish himself in the kingdom of Guzerat in the fifteenth year of his age. Putten is one of the cities that he founded. It is related that being in doubt where to fix the seat of his government, one Anhul, a cowherd, said, 'I have seen a place such as you desire, which I will discover,

¹ See the account given at length by Raffles, *History of Java*, vol. ii. p. 87 (second edition).

² Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. pp. 89-90.

³ Champa. This word occurs in Malay history as the name of an independent Malay kingdom once established in Cochin China. See Crawford's *Malay Grammar*, Dissertation, cxxix.

upon condition that you call it after my name.' Upon the Raja promising to do so, Anhul directed him to the spot, adding, 'Such is the superior excellency of everything produced here, that a dog, who came from another country, attacked a hare of this place, who, by the exertion of her strength, overpowered the dog and set herself free.' The Raja having founded a city here, called it after the cowherd Anhulpoor."

"After a long course of time the reason for its name having been forgotten, it was called Nehrwaleh, and lastly, on account of the excellency of the soil, Putten, which in the language of that country signifies chosen."

Malacca is traditionally said to have been founded by Raja Iskandar Shah, the last king of Singhapura, who was driven from his own kingdom by the Javanese, and took refuge on the mainland. The "Sajarah Malayu" describes the event as follows :

"Sultan Iskandar Shah travelled thence direct to the sea-coast to a river called Bertam. He stood under a tree one day while out hunting, and saw one of his dogs trodden under foot by a white *palandok* (mouse-deer). Then the king exclaimed, 'This is a good place, where even the *palandoks* are courageous. Let us make a settlement here.' The chiefs who were with him assented, and the king directed that a settlement should be made there. He asked the name of the tree under which he stood, and was told that it was called Malaka. 'If that is so,' said he, 'then Malaka is the name of this place.'"¹

There are no hares on the Malay Peninsula; the mouse-deer is the animal which would naturally be selected to represent the hare by any native who was adapting a foreign story to suit local requirements. The similarity between the stories of the founding of Putten and the establishment of Malacca can hardly be accidental, and there can be little

¹ Translated from MS. No. 18, Raffles Collection, R.A.S. Library. Malaka = *amalaka* (Sansk.), *Emblie myrobolan*.

doubt that, like the legend of Bhat, the Malays must have received the incident from an Indian source.

The character used in ancient inscriptions found in Gujarat has been pronounced by competent scholars to resemble similar inscriptions discovered in Java. The similarity of the writing on two copper plates found at Danduca and Bhavanagar in Gujarat (described as 1400 or 1500 years old), to Kawi, the sacred alphabet of the Javanese, was pointed out in 1835 by a writer in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.¹ He (Mr. Wathen) suggested that this might perhaps tend to throw some light upon the era of the conquest of Java, Sumatra, and some of the Eastern Islands, by the Hindus. A somewhat similar comparison occurs in a note in Dr. Burnell's "*Elements of South Indian Palæography*," the author of which states that he owes the suggestion to Dr. Reinhold Rost.²

If it can be established that certain Malay historical legends seem to have had their origin in that very part of India to which the evidence obtained by the comparison of ancient inscriptions seems to point as the land which sent forth the early Hindu colonists of Java and Sumatra, the converging testimony resulting from two independent branches of inquiry is certainly striking. The subject is however too important to be dealt with exhaustively here, at the end of a paper, but it well deserves the attentive consideration of Oriental scholars.

A difficulty suggested by Dr. Vincent has to be met, namely, the existence of religious scruples, which would prevent Hindus from undertaking conquests involving long voyages by sea. He says: "When the Europeans first reached India, Surat was the principal seat of commerce on the north, as Calicut was on the south; and the merchants of Guzerat were the richest and most active traders in India. Surat is not more than forty or fifty miles from Baroache, and Baroache is the Barugaza of the *Periplus*.

¹ vol. iv. p. 479.

² "*Elements of South Indian Palæography*," A. C. Burnell. Trübner & Co., 1878.

In the age of that work the merchants of this country were not less vigorously engaged in their pursuits; they traded to Arabia for gums and incense, to the coast of Africa for gold, and probably to Malabar and Ceylon for pepper and cinnamon. If I could find anything in history to countenance the idea of the Hindoos being seamen in any age, I should place them in this province. But as Barthema informs us that in his time the Hindoos at Calicut left all navigation to the Mohamedans, so it should seem that the prohibitions of their religion had been uniform from all ages."

"That the greatest trade of India was in that age fixed in Guzerat is evident, not only from the enumeration of articles at this port, but from the general importance it bears in the mind of the author (of the *Periplus*), and the circumstantial detail of all that is connected with it."¹

Though it may be true, that nothing is to be found in *history* "to countenance the idea of the Hindoos being seamen in any age," it is absolutely necessary to assume that in remote ages Hindus most certainly did undertake voyages of conquest and colonization. How else account for the innumerable proofs of Hindu ascendancy in the Eastern islands, the ancient religion, literature, and chronology of Java, the Brahmanism of Bali, and the strong leaven of Sanskrit in the Malay language? To quote Marsden on this subject, "Innovations of such magnitude, we shall venture to say, could not have been produced otherwise than by the entire domination and possession of these islands by some ancient *Hindu* power, and by the continuance of its sway during several ages."² Tin is among

¹ Vincent, *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, vol. ii. pp. 404.

² Malay Grammar, Introduction, p. xxxii. Objections of this sort do not need answering now. An author who wrote half a century ago says, "Modern inquiries into these matters have been cramped by an erroneous and contracted view of the power of this ancient people (the Hindus), and the direction of that power. It has been assumed that the prejudices originating in Moslem conquest, which prevented the Hindu chieftain from crossing the forbidden waters of the Attoc, and still more from 'going down to the sea in ships,' had always existed. But were it not far more difficult to part with erroneous impressions than to receive new and correct views, it would be apparent that the first of these restrictions is of very recent origin; and, on the other hand, that the Hindus of remote ages possessed great naval power, by which com-

the articles mentioned in the Periplus as imported at Barugaza. This almost necessarily presumes the existence, in the second century of our era, of communication by sea with the Malay Peninsula, the nearest point at which that metal was to be obtained.

"It seems natural to suppose that there always was a Malacca, or some port that represented it, where the trade from China met the merchants from India; as the commerce of India met the traders of Arabia and Persia at Calicut, or some port on the coast of Malabar. In this state of things the Portuguese found the commerce of the Oriental world; and in a state very similar it seems to have existed in the age of the Periplus. This affords us a rational account of the introduction of silk into Europe both by land and sea, and thus by tracing the commodities appropriate to particular nations or climates, we obtain a clue to guide us through the intricacies of the obscurest ages."¹

I must not close this paper without reference to the attempt made by Leyden, the translator of the *Sajarah Malayu*,² to give an intelligible rendering in Sanskrit of the corrupted Malay version. Unfortunately we have no clue to the Malay manuscript from which Leyden made his translation, and there is nothing to show how far his version in the Sanskrit character corresponds with the Malay original. Dr. Rost, who has examined it, pronounces it to agree but little with the only versions of the formula to which we have access. It was not printed until ten years after the death of Dr. Leyden in Java, and has probably suffered for want of revision by him. Neither M. Dulaurier, who edited the text of a portion of the "*Sajarah Malayu*,"³ nor M. Devic, who has recently published a translation of Dulaurier's text,⁴ has noticed the subject at all.

munication must have been maintained with the coasts of Africa, Arabia, and Persia, as well as the Australian archipelago. It is ridiculous with all the knowledge now in our possession, to suppose that the Hindus always confined themselves within their gigantic barriers, the limits of modern India."—Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, ii. 218.

¹ Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, vol. ii. p. 462.

² Malay Annals, Longman, 1821, pp. 24, 100.

³ Collection des principales Chroniques Malayes, Paris, 1849.

⁴ Légendes et traditions historiques (Paris, Leroux).

It has already been pointed out that in the story of Sang Purba, the first Malay Raja, whose praises the Malay Bhat pronounces, there are features which seem to show that the principal character in the narration has been confused with the god Çiva. In the Perak *chiri*, one of the names of that god, "Mahadeva," actually occurs, and perhaps, if the corrupt phraseology of the whole renders even a conjectural translation possible, it will be found that the Malay *chiri*, instead of being the eulogium of a raja, may be a fragment of a Sanskrit address of praise to Çiva.

That this should have survived at all in a Mohamedan kingdom is a singular fact, which may be explained by the circumstance that it must have been always wholly unintelligible to Malays. Whether it was ever recited at the courts of Malay Rajas in pre-Mohamedan days, by a Bhat who understood Sanskrit, must remain unknown to us. It is clear, however, that it had lost its original significance long before the compilation of Malay histories by Mohamedan scribes. Had it been readily susceptible of identification by Mohamedans as a relic of Hindu worship, its use would centuries since have been discontinued. As it is, its meaning, whatever it may have been, has totally disappeared. The same erroneous signification is attached to it in Perak and Borneo, in both of which states it is supposed to have the binding effect of an oath between a candidate for an office and the reigning Sultan who honours him by appointment.

There is another instance in Western mythology of the spontaneous generation of a man from the mouth of a cow which has no slight affinity with the Malay story of Bhat. I refer to the account given in the Eddas of the gradual creation of the man Buri from the frost-covered salt-blocks which were licked by the cow Audhumla. His grandsons, Odin, Vili, and Ve, were gods, and visiting the earth gave life to Ask and Embla, whence sprung the human race.

So, in the traditions of the Malays, the man Bhat springs from the foam vomited forth by the cow of the two women whom the three divinely-born princes find in

Palembang.¹ He is also described as marrying the two women to two of the supernatural visitors, whence proceed all the *Awang* and *Dara*,² i.e. all males and females.

I do not venture to say if there is more than accidental resemblance in the coincidence here pointed out.

The general result of the authorities which have been brought together in the foregoing pages seems to be briefly this:—

Malays in widely-separated States are in possession of a formula in a language which is not Malay, and which seems to be Sanskrit, though so corrupted as to be unintelligible.

This they themselves connect with certain historical legends which are evidently of Hindu origin.

It is impossible to trace the time or manner of their acquisition, but they must have been carried eastward by the agency of Hindus, not of Mohamedans, and there is evidence to connect them with Gujarat.

The subject, therefore, has indirectly some bearing upon the disputed question as to the region in India to which some of the Indo-Chinese owe their Hindu civilization.

The evidence here collected seems to be in favour of Gujarat (Marsden's contention), and against the Telugu theory advocated by Crawford.

¹ This is one account. Sometimes the white bull of Sang Purba is substituted for the cow of the Palembang women.

² *Awang* and *Dara* are Kawi words, meaning respectively "man" and "woman." They are not used in those senses by the modern Malays, but *Awang* is a common proper name (masculine), and *dara* preceded by the word *anak* signifies in Malay "a virgin."

ART. V.—*The Invention of the Indian Alphabet.* By JOHN DOWSON, Esq., M.R.A.S., late Professor of Sanskrit, etc., in the Staff College.

THE origin of the Indian alphabet is a matter of very considerable interest and importance. Was the art of writing introduced from foreign lands, or was it an indigenous invention; and in what age did it first make its appearance? Opinions differ on these points, for there is no certain evidence; and the conclusions arrived at are based entirely on inference and probability. The balance of opinion has perhaps, hitherto, inclined to the theory of a Semitic origin, and a late writer on the subject, our learned colleague Dr. Burnell, has given a very decided opinion on that side of the question.¹ To his judgment I pay due deference, but the arguments with which he supports it seem to me inconclusive and unsatisfactory. I propose, therefore, to review briefly the whole subject.

The most definite argument known to me, on the Semitic side of the question, is that of Prof. Weber, in vol. x. of the *Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. I am unable to concur in the derivations and conclusions proposed in that essay, but I am relieved from the duty of examining and criticising them by the fact, that so earnest a supporter of this Semitic theory as Dr. Burnell, has refrained from adopting Professor Weber's proposed identifications. He considers that the true Semitic source has yet to be discovered.

The Semitic races were acquainted with the art of writing at a very early period. Whether the original idea came to them from Egypt, or not, is beside the present inquiry. The Cuneiform inscriptions show the transition from an ideographic to an alphabetic form of writing, and the frequent mention of writing and books in the Old Testament proves that the art was commonly known among the Jews. Christian people have hence looked upon the Hebrews as the

¹ South Indian Palæography.

original possessors of the graphic art, and there has been a natural disposition to refer all alphabets to a Semitic source. There is proof of the art of writing having been known to the Hebrews long before any proof can be found of its use among the Greeks or Indians. But the absence of the evidence of existence is no proof of non-existence; still less does it justify the inference that the later alphabets must have been derived from the earlier.

There is a repugnance in the human mind to admitting the probability, or even possibility, of two independent inventions of the same thing. This instinct is sound and useful, and perhaps it has been intensified among Englishmen by Sheridan's satire that two such men as Shakspeare and Puff may hit on the same thought. But this feeling has been and may be pressed too far, as the double inventions of gunpowder and the mariner's compass prove. The Chinese system of writing might have been cited a short time ago as another independent invention, but reasons have lately been advanced for connecting it with the Accadian Cuneiform, and if this theory is confirmed, the evidence tells the other way.

The Hindus possess, as we know, a very old and extensive literature. The hymns of the Rig Veda are more than a thousand in number, and form a very considerable whole, as the printed texts abundantly prove. The age in which these hymns were composed is a matter of conjecture, for chronology seems to have been unknown to or held in abhorrence by the Hindus. Certainly, the hymns carry us back to a remote age; some of them having possibly an antiquity of fifteen, twenty, or even more centuries before the Christian era. The question arises, Could these numerous hymns have been handed down through century after century by oral tradition? Prof. Max Müller has discussed the question carefully and candidly, and the conclusion he has arrived at is that they were so transmitted, and that they bear strong internal evidence of such a descent. There is every reason for believing that the Homeric poems were similarly preserved, and that writing was

unknown to the Greeks when these poems were composed and sung. But, allowing that these Vedic hymns were traditional, can the Brāhmanas, written in terse and difficult prose, have also been transmitted by oral teaching through many ages? This is more difficult to believe, but still there is no evidence of their having been written—the more so, that they, like the hymns, betray signs of oral transmission. The art of memory was, and is still, diligently cultivated among the Hindus, and the perfection to which it has been carried almost exceeds the bounds of belief; but when it is known that the grammar of Pānini and other similar works were composed to be learnt by rote, and were actually so learnt, any other great effort of memory fails to surprise. It may be added, that the Brāhmanas seldom studied or attempted to master more than one subject or division of a subject: “the ambition to master more than one subject,” says Max Müller, “is hardly known in India.” There is nothing therefore entirely incredible in the statements that both the Hymns and the Brāhmanas were transmitted for centuries by tradition.

One argument against the knowledge of writing in these early times is founded upon the fact that there is no mention of books, pens, ink, writing, or like matters, in any of the Hymns or Brāhmanas. This argument has some weight, but is not conclusive. The Hindus had, in those old days, a predilection for oral instruction, and this predilection survives among their descendants ages and ages after the use of writing has become universal. There is still a great prejudice against book learning, and a Pandit who has gained his knowledge from the oral instruction of his Gamaliel stands higher in estimation than another who has derived his learning from books. Max Müller has pointed out that Kumārila,¹ an author of about the eighth century A.D., who composed several treatises and probably wrote them, “when he speaks of the material evidence of the Veda, can only conceive of it as existing in the minds of men.”

¹ *Anc. Sans. Lit.* 510.

This author does mention writing, but only to condemn its use. If this was the feeling of Kumāṛila, in days when writing was generally known and practised, the same feeling no doubt existed in greater force in the olden days, when oral instruction was more general, and when writing, if known at all, was less common and was the object of greater repugnance to sacred teachers. The absence of all reference to writing in the old Hindu hymns and treatises may be attributed to ignorance, but it may, also, have arisen from this strong repugnance preventing any allusion to it in the sacred writings.

At the close of the Vedic period followed that of the Sūtra literature. This period is again an uncertain one, but the earliest Sūtra works come immediately after the close of Vedic times, and six centuries B.C. has been named as about the period when they probably appeared. The peculiarities of the Sūtra compositions are such as to make their production and transmission almost impossible without the use of letters. Prof. Max Müller has expressed a decided conviction, that writing was employed in the Sūtra period, and he adds that the word *patala*, which is used as the name for the chapters of the Sūtras, means a covering or binding, and is strongly suggestive of *biblos* or book.¹

In addition to the teaching of the Text, the great Vedic masters instructed their pupils in the rules of Sandhi, in the euphonical changes rendered necessary by the contact of incompatible sounds. This teaching could hardly have been made distinct and comprehensible by the use of the mere sounds; names seem necessary to express them; and from the mental perception of names designating different vocal sounds, the step to the representation of those names by pictorial signs or arbitrary alphabetical characters is but a short one, and it seems hardly possible that the step should not have been taken. Much may be conceded to teachers of such remarkable tenacity of memory and powers of expression as the Vedic sages; the possibility of their having

¹ Anc. Sans. Lit. 524.

done without alphabetical names or letters cannot be denied, but there is a wide interval between the possible and the probable, and it is difficult, nay almost impossible, to conceive that this branch of teaching could have been conducted without names for the vocal sounds; and if names, then symbols to represent them. Such is the fair presumption; of actual proof it must be allowed there is none.

Some of these grammatical treatises were anterior to Pānini, and bring us to the work of that celebrated grammarian. Unfortunately his era is not certain. According to Goldstücker, Pānini's age may be six centuries B.C.; a more moderate computation reduces it to four, and Weber makes it even later. Let us take the mean and allow four centuries. Pānini makes unmistakable reference to writing, he uses the word *lipikāra*, scribe, and refers to the *Yavanāni lipi*, Greek or foreign writing, about which something will be said hereafter. Max Müller maintains that there is nothing in Pānini to show that he was acquainted with technical names for letters; but Kātyāyana, who came closely after him, as also the Prātisākhya treatises, certainly used the word *repha* as the name of the letter *r*, and it is hard to suppose that *r* was the only letter that had a name. Goldstücker expresses a very decided opinion "that Pānini's grammar could not even have been composed as it is now without the application to it of written letters and signs."¹ Dr. Burnell strongly supports this view, and says, "Pānini's sūtras show that writing was known in his time, and many expressions render it impossible to doubt that he used writing and that to express minute details."²

The old lawgiver Manu uses the words *lipikāra*, scribe, and *lekhitā*, caused to be written (viii. 168). He further denounces punishment upon the forgers of grants of land (ix. v. 232). This is proof positive that writing was not only known, but had been employed for the practical purposes of life, for some considerable time before the promulgation of his Institutes. The age of Manu is unknown,

¹ Mānava-kalpa-sūtra, Pref. p. 17.

² South Indian Palæography, p. 6.

but the preponderance of opinion favours 500 years B.C. as the time when the laws were collected, and there is no doubt that many of them existed in a scattered state long before. Yājñawalkya (ii. 240) and Vishnu (iii. 81), two great writers on law of later date, have similar provisions, and the latter mentions that title-deeds were written on a piece of cotton cloth or a copper plate. These two writers are not cited as of themselves authorities on the antiquity of writing, but as affording some assurance that Manu's provision for the punishment of forgers is not an interpolation of modern date.

Writing is distinctly mentioned in the great heroic poem the Mahā-bhārata, which denounces hell as the punishment of those who write the Veda.¹ Three to six centuries B.C. is the period assigned for the compilation of this great poem. Many of its component parts existed in a scattered state previously, but others are interpolations of a later date. The authenticity of any particular verse cannot therefore be relied on, but the verse cited has not that sectarian character which marks the modern introductions.

Again, we have a full description of writing and the alphabet in the Buddhist chronicle called Lalita-Vistara. The date of this work is unknown, but it was translated into Chinese in the year 76 A.D., and it is obvious that in those days the work must have been written a very considerable period before it could have acquired such a celebrity as would lead to a translation. This work describes the birth and childhood of Buddha, and it gives the alphabet which he learnt to write at school, the common Sanskrit alphabet as we now have it, with the omission of the vowels *ri* and *li*, which were unknown in the Pāli, the language which Buddha spoke. It is curious that the letter *l* is also omitted from this alphabet, though it was in common use. The date of the death of Buddha is not conclusively fixed, but the best opinions vary only about a century, from 544 to 478 B.C. Buddha then, according to the latest of these dates, must

¹ "Those who sell the Vedas, and even those that write them, those also who defile them, they shall go to hell."—Anc. Sans. Lit. 502.

have been born at the beginning of the fifth century B.C., and if the authority of the *Lalita-Vistara* can be accepted, the art of writing was then well known, and formed part of a liberal education.

In the dramas *Śakuntalā* and *Vikramorvasī*, writing, and the use of lotus leaves and birch bark as writing materials, appear among the incidents of the action. These dramas are of early date, but the time of their composition is so vague and uncertain, that their evidence is of little or no value.

Thus there are a number of independent pieces of evidence, all pointing to a particular age in which the art of writing must have been known to the Hindus. These are—

The *Sūtras* of about the sixth century B.C.

The *Prāṭisākhya*s, Pāṇini, and the grammarians of the third to the sixth century B.C.

Manu of the fifth or sixth century B.C.

The *Mahā-bhārata* of the third to the sixth century B.C.

The *Lalita-Vistara*, which describes the education of Buddha, at the beginning of the sixth century B.C.

No one of those dates is certain, and the aggregation of a number of uncertain dates, however concurrent, cannot result in certainty. But it must be borne in mind that, if only one of these dates can be substantiated, the proof of the existence of alphabetical writing is complete. Even if this proof should continue wanting, such a concurrence of testimony as here shown forms a strong chain of circumstantial evidence, fully justifying a belief, and leading up to an overpowering conviction, that the art of writing must have been practised among the Hindus five or six centuries B.C.

There remains the testimony of the Greek writers. Near-chus (B.C. 325) states that the Brāhman laws were not written, which is quite in agreement with the Hindu practice of preserving their knowledge mentally. But Strabo quotes his statement that the Hindus wrote letters on cotton cloth, and this is in accord with the statement of Vishnu, that title-deeds were written on cotton fabric. Megasthenes says that the Hindus did not “know letters or use seals”; he also says

that they erected milestones to denote distances and byeroads. This is somewhat contradictory, but the explanation is probably that suggested by Max Müller, that letters were known but were not used as a vehicle of literature.¹ At any rate, the statement of Nearchus, as quoted by Strabo, shows that the art of writing was known in India in the fourth century B.C.

We pass now from the region of uncertainty and conjecture to one in which there is a clear, definite stand-point. This is found in the Rock Inscriptions of King Piyadasi or Asoka, which were set up about the year B.C. 250.² From within a few years of this point we can work with perfect certainty. These Inscriptions show that two alphabets were then known: the Arian-Pāli used in the regions about the Indus, and the Indian-Pāli from the Himālayas to Gujarāt on the west, with Ganjam on the east and in the island of Ceylon.

Of the two alphabets used by Asoka, the Arian-Pāli first claims attention. This character is written from right to left, and, in its general appearance, more than in identity of forms, resembles the Phœnician. There can be little hesitation in assigning this to a Phœnician or Aramaic origin, although it has developed peculiarities unknown to its prototype. It is rich in compound consonants, and it has a very perfect system of initial and adjoined medial vowels, but it is deficient in making no distinction between long and short vowels. This development of the alphabet proves that, although the idea of an alphabet and the shapes of some of the letters were derived from a foreign source, the general idea was worked out in a more complete manner with an intelligent comprehension of the requirements of the language to which it was to be adapted. Is it not probable that there was some other Hindu alphabet previously in use to which this was assimilated? The abundance of compound

¹ Anc. Sans. Lit. 515.

² Dr. Burnell notices in these inscriptions some varieties in the forms of words, and also some irregularities, which he deems to be evidence that writing was a recent practice. It must be borne in mind that the language was then in a transition state, and that dialectical varieties were probably numerous. This would account for occasional diversities, and faults of orthography are surely no proofs of the new invention of writing.

consonants in the Arian-Pāli shows that it must have been used for the expression of the Sanskrit itself, or for a descendant of that language which had undergone little disintegration, and was not very far removed from the classic tongue. The inevitable conclusion is that the language used in the lands about the Indus where this character was employed had suffered comparatively little change from the Sanskrit.

There can be no hesitation in believing that the Arian-Pāli alphabet came into India from the west. It was used on the bilingual coins of the Greek kings of Bactria, and never spread far to the east. Many Bactrian coins bear a Greek superscription on one side, and a Pāli translation thereof on the other. Coins of two kings have been found on which the Pāli legend is in the Indian-Pāli characters, but the great majority have their legends in Arian-Pāli. This seems to show that both varieties of Pāli writing were known in Bactria in the third and second centuries B.C., but that the Arian was the more common and prevailed. Certain it is that this character was so well known and firmly established, that the Greek kings commonly used it on their coins. This character does not seem to have spread far in India. Inscriptions prove that it was used in the Panjāb and in Bhāwalpur, and the coins of some of the early Sāh kings of Gujarāt, just before the beginning of the Christian era, show that it obtained a limited use under those rulers. Their names and titles are expressed in Indian-Pāli, their names only are repeated in Arian. The most westerly point at which the character has been found is the Kāngra hills. Sir E. C. Bayley discovered there a stone bearing a bi-literal inscription of two or three words in both the Arian- and Indian-Pāli. The result appears to be that the Arian-Pāli was confined to the north-west of India;¹ that it there had to struggle with the Indian-Pāli, which was known even on the other side of the Indus, and that the latter eventually supplanted it. Various interpretations have been given to the words *Yavanāni lipi*, used by Pānini.

¹ Five of the Arian-Pāli letters have been found separately on sculptures at Bharhut, 120 miles south of Allahābād; but these are mere mason's marks, and Gen. Cunningham is no doubt right in taking them to be proofs that the masons came from the north-west.—*Stupa of Bharhut*.

Yavana in its primary sense means 'Greek,' but the term was commonly used to denote anything foreign. Pāṇini's words seem to be used for some specific kind of writing, and would appropriately designate the Arian-Pāli, to which character we may believe he applied them.

The Indian-Pāli is in every way the more important character. It spread over a much larger expanse of territory, and from it all the subsequent forms of Pāli and Nāgari have descended. The inscriptions of Asoka show that the character was used at Khālsī on the upper course of the Jamna, at Gīrnār in Gujarāt on the extreme west of the peninsula, and at Dhāuli and Ganjam on the extreme east. A fragment of an inscription brought from Mehentele in Ceylon (J.R.A.S. Vol. XIII. p. 176), which seems to have been strangely overlooked by writers on this subject, proves it to have been used by Piyadasi or Asoka in that island. It may be objected that there is no proof that this character was known and understood over this vast extent of country, and it must be conceded that there is no complete proof. There remains the fact that these important edicts were set up and published by a great and wise king for the edification and instruction of his subjects: can it be supposed that all this trouble was taken if they were in general illegible and not understood by the people?

The origin of this Indian-Pāli alphabet is the great point of interest. It may be admitted, at once, that there was no obstacle to its importation. The knowledge of it may have come in across the Indus, or it may have found an entrance through the ports of the peninsula, between which and the western world commerce was carried on from very early times. But the supposition of its having come in across the Indus may be dismissed. The Arian-Pāli imported by that road maintained its standing for some centuries, but eventually fell into disfavour, and disappeared before its rival. It is not at all probable that both came from the same source, and that one passed over the other. The western ports remain, and the character may have come in through them, or the talk of the mariners and traders may have given

the Indians an idea of a written character, and have set them at work to invent one. The Indian-Pāli probably had its origin near the central course of the Ganges, from whence it worked upwards and overwhelmed its rival.

The first duty of those who attribute a foreign origin to the Indian alphabet is to show whence it came, and to prove its relationship, either by the near resemblance of particular letters, or by the general style and peculiarities of the whole. Dr. Burnell offers no such proofs, but he gives what he calls "numerous indications pointing to a Semitic original." Let us examine these indications. The first is, that "a number of letters point to an Aramaic source," but no attempt is made to show the similarities, and it is left a mere expression of opinion. The next is, "that the most important proof of the Semitic origin is the imperfect system of marking the vowels. They have, like the Semitic alphabets, initial characters for them, but, in the middle of words, these letters are marked by mere additions to the preceding consonants." Different minds take different views. To my mind, no two things of a similar nature can well be more distinct than the Semitic and the Indian vowel systems; on a comparison of the two, the latter seems perfection itself. The *alif* and the *ain* of the Semitic tongues, which are used when words begin with vowels, are no vowels at all, they are mere signs of breathings to which tone is given by the accompanying vowel-points, so that they carry, in turn, the sound of every vowel in the alphabet. The Indian initial vowels are, on the contrary, clear, distinct letters, with, invariably, the same sounds. The Semitic vowel-points are detached, and are frequently omitted altogether; the Indian medial vowels are attached to their consonants upon a systematic principle, and are invariably expressed when required. So much for the supposed similarities of the Semitic and Indian vowel systems. Dr. Burnell considers that "a cursory inspection of the alphabet used in the Asoka inscriptions will satisfy any one accustomed to such inquiries that the character from which it is derived did not comprise a sufficient number of letters, and that new signs were made by altering some of the old ones. This is in

itself a sufficient proof that the Indian alphabet was an adapted, and not an indigenous invention." This proof is not obvious; and, as will be presently shown, a more natural and simple explanation can be found. These are all "the numerous indications that" (according to Dr. Burnell) "point to a Semitic source of the Indian alphabets, and which are generally received as sufficient." But continues Dr. Burnell, "The immediate original is as yet uncertain. Three probable sources may be suggested. The first is, that the original alphabet came from Phœnicia, and was introduced by the early Phœnician traders. The second is, that the original of these alphabets is to be sought in the modified Phœnician alphabet used by the early Himyarites of Arabia, and this has been lately put forward as an ascertained and certain fact. As a third possibility, I would suggest that the Indian alphabets may be derived from an Aramaic character used in Persia, or rather in Babylonia:" but no such alphabet has, at present, been discovered.¹

Now what do these suggestions amount to but a begging of the main point of contention? Without anything to be called evidence, but upon the strength of two or three "indications" of the most inconclusive nature, the Semitic origin of the alphabet is assumed, and the anxious inquirer is referred, not to the alphabet which it resembles or from which it was evidently borrowed, but to "three probable sources," which, if diligently searched, may possibly afford that evidence which ought to have been discovered and displayed before any judgment was expressed. There is then an absence, not only of proof of the Semitic origin of the Indian alphabet, but also of all such evidence as would justify a strong presumption in its favour, save only the saying, "Post hoc propter hoc."

If, then, the attempt to trace the Indian alphabet to a Semitic source has failed, whence did the character arise, and how was it formed? This is a question difficult to answer;

¹ Note by Dr. B.:—"By F. Lenormant (*Essai sur la propagation de l'alphabet Phénicien*, vol. i. pt. 1, table 6). The author makes the 'alphabet primitif du Yemen' the source of both the Himyaritic and Māgadhi (!) alphabets." Dr. B. does not seem to place much faith on this work.

the discovery of a sound theory is always more difficult than the refutation of a faulty one. I believe the Indian alphabet was a Hindu invention, and now proceed to offer reasons for this opinion.

Why should it be thought a thing incredible that the Hindus should have invented for themselves an alphabet? They were the greatest masters of the details of language that the world has ever known, and, as before urged, the perfection to which they carried their niceties of grammar and distinctions of vocal sounds made an alphabet a necessity to them. Further, they showed their powers in the invention of characters, by the formation of a system of numerical notation which, so far as is known, has no parallel.

There is no certainty that we possess the original Indian alphabet; rather, there are reasons for believing the contrary. The Arian-Pāli alphabet may have been sufficient for the expression of the Sanskrit consonants, but as it apparently made no distinction between long and short vowels, and as it had no signs for the vowels *ri* and *lri*, it was clearly insufficient for the purposes of Sanskrit grammarians. As before observed, it seems to be an alphabet appropriate to a language slightly removed from the Sanskrit. The Indian-Pāli is one suited to a language farther advanced in the process of disintegration. Its vowels are more perfect than those of the Arian-Pāli, but it also is deficient in the vowels *ri* and *lri*. The edicts of Girnār, Dhaulī, and Ganjam, have only one of the three sibilants, the dental *s*; but the Khālsi version has one other. The inference to be drawn from this peculiarity is not obvious. Thus it seems clear that neither of these alphabets was sufficient for the old Sanskrit grammarians, and that if they used a written character at all, it must have been one fuller and more perfectly adapted to the niceties of Sanskrit grammar. A seal of black stone found by Major Clark at Harapā, in the Panjāb, bears a legend of six unknown letters, which may possibly belong to an older form of the Indian alphabet.¹ The letters are not very

¹ Cunningham, *Corpus Inscriptionum*, p. 61.

suggestive of such an origin; one of them resembles the *l* of the Indian-Pāli, the others present no distinct points of similarity.

Two writers of authority, Gen. Cunningham and Mr. Thomas, have expressed decided opinions as to the independent invention of alphabetical writing in India. Agreeing in their conclusions, I am unable to accept the arguments by which they arrive at them. Gen. Cunningham maintains that the original letters were simply pictorial representations of different members of the human body, and that the shape of each member was adopted for the literal representation of the sound with which its name began. He shows great ingenuity in working out this theory, and at least makes it plausible, but my imagination is not sufficiently lively to follow him and accept his conclusions as demonstrations and matters of fact.

The basis of Mr. Thomas's theory is the presence of the so-called cerebral letters in the Indian alphabets. These peculiar letters will presently be brought under notice. On the strength of these letters Mr. Thomas assumes a Dravidian origin for the Indian-Pāli alphabet, and proceeds to support the theory by "an avowedly speculative suggestion."¹ He invents a "Normal Dravidian Alphabet," "not from any given Tamil alphabet,"² but upon mere theory, and supplies this Normal alphabet with the sonant letters *g, j, d, b*, which do not exist in any known Dravidian alphabet. The Dravidians, no doubt, had the sounds of these letters, but they have represented them by the clumsy contrivance of doubling the surd letter, thus, double *k* is *g*, and double *p* is *b*. This looks very like an afterthought, but it is quite in accordance with the general character of the Dravidian alphabet, which is miserably defective. The earliest known Dravidian alphabet is not anterior to the ninth century A.D., and, according to the high authority of Bp. Caldwell and Dr. Burnell,³ there is no Dravidian literature of an earlier date. There is no evidence

¹ J.R.A.S. Vol. V. p. 422.

² The Gupta Dynasty, p. 31.

³ Dravidian Com. Gram. (first ed.), p. 83; South Indian Palæog. p. 47.

whatever to show that the Dravidians understood the art of writing more than three centuries B.C., nor can it be supposed that they were then masters of an alphabet more perfect than their descendants have ever known. This "speculative suggestion" supplies excellent material for theorizing, but it cannot be accepted as evidence, or even as suggestive of probability. The Dravidian theory involves the assumption that the Dravidian civilization preceded the Aryan, and that the Aryans had no written character until they copied that of the Dravidians. We have seen at what an early period the old Sanskrit grammarians must have used an alphabet, and it is quite incredible that they should have been so far brought under and dominated by Dravidian influences as to have borrowed their written characters from that source. Such a derivation would be a complete reversal of the natural order of things, and would make the more highly gifted and cultivated race the debtors of one far behind them.

Though the invention of the Indian alphabet is not ascribable to the Hindi or Dravidian people, it seems clear that the cerebral letters are the special production of India. Burnouf, Norris, Caldwell, and others, long ago expressed decided opinions that the Sanskrit owes its cerebral letters to the influence of the races which occupied India before the ingress of the Aryan immigrants. No other Aryan alphabet possesses the two classes of *ts* and *ds*, but they are common to all the languages of India. That the cerebrals and not the dentals are the peculiar letters is proved by the fact that the *ts* and *ds* of words which are identical in Sanskrit and Zend are represented by the dental letters in the former. But though the cerebral letters are unknown in other Aryan languages, the sounds are certainly present in some of them. Natives of India, when they transcribe English words and names containing the letters *t* or *d*, invariably represent these letters by their own cerebrals.¹ The Aryans must have brought with them the rudiments of the cerebral sounds in some of the combinations of the letters *t* and *d* with the

¹ I have seen it stated that in the opinion of natives of India the dental letters are the shibboleths of Englishmen, the cerebrals of Persians.

letter *r*, and after their arrival in India these sounds became more distinct, partly perhaps through the influence of climate, but more no doubt through association with a people of harsher speech than their own. Their speech and pronunciation were modified by time and surrounding associations, like as in the course of three centuries the Norman-French in England fell to the condition of the French of Stratford-atte-Bowe.

The art of representing thought by lineal signs can be traced from the hieroglyphics through the partly ideographic partly syllabic cuneiform to the alphabetical. Strictly speaking there are no "ideographs" in Cuneiform. Every character has a phonetic value, which value is however in most cases the name of the object, represented by the original sign. There are also a few determinatives and perhaps non-phonetic adjuncts, but these can hardly be called ideographs. The process was slow and laborious, from exuberance to simplicity. Of the actual invention of letters we know little or nothing; and, if we could penetrate the mystery of their development, we should probably find something very different from what on *prima facie* considerations we might deem likely. In the present state of our knowledge, the natural course for the inventor of an alphabet would seem to be, first to settle the forms of the primitive letters, and then to slightly modify those forms for the representation of kindred sounds, such as aspirates, —having settled the form of *k*, to make some little change in that letter to represent *kh*. The resemblance of the letters *b*, *p*, *d*, *m* and *n*, *u*, *v*, and *w*, in the European alphabets, affords strong evidence of this mode of formation. So thought Prinsep; but Thomas and Burnell are of opinion that the development of an aspirated letter from the unaspirated marks a later introduction, and the latter goes so far as to hold it a sign of foreign origin. From this opinion I entirely dissent; but while inclining to Prinsep's view, I place no reliance upon it, and believe that no valid argument can be founded on these speculations. Philology has shown that the course of language has been from the complex to the simple. The earlier

forms of languages were encumbered with an apparatus of grammatical inflexions which were thrown off in progress of time; such also was probably the course of alphabetical writing,—a superfluity of signs to begin with, but reduced and simplified by actual use.

The art of writing was known long before there is any sign of an alphabet in India, but the fame thereof must have spread abroad wherever traders and travellers penetrated, and India could hardly have remained long in total ignorance of so useful an art. The idea probably reached her from without; the practical application of the idea was her own. The alphabet cannot have been invented before the Aryans had dwelt for some considerable period in the land of their adoption, and had been influenced by the language of the people whom they subjugated. Then the Aryan, with his acute ear for minute varieties and changes of vocal sounds, realized the distinction between the cerebral and dental sounds, and represented them by distinct letters. The cerebral letters are peculiar to India, therefore they must be an Indian production; and if an Indian production, then their origin is attributable to the enlightened Aryans, not to the Dravidian or Hindī races, who have nothing to show of letters or literature till long after the era of Asoka's edicts.

The next particular in which the Indian alphabet shows itself distinct from foreign alphabets is in its perfect series of aspirate consonants. Greek had its *theta*, *khi*, and *phi*, we have our *th*, and other alphabets have sounds which are represented by the combination of consonants and the letter *h*, but these are not aspirated consonants, they are modified sounds.

No other people have observed and noted the modulations which the nasals undergo when connected with the various consonants. The Indian has invented a special nasal for each class of consonants, and besides these, the *anuswāra* and *anunāsika* for use with vowels and semivowels.

The Indian alphabet has its three sibilants, the third s representing a sound intermediate between our *s* and *śh*.

Besides these, there is the lingual sibilant called *Jihvamūliya*. Other languages, as the Hebrew and Arabic, have their two sibilants, but the difference is not the same. But no great stress need be laid on this distinction.

The Aryan alphabet has its peculiar vowels, *ri* and *tri*, vowels which are so distinct from every other series of vowels, that with all the explanations afforded by the grammars, they are difficult to thoroughly understand and appreciate.

Lastly, the Indian alphabets are written from left to right, not from right to left.¹ The Arian-Pāli, which ran from right to left, fell into total disuse. No great reliance can be placed on the direction of the writing. The old Greek was written both ways, and scribes occasionally followed the Boustrophedon fashion, and, having completed a line from left to right, turned back plough-wise, and wrote the next from right to left. But for all this, there remains the remarkable fact, that, while the Semitic peoples have kept on writing from right to left, the Aryan nations pursue the opposite course. Of Semitic writing, the Himyaritic has shown similar vagaries to the Greek; and Modern Persian and Urdu are exceptions on the Aryan side, but for the peculiarities of these latter there are obvious and sufficient reasons.

Such are the leading peculiarities of the Indian alphabet which demonstrate its independence of all foreign origin. If it is still objected, as it may be, that these peculiarities have been engrafted on a foreign stock, there is no possibility of proving the negative; but, it may be confidently urged, that all probabilities and inferences are in favour of an independent invention. Moreover, if the Hindus had borrowed a

¹ Dr. Burnell, remarking that the compound *vy* of the Asoka alphabet is written *yv*, considers this to be a remnant of the Semitic fashion, and an indication that the writing formerly ran the other way. But this is a mere fashion of writing which the form of the letter *y* rendered convenient. No ambiguity is possible, because *yv* is an impossible combination. He says further: "Again, the vowel *e* precedes the consonant, which in reading it must follow." This is hardly a precise statement, for the vowel *e* is simply projected from the left side of the top of the consonant in the same manner as the vowel *ā* projects from the right side. But if there is any force in this criticism, what inference must be drawn about the modern Devanāgarī and the Bengali, in which the short vowel *i* is written separately before its consonant?

ready-made alphabet, they might have been cramped, as we Englishmen have been cramped, by one insufficient for the requirements of the language; and the Indian alphabet, the most perfect system of alphabetical notation in existence, might never have been matured.

NOTE.

Since this paper was read to the Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, on December 20, Mr. Thomas has put himself into communication with Professor Dowson, with reference to certain misapprehensions on the part of the latter, as to the primary aim and arguments adduced by Mr. Thomas in his original theory of the derivation of Indian Alphabets.

Mr. Dowson, who is very unwell, is unable either to reply to Mr. Thomas's objections, at the present moment, or to follow the course the general investigation has taken, since first broached before the Asiatic Society of Bengal, on February 6, 1867, when Mr. Thomas's letter, on this subject, was read.—[Ed. JOURN. ROY. ASIAT. SOC.]

*It was first broached on July 4th 1866.
See Proc R.A.S.B. for that year p. 138.*

*See also Proc R.A.S. 1865, Sept. p. 171, where
Blochmann submits theories on the palaeography
of India. Rajendralal Chatterjee's views on anti-
quity of Lat alphabet.*

*See also Thomas's letter to Rajendralal Chatterjee
J.R.A.S. 1871, Vol. V. p. 422 where
comparative tables are given for the
Indian & Lat alphabets.*

*Thomas has written a notes book of his correspondence
with the Bengal Soc.*

JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. VI.—*The Northern Frontagers of China.* Part V.—
The Khitai or Khitans. By H. H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

THE Khitai fill a notable place in Asiatic history, and the investigation of their ethnology and early history is full of interest and value. It is also surrounded by considerable difficulties. The Khitai, or Khitans as they are otherwise known, conquered Northern China, and it was from them that mediæval geographers and travellers derived the famous name of Cathay, which has much romance about it. The Russians to this day call the Chinese Kitai. The name was perhaps introduced into Europe by the Arabs, whose adventurous merchants began to frequent the ports of China during the supremacy of the Khitai; or it may have travelled westward through the intervention of the Turkish tribes of Central Asia, who called the Khitai Khatai. They never conquered Southern China, nor did their dominion there extend apparently beyond its six northern provinces; but they made up for this by dominating over the various nomade tribes who occupied the country from the river Hurka to Turkestan, and from the Chinese wall to the country of the Tunguses. The Mongols and the tribes of Manchuria were either immediately subject to them, or tributaries; and, in fact, the history of Eastern Asia from the beginning of the tenth to that of the twelfth century was focussed about the Khitai. When their dominion in the further East was broken, as I described in a previous paper, by the Kin or Golden Tartars, a branch of their

royal house founded an empire further west, known as Kara Khitai, which has already occupied our attention. The Khitans sprang from the country which separates Manchuria from the desert of Gobi, and which is now occupied by the Mongol tribes Barin of Khorchin, Khorlos, Durbet, and Jelaid (Borgs Hyacinthe, 282, Timkofski, vol. ii. p. 243). The mountain Bardan, within the Barin territory, was where Pu tu, one of the ancestors of the Khitan Imperial house, was born, and we are told he is buried in these parts (Timkofski, vol. ii. p. 245). The ancient city of Ling huan ching or Shang king, also called Sileou, formerly the residence of the Emperors of the dynasty of Liau (*i.e.* of the Khitans), was probably on the right bank of the Chono ussu, opposite the little town of Boro Khoto, now in ruins, *id.* 246. Mr. Ross in one place says it was south of the Sira muran, in another that it was in the land of the ancient An ping of Han (Hist. of Corea, pp. 218 and 224). "The dynasty of Liau (*i.e.* of the Khitans) originated there about the end of the tenth century. The capital and a magnificent palace were built at the same time. Twenty-five cities, of which even the ruins are not now to be seen, were dependent on the capital. Tsu Chau was to the north of the banner (*i.e.* north of the Barin territory). The first Emperor of the house of Liau (*i.e.* A pao ki, of whom we have much to say further on) was born here, and often took the diversion of the chace in the autumn, which gave occasion to the foundation of the city of Tsu chau, a name which signifies 'City of the Ancestors.' The sepulchre of Tai tsung (*i.e.* the second Khitan emperor), hewn in an enormous rock, was at the distance of five *li* from the city. Near it a stone was erected, with an inscription alluding to his hunting excursions. Twenty *li* to the west was the tomb of the Emperor Shing tsu, of the dynasty of Liau" (Timkofski, p. 246). The mountain Mu ye, which was looked upon by the Khitans as their Olympus, was situated at the junction of the Lohan and Sira muran rivers (Bretschneider, Notices of Med. Geog. etc.). The name means 'Hill of Graves'; it was 300 *li* from Shangking. "The splendid Yieoulu mountains of Kwang

ning in Liao si, just bordering the country of the Mongols, were the burial-place of some of the members of the Liao Imperial house, and the Liao-tung history says that when sacrificing to their founder the Emperors always looked towards Kwang ning, south-east of Shang king" (Ross, *op. cit.* p. 220, 221).

We thus get a fair idea of the old country of the Khitans. It was bounded on the east by Manchuria, which at the beginning of the tenth century, when the Khitans first began to extend their borders, was subject to the Pohai Tartars, and which then comprised both Liao tung, and Manchuria west of the river Hurka. On the south it was continuous with the Chinese frontier, on the west with the Khinggan mountains and the Gobi desert, and on the north was also bounded by the Pohai Tartars.

The affinities of the Khitans have been much discussed, some holding them to have been Tunguses, and of the same stock as the Kin Tartars and the Manchus (*vide* Abel Remusat, *Recherches sur les Langues Tartares*, pp. 21, 81; Klapproth, *Asia Polyglotta*, 294). Others again treat them as a mixed race of Mongols and Tungus, the latter element predominating very considerably. A third view—held, I believe, by my venerable and very learned friend Dr. Schott, of Berlin, and to which I have long adhered—is that the Khitans were fundamentally a Tungusic race, but ruled by a caste of Mongol origin. The evidence is not very great. Such as it is, it consists of two elements, namely, the remains of the Khitan language, and the facts we know about their administration and customs. First, in regard to the language. The few words of it which are preserved are contained chiefly in an appendix to the Liao Shi, or history of the Liao dynasty. My friend Mr. Wylie has sent me a list of these words, which I transcribe, with notes on those whose affinities I have traced. I have compared them with Castren's Tungusic and Buriat dictionaries, and Klapproth's vocabularies, in the *Asia Polyglotta*, while I owe several notes to the courtesy of Dr. Schott.

Khitan *azra* 'large'; Manchu *asuru* 'much very,' S.; Buriat *yike*, C.

Khitan *aya* 'good'; Tungus *aya*, C.; Buriat *haing*, *haiter* *yahala*, C.

Khitan *chaou* or *joua* 'hundred'; Tungus *namadji*, C.; Uirat *dzo*, K.; Mongol *jaghan*, *jaghu*, *jau*, S.

Khitan *cholo* 'stone'; Tungus *inga*, C.; *dsolo*, S.; Buriat *solu*, S.; Khalka *tzolo*, K.; Mongol *chilaghun*, *chilun*, S.

Khitan *chook* 'yurt or felt tent'; Tungus *zu* 'a house,' C.; Buriat *ger* 'a house,' C.; *balgaso* 'a yurt.'

Khitan *choor* 'two'; Tungus *zur*, C.; Buriat *xoyer*, C.; Khalka *khoir*, K.

Khitan *holoowan* or *kholuwan* 'to assist'; Tungus *tusalain*, C.; Buriat *tuhulnam*, C.

Khitan *kemta* 'easy'; Tungus *änim*, C.; Mongol *kimta*, S.

Khitan *keenmoo* or *djian'u* 'to leave'; Tungus *solam*, C.; Buriat *okenam*, C.

Khitan *kwawan* 'jadestone'; Manchu *gugyo*, *gugui*, S.

Khitan *kwoaleen* 'to take a country' ?

Khitan *nungkoo* 'six'; Tungus *nungun*; Buriat *zorgan*, C.

Khitan *noolenktih* 'hair of the head'; Tungus *nuriktah*, C. and K.; Buriat *uhun usu*, C.; *noru noshon*, K.

Khitan *neukoo* or *jugu* 'gold,' K. (Criticism of Hyacinthe); Tungus *altan*, C.; Buriat *altan*, C. and K.

Khitan *peishin* 'jungle'; Manchu *bushan*, S.

Khitan *poorkoo* 'corpulent'; Manchu *bürgü*, S.; Tungus *orokto*, *suka*, C.; Buriat *obohong*, C.

Khitan *pooshuwang* 'prosperous'; probably the Chinese *p'u shuang*, S.

Khitan *siltsik* 'armour'; Manchu *szele* 'iron,' S.

Khitan *shikuwan* 'sun'; Tungus *shigun sygun*, S.; Buriat *narang nara*, C.

Khitan *taha* 'near'; Manchu *daha*; Tungus *daga*, S.

Khitan *talkokili* 'to burn'; Tungus *talkia* 'lightning'; Buriat *tuleng* 'tinder' (brennholz), C.

Khitan *taloo* 'bark of a tree'; Tungus *talü* 'birch bark,' C.

Khitan *tama* 'to contract an enclosure'; Manchu *tama*, S.

Khitan *taula korpookö* 'to shoot hares'; Mongol *taulai kharbukhu*, from *taulan* 'hares' and *kharbukhu* 'to shoot with a bow,' S.

Khitan *tarako* 'a field'; Manchu *tarun* 'to sow,' S.; Mongol *tariya*, *tarigha*; Turkish *taryk* 'ploughed land.'

Khitan *tikin* 'four'; Tungus *digin*, C.; Mongol *durban*.

Khitan *tile* 'head'; Tungus *dil*, C.; Buriat *tologoi*, C.

Khitan *teklih* 'continued darkness or inferiority'?

Khitan *tishtipun* or *desidatan* 'filial piety'?

Khitan *tolepin* 'to tranquillize'?

Khitan *tookih* 'winter'; Tungus *tugäni*, C., *tugo*, S.; Buriat *ebel*, *obul*, C.

Khitan *toor* 'half-grown pig'; Tungus *tukalaga* 'a pig,' C.; Buriat *gakai* 'a pig,' C.

Khitan *tseangkwan* 'judicial functionary.' This is the Chinese *tseangkwan* 'commander-in-chief,' S.

Khitan *woolooto* 'camp'; Mongol *ordu*. Dr. Schott says the two words are undoubtedly the same.

Khitan *wookoore* 'ox'; Tungus *sar*; Mongol *uker* *üker*, S.

Khitan *wotoowan* 'parental affection'?

Khitan *yazloowan* 'prosperous'?

The following words are from Klaproth's Asia Polyglotta, (pages 194 and 195, and the Nouv. Journ. Asiat., vi. 23 and 24).

Khitan *enchu* 'father'; Tungus *ama*, C.; Buriat *esega*, C.

Khitan *sali* 'grandfather.'

Khitan *booli* 'bad man' (? *boori*); Manchu *furu* 'wicked,' K.

Khitan *sai i el chi* 'good or lucky day'; Manchu *sain inengghi*, K.

Khitan *khuszu* 'strong'; Manchu *khusun*, K.; Mongol *kuchi*, K.; Turkish, *kuch*, K.

Khitan *nainiêiel* 'first day of the year'?

Khitan *nai cho nai* or *nai nie nai* 'great head'?

Khitan *ao du wan* 'to have pity'?

Khitan *aszü* 'a faithful vassal'?

Khitan *dsian u* 'to leave behind'?

Khitan *teligian* 'empress'?

Khitan *sala* 'a glass'; Tungus *taksi*, *aga*, C.; Buriat *taksi*, *agaya*, C.

Khitan *daolibin* 'an undecided battle'?

Khitan *yelowan* and *pussuwan* 'exalted, elevated.'

We elsewhere learn that the Khitan name for a river was *mori*, which is clearly the Mongol *muran*. De Mailla further tells us that in Khitan 'mother' was *ama*. This is probably the Tungusic *ana*. In Mongol 'mother' is *eka*.

Dr. Schott says that the word *Cha ho chi*, which is given in the Khitan annals as the child's name of prince Tsing wang, is doubtless derived from the Manchu *jakochi*, the ordinal form of *jakou* 'eight,' and he compares with this the Latin names Octavius and Octavianus ("Kitai und Karakitai," Ab. König. Acad. Berlin, 1879). This is the scanty material available for the study of the Khitan language, and I offer it merely as a tentative essay, hoping others may further elucidate it, hoping also that some of the students of ethnography in China will before long transcribe for us some of the inscriptions in the language, which it is believed still remain in the Barin country.

So far as we can make out, the language is a mixture of Tungusic and Mongol, the former, as I have said, very largely predominating. In regard to the administrative customs of the Khitans, there are several notable examples which point to their having Mongol rather than Tungusic affinities. The Mongols have a solemn method of swearing eternal friendship, which they call *anda*. As we shall see presently, the same custom, with the same name, prevailed among the Khitans.

The Mongols called their Imperial tent *ordu*, and we are told by the Chinese authors that the Khitans gave the name to a royal tent or a palace (Visdelou, 297). The Mongols gave a tribe or horde the name Aimak. The Khitans similarly called their tribes Aiman (*id.*).

Taishi is a well-known Mongol title. It was also used among the Khitans.

These coincidences between Mongol and Khitan customs are further illustrated by the fact that during the Khitan supremacy the Mongols were apparently their willing subjects; and it was only on the downfall of the Khitans, and the rise of the Kin Tartars, that the Mongols commenced a really independent history; while we find the Khitans acting as the allies and friends of Chingiz Khan in his campaign against the Kin empire.

The same conclusion is reached if we examine the early Chinese accounts of the Khitans. They tell us they had the

same origin as the Shi wei (*i.e.* the Mongols, see previous paper on the Origines of the Mongols). The two races dressed alike, and both shaved their heads (Klaproth, *Tableaux Historiques*, etc. p. 91). The Chinese make the Khitans descend immediately from the Tong hu, a race of strangers who settled in the Sian pi mountains (whence they afterwards were known as Sianpi) after they had been driven out of their old homes by the Hiongnu (*id.* p. 87). The Sian pi are elsewhere made a Mongol stock by Klaproth, and this last statement seems to point to the Khitans having originated in the mixture of a conquering race of Mongols, who probably subdued and then amalgamated with previous inhabitants, much in the same way the Normans amalgamated with the old English race. This is again supported by another fact. I do not believe generally in the absolute extinction of considerable races without leaving any traces behind, and in the case of the Khitans, who formed an important element in the population of the Manchurian border-land in the days of the Mongol dynasty, it seems impossible to believe that they should have been completely exterminated. I believe, on the contrary, that, although thrust out of their ancient quarters by the Mongols, they were only pushed a little further north, and that they are still to be found in North-Eastern Manchuria under the name of Solons. This view is, I know, supported by such good authorities as Mr. Wylie and Professor Vasilief of St. Petersburg. The latter told me that Solon is referred to as the dialect by which one or two Khitan words are explained in a Chinese history of the Khitans in his possession. I may add that I met a very intelligent Solon at the St. Petersburg Congress, with whom I communicated, and who assured me his language was different from either Manchu or Mongol; but as he communicated freely in either of these tongues, I came to the conclusion that he spoke a mixed language compounded of these two elements, and thus confirming the above narrative. It would be an exceedingly valuable work if some student residing in Northern China were to collect a Solon vocabulary.

As another proof of the connexion of the Solons and the

Khitans, I may mention that a principal tribe among the former is called Dakhuri. The Russians call them Daur, and the Chinese Dakho. Hyacinthe tells us that the chief of the Khitans, in the year 479, who was the founder of their first royal stock, was called Dakhuri (*op. cit.* p. 282). Visdelou calls this royal stock the family of Taho, and it is exceedingly probable that the suggestion of Hyacinthe is just, and that the modern Daurians are descended from the Khitan stock Taho.

In regard to the name Khitai, the etymology is surrounded with difficulty. Dr. Schott tells us that the name, as written by the Chinese, is made up of two ideographs, one meaning a red colour, such as carnation or cinnabar, and the other meaning to scratch or scar. From this some have deemed the name to be of Chinese origin, and to be connected with tattooing, and Wells Williams, in his syllabic dictionary, says of the name: "It is supposed to have been given them from their tattooing." Dr. Schott well says that here we have a double uncertainty; first, whether the characters in Chinese mean tattooing; and secondly, whether the Khitai ever tattooed. Such a fact is not mentioned either in the *Khi-tan kuo shi* or the *Liao sze*, the two national histories. He accordingly turns for an explanation to the two Tartar tongues of eastern Asia. In Manchu we have a word *khitakhun*, which in Tungus occurs as *kadakhun*, and which means 'a claw, talon, or finger-nail.' This word contains a root *khit*, which may be connected with our name. In Mongol also we find a root *khit* or *kit* in the verb *kitu-khu* 'to cut or to kill,' and in the noun *kitu-ghu* or *kitu-gha* 'a knife.' Schott suggests that these words may have some connexion with Khitan (*Schott, op. cit.* pp. 9, 10).

Having discussed the ethnology of the Khitans, let us now turn to their history. As I have said, the Chinese make them descend from the Sian pi, about whom I hope to have more to say in a future paper. Here it will suffice to say that the Sian pi mountain, whence they took their name, is placed by Klapproth to the north of the Lo han or Tu ho river, about 100 leagues south of the camp of the right wing

of the Mongol tribe Kharachin, in 42° 5' north latitude, and 116° 25' east longitude (Klaproth, *Tableaux*, p. 87).

In close neighbourhood with the Khitans proper, whom they apparently bounded on the west and south-west, were the Hii, Khi, or Si, as they are variously called. They were undoubtedly, as is shown by the message sent to them by Apaoki (*vide infra*), but a section of the same race ruled by a separate royal stock, and are by some called Western Khitans. As I shall show presently, the Chinese tell us that the Sian pi were divided into three branches—the Khitans, the Yuiwen, and the Khu mo ki or Ku mo si. Hyacinthe says the Hii or Khi were descended from the Yuiwen, and that they lived in the southern portion of the country occupied by the Kharachin Mongols. He says that during the dynasty Wei they called themselves Humokhi. Under the dynasty Tsi they became very powerful, and conquered almost all Southern Mongolia. During the dynasty Sui they left off the appellative Humo, and called themselves simply Khi (*op. cit.* p. 282). The account given in the Kangmu, which I shall quote presently, makes the Yuiwen and Khumokhi separate divisions of the Sian pi.

Mr. Ross says the Khi or Si were originally called Kumosi. They are described as of filthy manners, but excellent archers (*i.e.* what the Solons are now). He says they were, with the Khitans, included in the name Tung hu or Eastern Hu. They were forced to take shelter from the oppression of Moyung between Mo (*i.e.* the Shamo desert) and Sung (? the Sungari, or perhaps, as Mr. Ross says, the Sira Muran, *op. cit.* p. 219).

Klaproth says the Khitans are first mentioned in the Chinese annals under the year 405, in the reign of Ngan ti, the Emperor of the Tsin, where we read: "The Khitan are a tribe of the Tung hu or Eastern barbarians. Their ancestors were beaten by the Hiong Nu, and took refuge in the mountains of Sian pi. During the dynasty Wei and the years Tsing lung (A.D. 233–239) their chief, Kho pi neng, became powerful, and created a disturbance. He was killed by Wang hiung, the commander of Yau chau, the modern

Peking. Their tribes were then scattered, and fled to the south of the river Hoang shui (the Sira muran or Shara muran of the Mongols), north of the town of Huang lung fu. They afterwards gave themselves the honorary name of Khitan, and their horde remained very powerful until Mu yung Hi, king of the Heou yan, attacked them" (Klaproth, *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, vi. 22). De Mailla thus translates another account of these events: "Towards the end of the Han dynasty Wang hiong, governor of Yau chau, defeated the Tong hu who had settled in the mountains of Sian pi, and killed Pi neng, their chief. The Chinese general pursued them as far as the Hoang shui, where they lived until Monon, whom they had chosen as their leader, transported them into Liau si. After the defeat which they sustained at the hands of Mu yong hoang, they separated into three hordes, of which one was called Yuuen or Yuouen, another Kumohi, and the third Khitan. The last of these separated from the other two, and went to live on the banks of the Hoangho or Sira Muran" (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 118). Mu yong hoang was prince of Liau tung, and mounted the throne in the year 333 (De Mailla, vol. iv. p. 344). So that this battle was doubtless fought in the first half of the fourth century, and it was from this period that the Khitans first appear under a distinct name.

In the year 440 they became tributary to the Wei dynasty, and sent their tribute by envoys (Klaproth, *Tableaux*, p. 88).

In the year 479, according to Hyacinthe, they were divided into eight tribes governed by the chief called Dakhuri, already named. He was in command of 40,000 of them (Borgs Hyacinthe, p. 282).

Mr. Ross, in his valuable history of Corea, in which he, however, unfortunately quotes no authorities, states they were then ruled by the Mugan or Wugan Mohofo, and that they were attacked near the modern Yungping by the Gaoli or Kaoli, who gave its name to Corea, and were driven, to the number of 10,000 families, with their tents and movable property, to seek shelter on the borders of the Wei empire, which then comprised the governments of Shan tung and

Chih li (History of Korea, pp. 128, 197). At this time the dominant race in Mongolia were the Yeou yen or Geou gen, who, I believe, were the ancestors of the modern Kalmuks, and whom we shall treat of in a future paper. The Khitans, like the other nomadic tribes, had to submit to them.

The power of the Yeou yen was broken to pieces by the Turks. This was about the year 552. A large number of the Yeou yen fled, and sought shelter with the dynasty of Tsi, called Pe Tsi, or northern Tsi, which had succeeded to that of the Wei. There they elected a new Khakan. Meanwhile the Khitans attacked both the Tsi empire, to which they had paid tribute, and these fugitives, and in 553 they killed the newly-elected Khakan of the Yeou yen (De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 351). The Tsi authorities placed strong garrisons from the pass Lulung, south of Yung ping, in the north-east of Pe-chih-li, to that of Jwundu, probably the fortress called Dsiuijun in Petermann's map of the environs of Peking, and commanding the so-called "terrible pass" north-west of Peking. Tan, the commander of Yauchau, occupied the pass of Lung, while the Tsi emperor, collecting the forces of Yichau, Tung chau, You chau, and Anchau (the four chief towns in the district, now the province of Chihli) at Ping chau, marched through the Lulung pass, and sent 5000 men by the east road (*i.e.* by the pass of Shanhai or Mughai) to Chingshan, situated near King chau, in the west of the modern Liautung. This marched by way of Bailang chung and Chang li.

Another body of 4000 men, sent to cut off the Khitan retreat, advanced to the Yangi river, *i.e.* doubtless the Tu ho, which was apparently the frontier of the Khitans. The Emperor himself pushed ahead for Yue shan ling, 1000 *li* distant (? from Pingchau). His men, we are told, ate only flesh and drank only water, and were in splendid condition. They came up with the Khitans, defeated and captured 100,000 of them and millions of cattle. Another army defeated the Khitan tribes at Ching shan. Afterwards the Tsi Emperor returned to Ying chau (Ross, *op. cit.* pp. 198, 9). The Kang mu mentions this campaign. It says the Tsi Emperor advanced as far as the town of Chang li ching,

whence he despatched Han kwei, prince of Nganti, in pursuit. He followed the enemy for 1900 *li*, his troops suffering great hardships, and having nothing to live upon but the flesh of their herds and water. He punished the Khitans so severely that they did not dare to return for some time (De Mailla, vol. v. p. 393). To prevent their attacks in future, the Emperor employed 1,800,000 men in building the great Wall from Hia kau (probably the Nan kau pass) to Hung chau, *i.e.* Ta tung fu, a distance of 900 *li* (Ross, p. 199).

The Khitans now fell under the domination of the Turks, who conquered all Central Asia from the Oxus to the borders of Manchuria, and remained its masters for a considerable time. At this time 10,000 of them retired to Corea. In the year 584 one of their hordes submitted to Wen li, Emperor of the Sui dynasty, and the following year the deputy of the Turkish Khan, Shapolio, was killed, among the Khitans who had remained with the Turks (Visdelou, p. 208; Klapproth, *op. cit.* p. 88).

In 605 the Khitans made an inroad into In Chau, the district now occupied by the Tumed Mongols, whose chief town is Khurban Subarga Khota (Hyacinthe, *op. cit.* p. 283). Mr. Ross calls it Yingchau of Liau si. The Chinese general, Wei Yunchi, was ordered to march against them in conjunction with a Turk commander who had 20,000 horse. Yunchi divided his army into twenty-four sections, marching a *li* apart. The drum sounded when they were to advance, and the horn when they were to halt. They pretended that the expedition was a raid on the part of the Turks, and directed against the Coreans at Liuchung, just north of Yingchau, showing that the Corean dominion then extended west of the Taling river. They arrived within 50 *li* of the Khitan camp, before the latter were aware of their real intentions, when they rushed forward and captured 40,000 people and a large number of cattle. The men were put to death, but the women and cattle were divided between the Chinese and Turks. The Emperor was greatly pleased with the expedition, and Yunchi was promoted. In 608 the Sui

Emperor ordered the Great Wall from Yugu (a defile west of Yulin) eastwards to be built (Ross, pp. 199 and 200).

In 611 the Khitans began once more to send tribute to the Sui dynasty (Klaproth, *Tableaux Historiques*, p. 88). In 620 they made a raid into China. In 628 they submitted to the great Tang Emperor Tai tsung, who subdued the greater part of Tartary (Visdelou, p. 208). He appointed their chief, Kuko, general commandant of the nation, with the title of Dudu of Sungmo. Hyacinthe (*op. cit.* p. 282) says that in 648 the Emperor appointed Kodu of the horde Hii or Khi governor of Shaolo. Mr. Ross says the Tang Emperor formed the eastern part of their country into the prefectorial department of Sung mo, with nine sub-prefectures, *i.e.* chiefs of separate hordes, and made the Dudu its governor. Hyacinthe says that there were eight of these prefectures in all. The western tribes of Khitan were formed into the prefecture of Yolo, with five sub-prefectures; their chief was also made governor. In the winter of 654 the Dudu of Sungmo defeated a joint army of Moho and Coreans at Sinchung, in Liautung, which was marching to harry his land (Ross, pp. 200, 201).

Peace, says Visdelou, is death for the barbarians; and we accordingly find that in 696 the Khitans made another attack upon Ing chau or Ying chau, which they captured, and carried off many prisoners and a rich booty. The Imperialists were obliged to send a large army against them, commanded by Tsin gen chi and Ma gin tsi. The Khitans, being encumbered with their prisoners, set them free. The latter informed their countrymen by which route the Khitans were retiring with their booty. The impatient Chinese cavalry would not wait for the infantry, but pushed ahead. The Khitans, who had foreseen this move, planted an ambuscade. Into this the Chinese fell; the greater part of them were killed, and we are told their general, Ma gin tsi, was dragged off his horse with a lasso. Tsin gen chi and a few companions alone escaped. The Chinese Empress sent another army, under Hui kin ming, to repair this disaster; but it also was completely beaten, and Hui kin ming was captured and sent

as a trophy to the Tu kiu or Turks, with whom the Khitans were in alliance. The Khitans then laid siege to Ngantung, and took a brother of Hui kin ming with them, bidding him when he got within hail to summon the town to surrender. Instead of this, he told the governor to hold out, and that they would be speedily relieved. The indignant Khitans cut him in pieces.

Meanwhile, the Turks attempted to utilize Hui kin ming in the same way in their attack upon Ling chau. When within hail, he bade the inhabitants prepare good ragouts and rice, and carry them out to the Tartars, meaning that he should make a sortie, but they did not understand him (De Mailla, vi. pp. 169, 170). The Khitan king at this time was a grandson of Ku ko, named Li tsin chung, and we are told he took the title of Wu chang Khan, *i.e.* in Chinese, Khan who has no superior (Visdelou, p. 208). He died shortly after, and thereupon his vizier, Sun wang chung, called Vang yung by Visdelou, the grandson of Ghao tsao, who had held the office of Dudu of Sungmo, seized the throne, to the prejudice of Wu chang's son. The latter fled to Mechu, the Khan of the Turks, who traversed the Shamo with his troops, and defeated Sun wang chung, and captured his wife and children; but he could not seat his protégé on the throne, as the Khitans refused to receive him (De Mailla, *id.*, Visdelou, *id.*). Sun wang chung now collected his forces and marched against China. He captured and pillaged Ki chau, and then attacked Ing chau, and spread terror through the whole district of Hopé, whence he returned laden with booty (De Mailla, vi. p. 171). Ing chau was the seat of the Chinese military governor who had charge of the Aimaks of Khitan and Hii (Borgs Hyacinthe, p. 283).

In 697 the Chinese, who had now been defeated three times by the Khitans, determined to make a vigorous effort. They sent a large army against them, commanded by U i tsong, and at the same time asked Mechu, the Turkish Khan, to invade their country from another side. He consented to do so on having large presents made to him and on the return of the Turkish prisoners kept under restraint

by the Chinese. These terms were accepted. When the Khitans heard of this, they levelled Chao chau with the ground, and fortified Lieou ching, near Ing chau, where they placed their old people, wives, children, etc., while the rest of their troops marched upon Yeou chau, near Yung ping, in north-eastern Chihli. The Turkish Khan attacked Lieou ching, captured it, and carried off its occupants. This news reached the Khitan army as it was on the point of attacking the Chinese, and caused such terror among them, that they turned upon Sun wang chung, killed him, and while one section took his head to U i tsong, to whom they submitted, another submitted to Mechu, the Turkish Khan (De Mailla, vol. vi. pp. 172, 173).

A cousin of Tsui chung, named Sheho, now collected the fragments of the Khitans (Visdelou, p. 209). According to Hyacinthe, it was in the year 715 that the Chinese advanced against him with 20,000 foot-soldiers and 8000 horsemen; but they were utterly defeated by a force of 8000 cavalry of the Hii or Western Khitans (Borgs Hyacinthe, p. 283).

Mr. Ross dates this in 714, and he tells us the governor of Ingchau, who commanded the Chinese, was driven westwards to the city of Yu yang, the modern Pingku, 150 ½ north of Peking. Both Ingchau and Lieou ching fell into the hands of the Khitans (*op. cit.* p. 201). It was necessary to repair this disaster. Accordingly Hue Na, with 60,000 men, marched upon Tanchau, the modern Kaichau, in Chihli. It was June, and the sub-prefect of Ingchau protested against marching in the heat; but Hue declared that there was plenty of grass, and the cattle were fat, and that as to grain, the Khitai had plenty and must disgorge. They were advancing through the mountains north-east of the river Lan in Chihli towards the southern frontier of the enemy, when the Khitans attacked their camp suddenly on three sides. Three-fourths of the Imperialists perished, and the commander only escaped with a few men. He was hooted on the road as he went along. He laid the blame on the generals under him, one of whom had fled without striking a blow. The latter was put to death with six other generals

and a commander of barbarian auxiliaries. Hue himself was stripped of his titles, but soon after he recovered his reputation by defeating the Tufans or Tibetans. The only officer who escaped blame was the sub-prefect, who had counselled delay (*id.* pp. 202, 3). It was now deemed prudent to open negotiations with the Khitan. Sheho repaired to the Imperial court, where he was invested with his former dominions and recent conquests. He was nominated a Künun wang, and Dudu of Sungmu, with authority over the eight Khitan tribes and their chiefs. Lidafu of the Western Khitan territory was also made a Künun wang and Dudu. The Emperor also gave him one of his adopted daughters in marriage. He died in 719 (Ross, *op. cit.* p. 202; Visdelou, p. 209). He was succeeded by his younger brother, Soku, who married his brother's widow, the Kung chu or adopted daughter of the Emperor, and went with her to do homage to the Chinese court. Kho tu yu or Ko tu gan, a subordinate chief, had become very popular. Soku was jealous of him. He thereupon rebelled and defeated his master near Ingchau, where the latter sought refuge; and a force of 500 Chinese, which went to the rescue of the latter town, was waylaid and destroyed, and its commander withdrew to Yügwan, *i.e.* the pass of Shan haigwan, east of the city of Lin Yü (Ross, pp. 204, 5; Visdelou, p. 209).

Visdelou says Soku was killed by Kho tu yu. The latter now put his cousin Yoü yu on the throne. The Emperor confirmed him as Dudu of Sungmu, and appointed Lu su, brother of Dafu, Dudu of Yolo, *i.e.* of the Western Khitans. In 722 Yoü yu went to do homage. Dying shortly after, he was succeeded by his younger brother, Tu yu, called Tugan by Mr. Ross. In 725 he quarrelled with his patron Kho tu yu; and having escorted the Chinese princess his wife to China, he dared not return home. He was appointed Leau yang Wang by the Emperor. Kho tu yu replaced him by Chao ku, who in 725 went to do homage. He was nominated Gwanghwa Wang. The Emperor gave him his granddaughter in marriage, and another granddaughter to Lu su of the western Khitan district (Visdelou, *id.*; Ross, p. 205).

De Mailla tells us that he sent Kho tu yu, whom he calls Ko tu kan, to the Imperial court with tribute. He was treated with discourtesy and contempt by a Chinese official, named Li yuen hong, notwithstanding the advice of another named Chang yuei, who reminded him that Kho tu yu was a crafty and far-seeing person, and would not fail to secure revenge. On his return home, he exaggerated to his master the insults he had received, but the latter did not take much notice, whereupon Kho tu killed him (De Mailla, vol. vi. p. 220). Visselou dates his death in 730 (*op. cit.* p. 209). Mr. Ross says that Lu su of the western Khitans, fled in terror with the two Chinese princesses to the court. After murdering his master, Kho tu yu escaped to the Tu kiu or Turks. He was recalled by the Khitans, who put him on the throne, and he prepared to make war on China (De Mailla, vol. vi. p. 221). He defeated a Chinese army at Kin lu shan (Ross, p. 205). The Chinese sent Li wei, who had lately fought against the Tufans or Tibetans, against him. Li wei divided his army into several bodies, and penetrated into the country of the Khitans by several routes. Chao han chang commanded one of these divisions. When he attacked them, the Khitans retired; and, although warned by an officer who knew their tactics, that this was only a ruse, he persisted in pursuing them. The result was, he was disastrously beaten, and barely escaped capture himself. The mistake was repaired by Li wei, and another general named U ching si, who defeated the Khitans at Baishan, north of Kai-Yuen, in Liau tung. He captured 5000 tents, while Kho tu yu fled. He fled so far away that his whereabouts was not known, and the Chinese army returned home in triumph. This was in 732. Having returned home again, he raised an army and again attacked the Chinese frontier. He defeated the Tao tai of Yau chau, who lost 6000 men. He then advanced to Yü wan. He was now as vigorously met by the border commander, Wang cheou kui, called Jang showgwei by Mr. Ross. The Khitan chief pretended to submit, and sent one of his officers to that general to arrange terms. Wang cheou kui accordingly sent his deputy, Wang hoei, to the

Khitan camp to settle the matter. The latter then discovered that Kho tu yu was treacherous, that he had invited the Turks to join him in an invasion of China, and had determined to put him, Wang hoei, to death. He therefore began an intrigue, and gained over Ki ko chi, called Yagwan Li Gwoja by Mr. Ross, chief officer of Kho tu, and persuaded him to rebel. The latter did so, and cut off Kho tu's head, as well as that of Kiu lie, the captain of his guards (De Mailla, vol. vi. p. 222). The heads of both were exposed on the walls of Tien tsin.

Visdelou says Kiu lie had been placed on the throne in the place of Chao ku by Kho tu, and he suggests that he was the same person the Khitans called Wo khan. This may be so, as usurpers in the far East are generally in the habit of setting up puppets to give a colourable pretence to their usurpations. Ki ko chi or Kuo chi, the assassin, having submitted to Wang chau kui, was appointed Dudu of Sungmo and Wang of Pe ping in China (Visdelou, 209). He did not, however, long retain the post. Under pretence of revenging Kho tu, Yali or Nie li rebelled against him and killed him. Visdelou says he also exterminated his family. Mr. Ross says only one of his sons escaped. He fled to Andung, which was the capital of Liau tung during the Tang dynasty. The rebel sent to the Imperial court for a confirmation of his title. The Emperor, we are told, not caring to renew the fight, and deeming the Khitans an insignificant people, replied: "The barbarous custom you have introduced is contrary to all justice. Ki ko chi was your king, and you were his subject, and you have killed him. Do you think it will be difficult for another to treat you in the same fashion? Be king of the Khitans. I consent to it, but in future be careful how you behave, and look beyond the immediate prospect." Nie li, called Nie fung by Mr. Ross, who knew the genius of his people, kept them in good humour by making raids on the Chinese frontier, and Chang sheou kue having sent an army against him, he defeated and almost destroyed it (De Mailla, vol. vi. pp. 223, 224). He also repelled an attack of the Turks (Ross, p. 207).

Yali or Nieli did not, according to Visdelou, mount the throne himself, but having exterminated the family Da hu, nominated Tsu gu, otherwise called Ti mien tsu li pen, to be Khan, or rather Taishi, of the eight hordes of the Khitans. By special favour he was allowed to adopt the family name of the Chinese Imperial family, and was called by the Chinese Li hoai sieou, while his own people called him Tsu gu khan. He was the first sovereign of the family of Yao nian, that of Da hu being extinct. Perhaps the most notable event of his reign was the revolt of Ghan lo shan, who belonged to the Hii. Mr. Ross's authority says his father and grandfather were Turks. He was in the Chinese service, and was sent against Yali when, in 735, the latter attacked the frontier; but he allowed himself to be terribly beaten, was charged with treachery, but was pardoned (De Mailla, vol. vi. p. 224). We are told his name was originally Ya lo shan; but his mother, belonging to the more aristocratic family Ngan, made him adopt the latter name, and join her family. He was a native of Ing chau, and had fled to China on the destruction of his tribe (*id.* p. 230). He was well treated by the Chinese emperor, and when he returned to the frontier, he speedily ingratiated himself with the authorities, and was nominated to the command of Ping lu, and eventually made Dudu of Ying chau, with the duty of superintending the four *fu* of Pohai, Heshui, and the two districts of the Khitans. He defended the long-suffering frontiers so well, that he was raised to the rank of Jidushu. "In 742," says Mr. Ross, "there were, on the northern frontiers of China, 490,000 men under arms, with 80,000 horses, and the annual charge on the exchequer for war purposes was ten million and a quarter taels, besides four million Chinese pecks of grain" (*op. cit.* pp. 209 and 210). In 745, in order to gain distinction, Lo shan harried the country of the Western Khitai. They revenged themselves by murdering the Chinese princess, their queen. He attacked and pursued them to the district of Beiping, *i.e.* Tsunhwa, north of Peking. In 749 he invited a number of the Khitan chiefs to a feast, where, when they were drunk, he had them de-

capitated, and sent the head of their leader to the Emperor; and on visiting the capital shortly after, he took with him 8000 Khitan captives, and was rewarded with a golden sword and the title of Gwojung, *i.e.* 'the most faithful of the empire'; and the Emperor was so pleased with him, that he had a grand palace built for him, etc. (*id.* pp. 210 and 211; De Mailla, vol. vi. p. 230). In 751 he led 60,000 troops against the Khitans, his van consisting of 2000 West Khitan cavalry. After passing 1000 *li* beyond Ping lu, he reached the Tukojun (the Tuho was the old name of the Lo han, *vide infra*), where terrible rains came on. He went on 300 *li* beyond this, and the rain continuing, the bows and catapults were rendered useless. In spite of the advice of Ho Sudua, who counselled delay in order that his men might recruit, he insisted on attacking the Khitans. The fight went against him. Ho Sudua was killed. He was a large, stout man, like Lushan, and the Khitans fancied that he himself was killed. The contingent of the West Khitai also deserted. The Chinese army was nearly destroyed; Lushan's saddle was pierced by an arrow. He threw away his official hat, so as not to be recognized, and, loosing his shoes, fled with but twenty men to Shichau. He beheaded two subordinate officers, whom he accused of having caused the disaster. The commander of Ping lu, fearing a similar fate, fled to the mountains, where he remained twenty days, while 700 fugitives gathered round him (Ross, *op. cit.* pp. 211, 212; De Mailla, vol. vi. p. 236).

It was after this victory, in which the Khitan ruler, Yali, is said to have greatly distinguished himself, that, according to Visdelou, he adopted the Imperial family name of the Tang dynasty (*op. cit.* p. 209). About this time we read of a curious adventure. A Chinese official named Shu Sukan, having incurred a reprimand for some fault, fled to the Khitans. There he pretended to be a superior minister of the Tang Emperor, and that he had gone to make a treaty. To carry out his plot, he refused to bow to the Khitai ruler, and so imposed on him that he treated him with great honour, and assigned him an escort of 300 picked men. As they

neared the town of Ping lu, he sent secretly to inform the commander that his escort really meant to seize the town. An army was accordingly prepared to receive them. They killed them all except Sukan, who was sent on to the Emperor, and duly rewarded by the style of "Brilliant Thought" and other honours (Ross, p. 208). When Lu Shan fled, as I have mentioned, "Brilliant Thought" was a magistrate at Pinglu. They had been old companions, and the latter had sent 3000 men to his rescue. He also marched to Shichau, where he compelled the Khitans to raise the siege. To revenge the disaster, Lu Shan now collected a force of 260,000 men, but his progress was hindered by the rival pretensions of other Turkish officers in the Chinese service. We are told, however, that he repeatedly defeated the Khitans, and he was made governor of Fan yang (the modern Tinghing of Paoting). Lushan's successes naturally made him arrogant. In 755 he broke out into open rebellion, first taking the title of Wang, then of Emperor, and he caused great confusion in Northern China, but was eventually killed by his son. "Brilliant Thought" imitated his rebellion, and ended with a similar fate. Meanwhile, during this period of confusion, when the Tang dynasty was nearing its end, we read how the Western Khitai made a great raid and drove away the new Jidu of Pinglu with his following of 20,000 men (*id.* pp. 212—216). This was the epoch of the gradual rise of the Uighurs, who now became supreme in Tartary, and to whom the Khitans were subordinate. The latter now occur but very seldom in the annals.

We are told that in 788 Kiai lo, who was then the ruler of the Khitans, fought against China (Visdelou, 209).

In 842 Kin su received the title of viceroy of the Chinese province of Yu chau, *i.e.* of Pehchehli; he was also ruler of the Khitans, and was called Ye lan khan by his own people. These chiefs belonged to the family Yao nian, which had supplanted that of Da hu, the Ta khu ri of Hyacinthe. They were tributaries of the Khans of the Uighurs, and received their official seals from them. Presently the Uighur power also reached its term, and we are told Ye lan khan discarded

the seal, and asked for a new one from the Chinese Emperor, that is, transferred his allegiance. This was granted, and upon the seal was engraved the inscription, Fung kue Khitan, *i.e.* seal of the subject kingdom of the Khitans (Visdelou, p. 210).

This accounts for the Khitans not appearing for a long period in the Chinese annals; they had, in fact, been subject to the Turkish Uighurs.

In 860, and again in 873, Sii eul, called Pa la khan by his own people, paid tribute to China. During his reign the Khitan power increased considerably (*id.*). He was apparently succeeded by his relative, Khin te, who was called Hen te kin; the name is also written Liang te hin khan. Visdelou says it is difficult to know which is right, since there is only a point difference between the characters representing Hen and Liang. We now reach a period when there was again a change of dynasty, and the family Yao nian gave place to that of Ye lu.

The Kangmu, and a passage in Visdelou (p. 210), agree in stating that it was the custom among the Khitans for a fresh overchief or Bretwalda among the eight Khitan tribes to be chosen every three years, and that it was only on the accession of the house of Ye lu, in the person of Abushi, that the rule was broken down through his refusing to comply, and that the title to the throne became an absolute one.

The accession of the house of Yelu, otherwise Sheliu or Tiela (Visdelou, p. 180), to the throne of the Khitans, forms a notable epoch in their history. This family derived its origin from a fabulous hero named Khi cheou khan, who, we are told, was born on the mountain Tughan shan (Visdelou, p. 195). On one occasion, mounted on a white horse and going down the river Tu ho (the Lo han, which joins the Sira muran to form the Liau river), he arrived at the place where it falls into another at the foot of the mountain Mu ye shan. Looking up the other stream from the point he had reached, he saw a woman in a little cart drawn by grey oxen, who also was descending this other river, which

was the Hoangho or Hoang shui (*i.e.* the Sira muran). They met and married without any other formality. From this marriage sprang eight sons, among whom their father divided the heritage, thus forming eight tribes. A temple was put up on the mountain, and in it statues in honour of the father, mother, and eight sons; and thereafter the Khitans annually sacrificed white horses and grey oxen there, while the Khitan Emperors, who held these mountains sacred, went there repeatedly to sacrifice before undertaking any important work (Visdelou, p. 213).

The names of the eight sons, the eponymi of the eight Khitan tribes, are thus given by Mr. Ross: Danlijie, Yi sho, Shuhado, Nawei, Pinmo, Nahwiji, Jijie and Si wun (*op. cit.* p. 197). As we see, the traditional cradle-land of the race was in the district south of the Sira muran, and west of the famous barrier of stakes which forms the western frontier of Liau tung, where the Tumed Mongols now have their camping ground. One of the descendants of the founder of the Khitan Royal stock was the Yali already named. We are told he made laws and regulations, and appointed administrative officers. He kept records by means of wooden tallies, and introduced houses made of earth (Visdelou, p. 195). He did not make himself Emperor, however, but ceded that position to Tsu gu khan. He was the father of Piithie, called Pidiyei by Gabelentz (Gesch. der Gross. Liao, p. 1), who was the father of Khailing or Heling, who was the father of Neou li si called Ow li su by Mr. Ross, who had a great reputation as a statesman and for controlling people without using violence. He was styled Su tsu, *i.e.* the firm ancestor. His son was called Sa la di, and was styled Yi tsu, *i.e.* generous ancestor. He showed great bravery in a war with the Shiwei. His son was named Kiun te, the Yondesi of Gabelentz. According to the Saga, he first taught the people agriculture, and the tending of cattle; he was afterwards given the title of Hiuen tsu or original ancestor. He was the father of Salatii, who was very benevolent, and a good administrator; he first taught the people how to forge iron, to cast metal, and make musical instruments, and was afterwards

styled Te tsu, *i.e.* meritorious ancestor. All these princes had borne the dignity of I li kin, while the family of Yao nian had reigned as overlords over the Khitans. They had the chief management of the government, and were in fact the equivalents of the Mayors of the Palace among the Merovingians. The younger brother of Te tsu named Shulan, or Sulan, fought against the Shiwei, *i.e.* the Mongols, and the Yukiue, *i.e.* the Uighurs, in the north, and the Hii and the Sii, that is, the Western Khitans, in the south. Gabelentz says he subdued the three tribes Yoitsiowai (? Uighurs), Siwai (Mongols), and Sisi (Western Khitans). He was the first among the Khitans to build houses, and to plant mulberry-trees, and had already conceived ambitious designs, when the last ruler of the house of Yao nian died, and left his inheritance to the son of Tetsu (*id.* p. 195).

This famous person, the real creator of the Khitan empire, bore, as we have seen, the family name Yelü, which has been explained as a Chinese corruption of the Manchu word *eru* 'strong,' 'enduring.' In Mongol *ere* and in Turkish *er* means 'a man'; but Dr. Schott, with more probability, makes the name equivalent with the Manchu *yelu* 'a boar,' the Chinese *p'ao chü*. His individual name was, according to Vasilief, Ambagan, derived from *amba* 'great.' In the U tai sze, or history of the five small dynasties, the name is written An ba dsyan (kyan). A commentator under Kienlung changed the word into Ambagan, adding that in the Solon Manchu language this means 'a great man.' In the San ho pien, or dictionary of three languages, we have *ambakan* explained by the Chinese *lyo tá*, and the Mongol *ikeken* 'rather large,' and *ambaki*, is explained by the Chinese *Ta yang* and Mongol *ikergek* 'nobleness,' 'grandeur,' or 'haughtiness.' This latter form Dr. Schott suggests may be the origin of A pao ki, which is the form by which the name generally occurs in the Chinese writers, and by which our hero is generally known (Schott, *op. cit.* pp. 7, 8). Mr. Ross writes the name Abooji. Gabelentz reads the name Abooji, and says when a child he was called Juwelitsi. He was the eldest son of Te tsu, and his mother,

who was called Siao yen niu (Gabelentz called her Shusi), belonged to the famous family of Siao, which divided with that of the Yelu the chief importance during the Khitan period; she was the daughter of Tii la, the chief minister of the Khitan Wangti. He was born in the year 872, and we are told his mother conceived him after having seen a ray of the sun enter her womb. At his birth the house where his mother lay (which Gabelentz says was situated at Mi li, the Yeh mi li of Mr. Ross, the original homeland of the Khitans) seemed surrounded with a divine light or halo, and was scented with an exquisite odour. He was the size of a three-year-old infant at his birth, and could even then walk with the assistance of a hand. His grandmother provided him a tent separate from his mother's, smeared his face with soot, and permitted no one to see him, and he began to walk properly when he was three months old. When one year old he talked and prophesied, and said he was surrounded by divine guardians, who protected him from harm. From the age of seven he spoke only of serious matters. When he was twenty years old, he was seven feet high (Gabelentz says nine); his face was wide above and pointed below; the light of his eyes was dazzling. He bent a bow which required a weight of 300 Chinese pounds to bend. When he became Ta ma yue sa li (the Tama shung sa li of Gabelentz), *i.e.* Constable of the tribe of the Little hoang, Shi wei (Gabelentz says the Shoo ho wang of the kingdom of Si wei) refused to obey him, but he overcame them by his skill. He made war upon the Yue ghu (the Yu wai yu of Gabelentz; ? Uighurs), the Ku lu (the Uguluse of Gabelentz, ? the Kirais), the Hii, and the Sha yue (the Bisashung of Gabelentz, ? the Turks of the Shalo), and subdued them all, and afterwards received the title of Achu sha li (Visdelou, p. 180). Gabelentz says his people gave him the name Ajusali (*op. cit.* p. 2).

Hentekin, of the family of Yao nian, was made Wang ti in 901. (Gabelentz calls him Tsinde, and Ross Chinda, Khakan of Hundajin.) He appointed A pao ki Ili kin or Ilijin of the tribe Tiela or Yelu, and gave him command of

the army. Ross dates this in the period Gwanchi of the Tang dynasty. A pao ki accordingly defeated the Shiwei or Mongols and the Yuki (Yoitsiowai of Gabelentz), *i.e.* the Uighurs. He then attacked the Hii, the Si si of Gabelentz, *i.e.* the Western Khitans. We are told Juli, the chief of the latter, tried to stop his way by building a wall across a ravine, whereupon A pao ki sent his youngest brother to them as an envoy, bearing an emblematic arrow, calling upon the Sisi to submit. When he arrived among them, he was seized and taken before their prince, to whom he said, "Our land and yours are alike in speech and laws; in reality they are but one land. Is it likely that our Ilikin, A pao ki, has the intention to conquer and oppress your country? He is provoked against the Chinese empire, which killed our forefathers, and meditates revenge day and night against it. As he is not powerful enough alone, however, he has given me this arrow to ask you to help him, and has sent me as a proof of his sincerity. My master, the Ilijin, has, with divine sanction and by his virtue, united all peoples under him. If you wish to struggle against heaven by killing me, it will assuredly be a misfortune for all. Of what service will it be to your kingdom to struggle with ours?" This speech seemed just to Juli, and he submitted with his people (Gabelentz, *op. cit.* p. 3).

Later in the same year he was created Ilikin of Ta tie lie fu. The next year, *i.e.* 902, he invaded China (Ho tung and Ho pi, says Gabelentz), at the head of 400,000 soldiers, and took nine large cities on the north of that empire. He also made 95,000 prisoners, and carried off a great quantity of cattle, horses, and camels; and in the latter part of the same year he built the town of Lung hoa chau, south of the river Hoang ho (*i.e.* of the Sira muran). It was also called Shang king, and Si lau (*i.e.* West Tower), from the tower which A pao ki built in the centre of the city (Ross, p. 221).

The next year he began to build the temple named Khai kiao si. He also defeated the Jurchis, *i.e.* the later Kin Tartars, and carried off 300 families; and in the 9th month of the same year he again entered China, and captured several

towns, and on his retreat ravaged the eastern part of the province of Peh cheh li. His father had carried off 7000 captives from the country of Hii or Si si, who were planted as a colony on the river Tsing ho, in the country of Yao lo. These immigrants were styled the tribe of Si Tiela or Hii tiela. Gabelentz says he divided it into thirteen districts. Visdelou says it contained eleven towns of the third order, and A pao ki was created its Yu yue or Yoi yowai, *i.e.* viceroy, with the chief command of the armies. A pao ki wished to make his young relative Holo, Ilikin of the Tie la; but the latter declined it, saying the thief, *holha* (a play on his own name), remains with his master.

In 904 A pao ki increased the town of Lung hoa chau or Shang king on its eastern side, and later on he made war with those Shi wei who were called He che tze (*i.e.* in Chinese 'black chariots').

At this time the Chinese empire was in a state of disintegration. The great dynasty of Tang, which had for so long ruled it gloriously, was approaching the term of its existence. Latterly, to give greater stability to the empire, it had been the custom to appoint the governors of the greater districts vice-emperors, entitled Tse se, who had plenary powers within their jurisdictions. By their address they succeeded in rendering their authority hereditary and almost independent (Visdelou, p. 216). Meanwhile the Emperors had become almost puppets in the hands of their eunuchs and domestics.

The most powerful, and probably the most ambitious of these governors, was Chu thsian tung (Klaproth, *Memoires*, etc., p. 232), who is called Chu wen by De Mailla. He had authority over the provinces of Honan and Shan tung, and was known as the prince of Liang. Having killed and displaced the eunuchs about the palace, he compelled the Tang Emperor, Chao tsung, in 905, to take up his residence at Lo yang, immediately within his control, and almost directly after had him assassinated. He replaced him by his young son, Ngai ti, a boy of thirteen years old, under the style Chsao siuen ti; but he also was speedily displaced, and

in 907 the house of Tang finally fell, while the prince of Liang seated himself on the Imperial throne, and gave his dynasty the name of Liang (Klaproth, *op. cit.* p. 232). His authority, however, was limited to the provinces of Honan and Shan tung. The other provinces were usurped by other Tse se or vice-emperors. Thus Li meou ching reigned at Fung thsiang in Shen si, under the style of Prince of Khi. Yang wu, Prince of Hoai Nan, reigned in Kiang nan. Wang kian, Prince of Chu, in Suchuan and portions of Shen si and Hu kuang. Thsiang leou, prince of U yue, ruled in Che kiang. Ma in ruled in Hu nan, under the style of king of Thsu, and Kao ki chang in a large part of Hu kuang and part of Suchuan, under the style of king of Kiang nan. Lieou in ruled in Kwan tung or Ching hai, as king of Ling nan, and Wang chin chi was master of Fukien. Lastly, Li ke yung, prince of Tsin, reigned in Shansi. The greater part of these princes were only nominally dependent on the Liang Emperor. One of them is connected closely with Khitan history, namely Li ke yung, and to him we must devote a little attention. He was a Shato Turk, *i.e.* a Turk of the desert or steppe. The Turks so called were a section of the Western Turks who nomadized in the western parts of the Mongolian desert. Li ke yung was the son of Li kue chang. These two chiefs had formerly been in the Chinese service, but having incurred the displeasure of the Court, had sought refuge among the White Tartars in the In Shan mountains north of Shan si. These Tartars having furnished him with a contingent of 10,000 men, he was also joined by the Shato and other Turkish tribes on the frontier, and entered China, and having made peace with the authorities, assisted in putting down the rebellion of Wang chao. In the last decade of the century he struggled with the various governors or vice-emperors of the northern provinces, and even with the Imperial forces (Klaproth, *op. cit.* p. 225).

A dependent of Li ke yung's, named Lieou gin kung, had been nominated by him governor of Yu chau (*i.e.* of the Metropolitan province of Chihli or Pehchehli). He had

afterwards refused to send a contingent to assist him in a campaign against one of the rebels. This was under pretext that the Khitans were threatening an invasion of his territory. Li ke yung turned upon him, and marched upon Yu chau. His men, however, fell into an ambuscade, and were defeated near Mu kua kien. This small success did not blind Lieou gin kung to the folly of continuing the unequal fight, and he proposed terms to his late patron, Li ke yung, who forgave him, and some time after, when he had a struggle with Chu wen, the prince of Liang, and the great rival of Li ke yung, he sent troops to his assistance (De Mailla, vii. 40, 46). This was in the year 899. Lieou gin kung was styled governor of Lulong (*id.* 111.), which seems to have been a portion of the government of Pehchehli.

In 904 Lieou gin kung, probably to avenge himself upon A pao ki for his raid into Pehchehli, sent an army against him commanded by his adopted son Liau chao pa, called Juba by Gabelentz, while he himself went to the town of Wu chau (*i.e.* Jan chau fu in Kiangsi, Porter Smith, p. 62). A pao ki having learnt of his approach from his spies, planted Holo in an ambuscade on the mountain Tao shan, and sent to a Shi wei or Mongol, named Muli, whose people were allied with the Chinese, to mislead Liau chao pa, by telling him their people meant to meet him at Ping yuen or Pinguywan, which was in Shansi. He fell into the ambuscade prepared for him, and was captured, while his army was destroyed. A pao ki followed up his victory by completely defeating the Shi wei, and the following year by again conquering the He che tse Shi wei (Visdelou, p. 181). Meanwhile Li ke yung, prince of Tsin, sent his interpreter Khangmingdi to ask for peace. A pao ki marched to meet him in the latter part of 905, with 70,000 horsemen (De Mailla says 160,000). They met at Yun chau or Ta ting fu (De Mailla, vii. p. 119; Visdelou, 181), and swore to be like brothers to one another. Li ke yung gave him a splendid feast. A pao ki having got drunk at this feast, one of Li ke yung's officers advised his master to take advantage of him, and make him prisoner; but he refused to behave

so treacherously, and persuaded the latter to join him in a campaign against Lieou gin kung. A pao ki captured several towns, and carried off their inhabitants. He made another attack upon him the following year, and on his return defeated the Hii, or Western Khitans (who, we are told, lived north of the mountains) at Pien chau (Visdelou, p. 181; Gabelentz, pp. 4, 5). Chu wen, the Emperor of Liang, now sent him an embassy by sea, with considerable presents (*id.*). De Mailla says it was A pao ki who sent the embassy, offering him an alliance, which the Emperor felt to be somewhat embarrassing, as he was afraid of his ambition; but he discreetly sent back the envoy with considerable presents (*id.* vii. 120). In the latter part of this year (906), A pao ki sent a force to subdue the Hii, Sisi, and the Jurchi of the north-east, who had not yet submitted. They were compelled to succumb. This was shortly followed by the death of the Khitan ruler Hentekin khan, who is called A pao ki's patron. The grandees, following out the will of that prince, offered the throne to A pao ki, who, after, with the conventional coyness, refusing it three times, at length accepted it. He was specially urged to do so by Holo, who referred to his miraculous birth, and to the need the state had of a strong ruler, as arguments for his taking it. This was in 907. Having prepared a temple without roof, he offered a holocaust to the sky, Gabelentz says he informed the gods by burning paper, and took the title of Wangti, and gave his mother the title of Wang tai heou (*i.e.* the august, very great queen, or empress mother), while his wife, who like his mother belonged to the family Siao, was created Wang heou, *i.e.* Empress. He created Siao hia la, Tsai siang (*i.e.* in Chinese, absolute minister of state) of the north, and Ye lu gheou li si, Tsai siang of the south. His grandees styled him emperor of the heavens, and his wife empress of the earth, and by an edict, he gave the Imperial family and the nine tents of the family Yuniyan, the title of "The ten tents."

In the second month of 907 he marched against the He-che-tse Shi wei, and subdued eight tribes of them. Two months later there happened the revolution in China, to

which I have already referred, by which the dynasty of Tang was finally put an end to by the prince of Liang. The founder of the new dynasty duly apprized A pao ki of his elevation (Visdelou, p. 182).

Soon after we read that the elder brother of Lieou gin kung submitted to A pao ki, with all the Chinese dependent on him. The latter assigned him the town of Ping lu ching, near Yung ping, as a residence. Later in the year the Khitan chief had another war with the He-che-tse or Black Chariot Shi wei.

On new year's day of 908 he received the congratulations of the grandes and foreign ambassadors, and made his younger brother Sa la president or Tii in of the Tribunal of princes of the blood (*id.* p. 182). The Liang Emperor was very jealous of Li ke yung, the prince of Tsin, who he was afraid was desirous of continuing the Tang dynasty in his own person. He accordingly marched against him, and laid siege to Lu chau (Lu ngan fu in Shansi). Li ke yung sent his general Cheou te wei to the rescue; but meanwhile he died, and was succeeded by his son Li tsun hui as prince of Tsin (De Mailla, vol. vii. pp. 122, 123) and ruler of Shasi. This was in the first month of 908. The young prince proceeded at once to the relief of Lu chau, which was still being besieged by the Imperial troops; and he arranged matters so successfully, that the latter had to raise the siege and retire. He is described as a beneficent and wise ruler (*id.* pp. 123-126). A pao ki sent to congratulate him on his accession. He then sent his brother Sala against the Uwan and the Shi wei with Black Chariots. Later in the year he built the palace or fortress of Mien wang in Lin ko wang fu, and also built a wall to keep out the sea. He also sent King gin to ask for the surrender of the Tu hoen, who had taken refuge among the Shi wei (Visdelou, p. 182). Lieou gin kung, the governor of Yen or Peh cheh li, to whom I have already referred, and who was a protégé of Li ke yung, devoted himself to pleasure, and built himself a beautiful retreat on the mountain Ta ngan shan. His son Lieou cheou

kwang accordingly rebelled against him, and put him under durance (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 111).

According to Visdelou, A pao ki sent an army under his younger brother She li fu (the She li so of Gabelentz), who held the office of I li kin, and Siao li lu or Si yu, his brother-in-law, against Lieou cheou kwang. This army penetrated as far as Pe thao kheou (*op. cit.* p. 182); they defeated Lieou cheou kwang near Heng hai tsi yong (Gabelentz, p. 8). A pao ki after wards built the town of Yang ching, at the foot of the mountain Tan shan, to serve as a commercial centre. Gabelentz says he ordered the Pui functionary, Handsigu, in memory of his achievements, to build a stone triumphal arch in the temple Daguwangsi, in the town Lunghowadshio (*op. cit.* p. 8). He also gave the title of Tsai siang of the North to Siao li lu. This was the first time the honour was conferred on one belonging to the family of the empresses, *i.e.* the family of Siao. In the latter part of the year he suppressed a rebellion among the Hii of the mountain U ma shan, the Cha la ti, the Tsu po te, etc. (Visdelou, p. 182). Gabelentz says he attacked and conquered the He-che-tse Shi wei (*op. cit.* p. 9). During the year 910 A pao ki defeated several northern tribes. Next year he marched in person against the Eastern and Western Hii (Gabelentz says the Eastern and Western Si si). Their state was subjected on the east as far as the sea, on the south as far as the Chinese district of Pe fan or Betan, on the west beyond the burning sands and the kingdom of Uighur (Visdelou, 182), and on the north as far as the river Hoang chui, *i.e.* the Sira muran. In all, five kingdoms were added to the Khitan realm. The army halted on the river Lan ho, where the Emperor had an account of his doings engraved on a rock. A little later his four brothers, Lakha or Laghu, Tiela or Diyela, Yutichi or Indi si, and Anduan, formed a conspiracy against him, which which was disclosed by Nien mo ku, the wife of Anduan. He would not put them to death; but, taking them to a mountain, where he offered sacrifices, he made them swear allegiance to him. Lakha was appointed I li kin of the horde Tie la, while the princess Nien mo ku was made

queen of Tsin, in Shansi, in China (*id.* p. 183) (this probably means she was married to the prince of Tsin, Li tsun hui). In the seventh month the Tie li ti (?) and all the strangers sent envoys with tribute (*id.*).

Lieou cheou kwang, who is now styled prince of Yen (*i.e.* of Peh cheh li), became very much inflated by his position. "Who," said he, "is strong enough to resist me? My kingdom is more than 2000 *li* in circuit, and I can furnish 250,000 cuirassiers. If I wish to make myself Emperor, who shall prevent me?" (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 147). He adopted a grand cortège, and imprisoned the envoys of the neighbouring princes; and when one of his officers, named Sun ho, ventured to expostulate with him on his folly, he had his tongue cut out and his limbs torn asunder. He then proclaimed himself Emperor (*id.* p. 148). The prince of Tsin was greatly amused at this turn of events, and sent him an envoy on a mock errand of congratulation (*id.*).

In the 8th month of 911 Lieou cheou kwang, who was hard pressed by the prince of Tsin, sent one of his people, named Han yan hoei, to the Khitans. When he presented himself before A pao ki, he refused to kneel, inasmuch as his master had adopted the style of Emperor. A pao ki was naturally irritated, and was not for letting him return, but for making him a horse-herd. His wife, Sialisi, urged that it was not the part of a noble man to behave ill through sensitiveness, and that the best answer to the man's rudeness was to treat him with courtesy. Following his wife's advice, he conversed with him, and eventually took such a fancy to him that he appointed him to the dignity of Sandsiyusi, or chief of his council (Gabelentz, p. 10).

Han yan hoei proceeded to organize the civil administration of the Khitans, to build towns, and to assign districts to such of the Chinese as wished to submit to or to trade with them, exempting them from all taxes to commence with. After a while, overcome by home sickness, he asked permission to return and see his mother. A pao ki granted this, and he returned to Tsin yang, where he

was well received by the prince of Tsin, who wished to retain him in his service; but noticing that Wang kien, one of the latter's principal officers, disliked him, he determined to return once more, arguing that without him A pao ki was like a man without hands. Having visited his mother, he went again to A pao ki, who received him very gladly, and created him one of his chief officials. We are told that in one of his dreams he had seen a white crane enter and leave his house, and interpreted it as meaning the departure and return of Han yan hoei. The latter wrote to the prince of Tsin, explaining the reasons for his withdrawal, commending his mother to his care, and promising that the Khitans should not attack him while he was in their service. This proved a very rash promise. A pao ki gave him the honorary name of Siyeliye, which, we are told, meant in the Khitan language "to return again," and appointed him Hiyosi of the Tsungwenguan court, and he devoted himself to furthering the culture of his adopted country (Gabelentz, pp. 10, 11).

In the 2nd month of 912, Le Sing, the prince of U, sent a peculiar greasy substance, called Menghio (? the Greek fire), to the Khitan empire. When this was mixed with water it burnt the better. A pao ki was for sending an army of 3000 horsemen to the town of Yo chau to secure some of this grease. The Empress Siaolisi rebuked him, saying, "Is it seemly to wage war against a neighbour merely in order to get this grease?" She pointed out a tree standing before the yurt, and said, "If this tree be stripped of bark, will it live?" A pao ki said it would not live. "The district of Yojeo? is like the bark. If we attack and plunder it with a force of 3000 men, its population will in a few years be exterminated; and if you should fail to win even once in ten thousand times, you will become an object of derision to the Middle Kingdom (*i.e.* to China), and our realm will be weakened" (Gabelentz, p. 11). A pao ki agreed in the wisdom of this, and gave up the expedition.

In the 7th month of 912, he marched against the tribe of Dshu Bugu or She pu ku (perhaps the subjects of the

Uighur chief, Pu ku, are meant), and subdued it, carrying off many thousand prisoners. He then sent his brother, Lakha, against Ping chau, which he captured in the course of ten months (Gabelentz, pp. 11, 12).

About this time he went to the mountain Ghen te shan, where he had a son born named Li hu. On La kha's return home, he made a fresh conspiracy with his brothers Tie la, In ti chi, and Anduan, against A pao ki, who was then in the northern part of the mountains A lu shan, the well-known Alashan range. Before he set out on his return, *i.e.* from the country of Dshu Bugu, he offered a holocaust to the sky, and the following day arrived at the river Tsii tu or Tsaido (*i.e.* the river of seven fords, the Tsaidam). His brothers now sent messengers with their submission, and he again pardoned them (Visdelou, p. 183; Gabelentz, p. 12). Matters in China were growing more and more confused. The Liang Emperor, after a long struggle with the prince of Tsin (his last campaign being in support of the grotesque pretender the prince of Yen, Lieou cheou kwang), was assassinated by his son Chu yeou kua, who also put his brother Chu yeou wen to death. He then mounted the throne, but he was attacked by another of his brothers named Chu yeou chin, and was forced, with his wife and the slave who had killed his father, to take refuge in a tower. There the slave, having killed the other two, committed suicide. Chu yeou chin now mounted the throne as emperor of Liang, at Pien chan (*i.e.* Kai fung fu in Honan), which was the Tungkung or eastern capital of the Liang dynasty (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 156). Meanwhile the prince of Tsin continued to press his attack against the prince of Yen. He captured Ping chau and Ing chau, towns of Pehchehli (*id.* 157). The pretender turned in vain to the Khitans, who refused to assist him, and he was blockaded at Yu chau (the modern Peking), which was at length captured. His father, the famous Lieou gin kung, was made prisoner, but he himself escaped towards Tang chau (a port of Shan tung). He was however waylaid by some peasants and surrendered. The prince of Tsin put the cangue upon both father and son, and led them off in triumph to Tsin yang,

offered up thanks in the Hall of the Ancestors and presented the prisoners he had captured. Lieou cheou kwang was beheaded. Lieou gin kung was taken to Tai chau (Tai yuen fu in Shansi), where the father of the prince of Tsin was buried. Having torn out his heart and offered it to his father's manes, he had him decapitated also.

Let us revert to A pao ki. In 912 he marched against Li yang, whence he carried off fifty Chinese bonzes of the sect Ho shang (*i.e.* Buddhists), for whom he built a temple called Tien hiung se (*i.e.* temple of the heavenly valour) at Shang king or Si Leou (Visdelou, p. 183; Gabelentz, p. 12). His brothers, as I have said, sent envoys to ask his forgiveness for their recent revolt. Early in 913, when he was at the town Che shui ching, they went in person to ask forgiveness. Dressed in a simple costume, and without ornaments, mounted on a chariot drawn by horses which were pieballed bay and white, with two grandees as charioteers, but without arms, he went to meet them, spoke kindly to them, and gave them good advice; but it would seem the rebels were not quite reconciled. In the third month of 913 Tiela, his younger brother, usurped the title of king of Hii or Sisi, and joined himself with another brother named Anduan. The two advanced at the head of 1000 men, pretending falsely they were going to do homage. A pao ki saw through their device, and having rebuked them, had them arrested. Lakha, a third brother, had meanwhile set out for Dsindiyan, one of the districts of the Sisi or Hii, taking with him the Imperial emblems (*i.e.* the drums and banners), and intending to proclaim himself Emperor. His people, however, dispersed at the false news brought by a man of Nigu, named Ho wai li, that A pao ki was at hand with an army. Having pillaged the district they fled northwards. A pao ki sent an army in pursuit. Lakha sent a detachment under Intichi, which fired the camp of the pursuing army, and killed many men, and it was only by the arrival of Sho ku lo with reinforcements that the Imperial drums and standards escaped capture. An ally of Lakha's, named Shin fo ku, meanwhile pillaged the Si Leou or western palace in Linhoiwangfu, and

burnt the Si wang leou. Gabelentz calls the latter the town of Mingwang.

A pao ki, having arrived at the river Tu ho, halted his army to allow the horses to recruit. His generals wished him to press the rebels closely. He replied, "They have fled far from their homes; presently home-sickness will inevitably overtake them, and they will return to us; while if we pursue them too closely, we shall certainly lose them altogether." Having divided the spoil which he had already taken, and appointed Cheliku, who bore the dignity of Ili pi, his *locum tenens*, he advanced in pursuit of La kha. At Mili he heard that his brothers had sacrificed the captives whom they had taken to the mountain Mu ye shan (*vide supra*). They had killed them with the sacred arrows, called 'arrows of Manes' by Visdelou (*op. cit.* p. 184), hoping by this means to conciliate the spirit of the mountain. A pao ki, having captured one of the fugitives, sacrificed him in a similar way, turning in the direction in which they were retiring, thus opposing sacrifice to sacrifice, and hoisting them with their own petard. At Ta li tien (Visdelou calls it a lake, and it may mean lake Taal in the Eastern Gobi) he sent on his cavalry, which overtook the fugitives at the ford of the river Pu chi or Peiji, and captured their baggage and herds. A pao ki had previously ordered Pa la tiliku and four other chiefs of the Wei he and Tu huen, ? of the Uighurs and Turks (Gabelentz says of Bala Diligu and three others), to plant ambuscades on the route likely to be taken by the fugitives, and he confided the command of the advance guard to Tii li ku or Di li ku, who was Tsai siang of the north; he at length met Lakha and his men, and his brother Gho ku che or Ogudsi, who was in the first ranks, killed several of them with his arrows. Gabelentz says he killed more than ten with his lance. After standing opposite to each other for some time in battle array, the battle never came off, Lakha's forces dispersing. They were pursued to the river Tchai, called San by Gabelentz, their carts and tents were burnt. They afterwards fell into the ambuscades prepared for them, as I have mentioned. Lakha fled, abandoning the tent which

had been used as a temple by A pao ki when on the march. When the latter saw it, he fell on his knees before it and offered sacrifices, and restored the spoil to those from whom it had been taken.

Ku ku che and Mo to, confederates of La kha, surrendered themselves with their hands tied behind them. When A pao ki arrived at the river Cha tu (? the Chautu puritu in the Eastern Gobi), it was flooded by a recent heavy rain. He sent the light cavalry across it under the command of the Tsai siang of the North. They overtook and captured Lakha on the banks of the river Yu ho; with him were taken Nie li kuen, Apo or Abu, and Siao she lu, formerly Tsai siang of the North; Intichi anticipated his fate by committing suicide. A pao ki, having successfully suppressed this revolt, offered a sacrifice of a white sheep to the sky and a black one to the earth. A few days after La kha, Nie li kuen, and Apo, were brought before him tied with straw cords, and each one leading a sheep. As soon as they saw their brother they prostrated themselves before him.

On his way home he passed by the mountain Ta ling. The expedition had been a very trying one. The soldiers had had to feed on the flesh of their horses, and on wild plants which they cooked; they had lost four-fifths of their animals on the way; the price of food had increased tenfold. The weary troops had thrown away their pots and pans, and also valuable articles, and they were altogether a ragged crew when they reached the river Tsu li or Su li. It was in consequence of this revolt that A pao ki changed his brother La kha's name to Pao li or Booli (meaning in Khitan, we are told, 'a miscreant') as the author of all the trouble. At Khu li, he sacrificed a black cow to the sky and a white horse to the earth. He distributed 600 cattle and 2300 horses among the two regiments of Falcons (the Chinese author adds "this is like the Dragons with us"). At the sixth month he arrived at the mountain Yu ling, where he had Siao ku fei cut in pieces for the tyranny he had exercised over the people of the town of Hia la hien, of which he was governor. He then climbed the mountain Tu ghan shan,

where he examined with affection the ancient monuments of Ki cheou, formerly Khan of the Khitans. Having heard that Nie li kin, who belonged to the criminal administration, had invented some cruel instruments of torture, he ordered him to be put to death. When he arrived at the river Lang ho he captured one of the rebels, named Ya li mi li, and had him buried alive. When he reached the Tung ho (? the Tu ho before named), he set at liberty the various prisoners he had made; the greater part were recaptured by Yu khu li (? the chief of the Yu ku li). A pao ki marched a large force against him, which deprived him of his subjects and restored the captives to their liberty (Visdelou, p. 185).

Having arrived at the lake, A shung, called A dun li by Gabelentz, he put his adopted son, Nie li si, to death with sacred arrows for having sided with his own rebellious brothers, while he distributed among 6000 of the rebels various punishments proportionate to their crimes. He compelled thirty of those who had pillaged to buy their liberty (?), and then sent them home. When he arrived west of the mountains She ling, he ordered people to go and search for the arms which his starving soldiers had abandoned on their march, and having collected them he had them restored to their owners. He ordered the Ili kin Nie li kuen, one of the conspirators, whom he did not wish to hand over to the executioners, to put an end to himself, which he accordingly did.

At the 8th month, having arrived at the palace Lung mei kung, which was in the town of Shang king, he put twenty-nine of the rebels to death, and distributed their wives and daughters among the officers who had distinguished themselves in the late war, and restored to their owners the slaves, animals, and precious articles which the rebels had stolen, and compelled their families to pay for those which were no longer in existence, while those families which were insolvent had to sell some of their members.

In the ninth month he left Si leou or the western palace, and went on to Che yai, where he received an embassy from the Hoi hu of Hochau (*i.e.* the Uighurs of Bishbalig), and

five days after put to death two grandees who had taken part in the conspiracy, and then went to sacrifice to the mountain Mu ye shan. On his return he stayed awhile at Chao u shan and studied the manners and customs of the people. He visited the very old men there, and ordered the ceremonies and form of government, and in the last month of the year he offered a holocaust on the banks of the lake of the Nenuphars.

Early next year, *i.e.* in 914, the Yu ku li sent him seventeen rebels whom they had captured. Gabelentz says a man named Telimin brought Puho Hoyari and fifteen others prisoners. A pao ki ordered them to be tried by a council of princes of the blood royal, who found that several of them had been tools in the hands of others. He accordingly ordered the principal instigator, named Gho pu hu or Pu ho, to be bastinadoed to death, and let the others go free. Hoa kha, the son of So lan (? the Hoyari of Gabelentz), had been a very troublesome person, and A pao ki had several times pardoned him. Having taken part in the last conspiracy, the Emperor summoned a council of elders and of officials to try him and his son. They were both condemned and executed (Visdelou, p. 186).

The judicial officials, having decided against 300 of the rebels, A pao ki, we are told, considering that human life is invaluable, and that the dead return no more to us, ordered a feast to be provided for the culprits, which lasted a whole day, and where singing, dancing, and the acting of comedies took place, after which punishments were awarded to the leaders according to their crimes. Lakha, as chief instigator, was declared the most culpable, and Tie la the second in guilt; but A pao ki, who was of a generous disposition, merely ordered them to be bastinadoed, and then released, while Intichi and Anduan were considered as mere tools in La kha's hands, and pardoned accordingly. Hiai li, son of He ti li, formerly holding the office of Yu yue, and Hia la, the wife of Lakha, were both strangled. Niehie, the wife of Intichi, it was declared, had been compelled to side with the rebels; while Nien mu ku, the wife of Anduan, had

rendered the state service by giving information about the former conspiracy. They were both pardoned (Visdelou, p. 187). A pao ki then addressed the bystanders a homily on the evil courses pursued by his brothers. "It is possible," he said, "to fill up valleys, but not to satisfy the cravings of ambition and avarice. He enlarged on their having led astray the crowd with their sophistries, and in having allowed women to take part in their councils. Yu lu tu ku, the wife of She lu, minister of the North, who he said, was tied to him by the closest relations of blood, had nevertheless with the basest ingratitude joined the rebels. She had died of disease before punishment could overtake her. Heaven itself had given her her due. Hiai li was like his own foster-brother—had eaten out of the same dish and slept in the same bed. They had been companions from being children, nor was there a royal prince to whom he was more endeared; nevertheless both he and his father had joined the rebels." Some time after the criminal judges presented another list of 300 guilty persons. They were all executed on the public square. A pao ki again made a speech: "Is it willingly," he said, "that I send these people to their punishment? If they had merely conspired against myself personally, it might have been possible to pardon them; but they had been guilty of all kinds of crimes—had plundered and cruelly treated his people, and had trodden them under like dirt, so that those who formerly owned 10,000 horses, had now to walk on foot. Never since the foundation of the kingdom had such things happened, and it was only necessity that compelled him to exact the punishment of death" (Visdelou, p. 187).

In the last month of the year 914 A pao ki founded the palace called Khai hoang tieng on the site of the Ming wang hou, or the pavilion of the king Ming wang, destroyed by the rebels (*id.*).

In the suppression of this revolt we have no doubt the great consolidating influence in the history of the Khitan empire, which had hitherto been a congeries of tribes with only a nominal head over all, but now became a centralized power. The announcement of its suppression is followed by

a curious notice in the Chinese annals, where we read that in 915 the god Kuin khi tai yi shin (*i.e.* the God of the Great Unity, the supporter of kings, that is, the god of happiness; Gabelentz calls him Dsiyondsitai-i, and says it means the Spirit of Fortune) appeared several times. A pao ki ordered a picture of him to be painted.

In the first month of 915 the Ugu or Uighurs rebelled. A pao ki sent an army against them which restored peace again. In the sixth month the Shu-functionary of the town of Yu chau, *i.e.* Pedsing, named Tsi sing ben, went with his relatives and clansmen men and women, in all 3,000 heads, proposing his submission to A pao ki. He was given the title of Shangtsopuli-functionary, gave him the title of Wioi, and made him overseer of the granaries. After a while he deserted and returned to the prince of Yu chau, who received him, and who when A pao ki wrote to ask for his surrender, returned an uncivil answer and refused. While he was at the town of Lung hoa chau his old protégé Yelioi-Holu, with the hundred officials, presented a request to him that he would adopt some honorary title; when he had refused this three times, he eventually consented. He ordered that the future years of his reign should thenceforth be called Shen tsi (*i.e.* fixed by the gods), and himself adopted the title of Wangti or Emperor. His full style being Ta ching ta ming tien hoang ti (*i.e.* the Celestial Emperor, great saint, great sage). He built a special temple or throne of earth on a platform, for the ceremony of inauguration, east of the town of Lung hoa chau. In digging the foundations of this they found a golden bell, whence the place was named the mound of the golden bell, while the throne was called the sacred Hain (Gabelentz, p. 17). His wife also, Siao li, who was a Uighur by origin, and descended from Yu si Uighur, who had settled among the Khitans (Visdelou, p. 196), received the title of Ing tien ta ming ti wang heou (*i.e.* the terrestrial empress, complement of the sky ? and very wise). He also published a general amnesty, and nominated his son Pei as his successor. He also created the general Holu a Yoiguwai, or Yoi yowai, and raised

the various officials one grade. In the seventh month he marched westwards against the five nations of the Tud-shuwei? the Tu howa Tu kiu or Turks, the Tang hiang or people of Tangut, the Siao fan (?) and the Sha to (*i.e.* Desert Turks), and subdued them. He captured their chiefs and 15,600 of their principal families, and carried off more than 900,000 stands of arms and uniforms, with a vast booty of horses, cattle, camels and sheep and precious articles. On his return home he took prisoner the Chinese vice-emperor or governor of So chau (*i.e.* Su chau in the district of Wu chung, Gabelentz says in the province Daitung). On his march eastwards he captured five towns in the north of China—and as a memorial of his victory he ordered a stone to be engraved and set up south of Tsingtsung—namely Yoichau, Sin chau, Uchau, Weichau, and Shuchau. During the attack on Yoichau the walls fell and greatly assisted the attack. In this campaign A pao ki decapitated 14,700 people, and he effectually subdued the country north of China (Visdelou, p. 188, Gabelentz, p. 18), *i.e.* the Gobi desert and its borders. Gabelentz says that after capturing the five towns, he went to Ho tsioi, crossed the Inshan range, and conquered the whole district (*op. cit.* p. 18). During his absence his Empress, whose prudence, knowledge and courage were remarkable, seems to have acted as regent. The tribes of Shi wei, deeming it a good opportunity, took up arms and marched against her. Mounted on horseback, with her sabre by her side, and her bows and arrows in her sash, she marched at the head of the troops and completely defeated the rebels (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 170).

The Kang mu contains a story about this princess showing her humility. She still had a mother and aunt living, whose duty it was to salute her on their knees as the Empress. She ordered them, when they had to do this at grand ceremonies, to use the phrase, "It is to heaven, to whom you owe your position as Empress, and not to yourself, who are a woman like ourselves, that we offer our respects" (*id.* pp. 170, 171). The prince of Tsin, the rival of the Liang Emperor, at this time treated the Khitans with great respect, styled

him uncle, and the Empress aunt, and behaved towards them like a nephew (*id.*). But this did not last very long, and we must now turn to the struggle which ensued between them. Lu wen tsin, having killed a brother of the Prince of Tsin, who was governor of Sin chau (the modern Pao gan chau), fled to the Khitans, and persuaded them to invade China (De Guignes, vol. iii. p. 61). Seven hundred $\frac{1}{2}$ north of Peking there is a famous defile, formerly called Yu kuan, and now known as Shan khai huan (Borgs Hyacinthe, p. 285), through which flows the river Yu shui. North of this is a narrow ravine, only a few feet wide, and bounded on either side by high mountains. This position was guarded by a Chinese garrison, which was planted there to protect the frontier against the Tartars. The soldiers there were handsomely paid and provided, and on occasions when they distinguished themselves in the frontier fights, they were rewarded by corresponding promotion. These inducements had made the garrison very formidable to the Tartars, who for several years did not molest it. But when Cheou te wei was made governor of Lu long, he became over-confident, and neglected the garrison. The Khitans thereupon succeeded in capturing it, and then became masters of the districts of Ing chau (Chang li hien) and of Ping chau (*i.e.* Yong ping fu). This was apparently in 916 (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 173).

Lu wen tsin acted as guide to the troops. The Khitan troops advanced by way of Sin chau, which was abandoned by its commander, the Tsese Andsinchuwan, and occupied. Cheou te wei collected a large force from various districts, and marched to try and retake it; but his efforts, extending over ten or twelve days, failed, and he was at length entirely defeated by A pao ki, who marched against him with 300,000 men. 30,000 of the enemy fell, including Uba, the son of Li se wen. A pao ki then proceeded to invest Yu chau, or Yeou chau. He pressed the siege without much success. A vapour having appeared over the town, he declared they could not take the town then, as the heaven was so hot (? the heat so great). He accordingly withdrew with his army,

leaving to Ho lu and Lu gu we yung the blockading of the place. At this time A pao ki's brother, La ghu, deserted with his son, Saibuli, and went into the town (Gabelentz, p. 19).

The prince of Tsin was then encamped on the Hoang ho, opposite the forces of his rival, the Liang Emperor, which were as large as his own. When Cheou te wei, after his defeat, sent therefore to ask his aid, he was in a great difficulty. Having summoned a council of war, he found that only three of his officers, namely Li se yuen, Li tsun shin, and Yen pao, who were, however, three of the most skilful, advised him to oppose the Khitans. They argued that these Tartars generally marched without any great stores of provisions, and could not, therefore, hold out very long. They advised further that the prince of Tsin should march and cut off their retreat, but he determined to make a direct attack on them, in order to relieve Cheou te wei, who had been very hard pressed. The Khitans had already been seven months in front of Yu chau, which held out bravely, but where provisions were growing scarce. Li se yuen and Li tsun shin at length arrived at Ichau (in Shing king department of Kin chau fu) with 70,000 men. Li se yuen marched with the advanced guard of 3000 men, and, having attacked 10,000 Khitans, who were guarding a ravine some 60 *li* from Yu chau, they defeated them. When the fugitives reached the main camp, they produced such a panic there that the army at once retired, and in such confusion that the troops of the prince of Tsin killed some 10,000 of them (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 175). This was clearly a disaster. Gabelentz's authority merely says Ho lu found himself too weak and retired. Thus the siege of Yu chau was raised. De Guignes tells us that in this campaign the Khitans employed an inflammable substance called by the Chinese Meng ho yeu (*i.e.* oil of the cruel fire). It burnt even in water, and was no doubt the famous Greek fire, before mentioned. As we have seen, the Khitans had originally received it from the prince of U, in Che kiang, whose ports were frequented by strangers and merchants, and who doubtless carried it

there from the West (*op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 61). He also tells us that before the struggle between the Khitans and the Chinese general above named, the latter harangued the former ranks, as is the custom in China. It would seem that a party from either army approached one another, and cast defiance at each other. On this occasion the Chinese general threatened that his master would send 100,000 men to subdue the Khitans. After the harangue both parties returned, and the fight then commenced (*id.* p. 62).

The prince of Tsin continued his victorious course in his struggle with the Liang Emperor, and he determined to make a final effort for his complete suppression; he assembled the largest army which he had as yet collected. Cheou te wei supplied him with 30,000 cavalry from Yu chau, and among others we are told the Hordes of the Hii, the Khitans, the Shi wei and the Tu ku hoen sent him contingents (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 178). A terrible fight took place on the plain Hu leou pi (De Guignes says at Po chau in Shensi, pp. 63, 64), where the Imperialists were badly defeated, and driven to take shelter at Ta liang (*i.e.* Kai fong fu), and if he had followed up his victory quickly, he would doubtless have overwhelmed them, but he preferred to prudently secure what he had won (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 182). This campaign took place in 918. The same year A pao ki appointed his younger brother, Anduan, Ti in or grand master of the Imperial palace, and ordered him to attack Yun chau (*i.e.* Ta tong fu, De Guignes, p. 60, note), and afterwards to carry the war into the country to the south-west (Visdelou, p. 188). In the 2nd month of 918 the Tatan (? the Tartars proper) sent an embassy with tribute. A pao ki soon after built the Imperial city of Hoang tu, *i.e.* August Court. The Emperor (*i.e.* the Liang Emperor), the other rulers of China, and the kingdoms of Pohai, Corea, the Uighurs, the Tsu pu or Subu, the Tang kiang, and the governors of the towns Yu chau, Jen chau, Ting chau, Wei chau, and Lu chau, also sent envoys with presents or tribute, which ever way one likes to read the diplomatic phrase. Later in the year Tie lie kho, a younger brother of

A pao ki, rose in rebellion. He fortified his camp, and surrounded it with ditches. All the Imperial family asked that he might be pardoned. A pao ki hated Nie li kuen, wife of In ti chi, and offered to assent to their proposal if she were put to death in his place. To this she agreed, and committed suicide. She was buried in the ditch. With her there were buried alive several who had taken part in the rebellion. He then pardoned Tie lie kho, called Di ye li ye by Gabelentz. In the 5th month of 918 A pao ki assembled his grandees, and said it was befitting that, like other Emperors who had been favoured by heaven, he should raise a temple to the gods, and wished them to say which he was to begin with. They replied Buddha, but he said Buddha was not cultivated in China. Prince Tuioi then said the most esteemed of holy persons was Confucius. He therefore ordered, by a solemn decree, a temple to be erected to Confucius. Visdelou says he built a second to Buddha, and a third to the founder of Taoism (*op. cit.* p. 188).

In the seventh month of 918 Holu became dangerously ill. A pao ki said to him, "What are you thinking about?" He replied, "Holy Emperor, that you have a compassionate heart, that all people cluster round you lovingly, and that your kingdom is very bright. I would die without sorrow if I could feel I had secured the love of my Emperor." Shortly after he died, at the age of forty-seven. A pao ki greatly regretted his death, nor did he leave the palace for three days. They were old playfellows. Shortly after there died the minister of the northern palace, Si yu Dilu, who had been a most faithful supporter of A pao ki, so that the latter by one stroke lost hand and foot—Holu's brother Han li jen, as chief of his tribe Tiela, and the brother-in-law of Siyu Dilu, named Siyu Agudsi, minister of the North (Gabelentz, p. 20).

In the following year he went in person to the temple of Confucius, and sent the Empress and the heir to the throne to do honour to the temples of Buddha and the Taoists; and later in the year marched his troops against the tribe Uku (*i.e.* the Uighurs). Hearing *en route* that his mother

was ill, he travelled sixty leagues in one day to go and assist her, and returned to the army when she was better. His army was delayed by terrible tempests and snow-storms. We are told that he sacrificed to the sky, which became at once tranquil. He gave the heir to the throne the command of the advance guard. The enemy was defeated, 14,200 prisoners were made, and more than 200,000 head of cattle, tents, and stands of arms were captured, after which the entire horde submitted. The same year A pao ki restored the old town of Li yu yang, and planted some Chinese and people from Pohai there, and changed its name to Dung ping shan (Gabelentz, p. 21).

The next year, *i.e.* in 920, he ordered an alphabet to be prepared specially for the Khitan language. This we are told was constructed by the Chinese, and a solemn edict authorized the use of the characters. These were the Khitan capitals or large letters (Visdelou, p. 189). In the fifth month A pao ki is said to have seen a dragon in the river Yang sui, near the mountains Yeilisan. He killed it with his lance, and set up its skeleton in the treasury. It had a long tail and small bones, the body was five feet long, and its tongue one and a half feet. In the tenth month prince Tuioi sent an army to attack the town of Tiyan-de, and the Tse se Tsung yu submitted to him. He gave up his bows and arrows, horses and saddles, banners and trumpets, and returned with his army. As Tsung yu again revolted, the prince Tuioi returned again, captured the town, and carried off Tsung yu, with all his house. He planted its inhabitants in the south of the Inshan mountains, and then returned (Gabelentz, p. 21).

In the first month of 921 A pao ki made his younger brother Dsilka Tsai siang or vizier of the South. This was the first time members of the Imperial family were appointed ministers of the South. Some months later he published a code of laws, and fixed the various ranks and dignities of his officials. He also caused the portraits of the grandees of old days to be painted, and appointed officers to report during the first four months of the year on the condition of the

people. Meanwhile matters in China were hastening to another crisis. The prince of Tsin, who claimed to be the champion of the dispossessed Tang dynasty, which had ruled over China so gloriously, continued his victorious campaign against the dynasty of Liang, whose end was fast approaching. It was delayed by a small outbreak elsewhere. One of the dependents of the prince of Tsin was named Wang yong, and had the superintendence of the small government or principality of Chao. In the summer of 921 one of Wang yong's officers, named Chang wen li, supported by Wang yeou, rebelled against him, and appropriated his government, including the towns of Ching chau or Sui chau (*i.e.* Iching in Yang chau fu, Porter Smith, 4) and Ting chau. Wang yeou, who was afraid of the vengeance of the prince of Tsin, repaired to A pao ki, to ask him to support Chang wen li. "Ching chau," he said to him, "is a city where the women are as fair as the most beautiful clouds in the sky; gold and silks are piled up there mountains high. If you are quick, you may appropriate all; if not, the prince of Tsin will forestall you" (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 189). A pao ki at once made preparations for an invasion of Peh cheh li. He was opposed by his wife. "Whither will you go?" said she. "Here we are rich in horses and sheep, and are at peace. How will you mend yourself? For the small advantage you may gain, is it worth while to make your soldiers undergo such toil, and to expose yourself to danger? The prince of Tsin has no rival at the head of an army; brave and fearless in the presence of the greatest dangers; and is it against him that you are marching! He has already beaten you once, and if he repeats his victory, you will regret not having followed my counsel. Take my advice, do not meddle with their quarrels." A pao ki heeded not, but set out. He arrived at Yeou chau in December of 921, which he besieged for some days, but finding it stubbornly defended, he withdrew his forces and fell upon Cho chau, which he captured, and then approached Ting chau, whose commander sent a messenger to summon the prince of Tsin to his aid. The latter set out, and heard, when he arrived at Sin

ching, that the advance guard of the Khitans had crossed the river Sha ho (this river flows twenty-one li west of Tso chau, in the district of Pao ting fu, De Guignes, vol. iii. p. 67). Putting himself at the head of 5000 warriors, he passed to the north of Sin ching, under cover of a wood of mulberry-trees. The Khitans, seeing him emerge suddenly from this wood, were panic-stricken, and fled, and a son of A pao ki was captured.

The Khitans retired to Wang tu (*i.e.* Pao ting fu, De Guignes, iii. p. 67), where they were pursued by the prince of Tsin. Five thousand horsemen whom he met on the way ventured to attack him. He was several times surrounded, and was only saved by the bravery of Li se chao, who, at the head of 300 warriors, took him out of their hands. Meanwhile the main army on either side went to the support of its people. The prince of Tsin attacked the Tartars most vigorously, and completely defeated them; the roads were strewn with the corpses of dead men and horses. It was the most terrible defeat A pao ki had yet suffered. Seeing that he was not pursued, he collected together the debris of his people and returned homewards (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 190).

This is evidently the Chinese account of the campaign, and represents it as the Tsin Emperor would have us understand it. The Khitan story is entirely different, and claims almost complete victory along the whole line. We are told that A pao ki went with his whole army to the pass of Dsioiyung kuan, and a little later captured that of Gubekeo. He then divided his army and plundered ten towns, among them Tan chau, Si yon chau, An uwan, San ho, Li yang si yang, Wangdu, Luchau, Man cheng, and Sui cheng, all belonging to the Tsin. A pao ki had received the fugitive Wangioi as his son, gave him many gifts, and planted his people to the south of the river Hoang shui (the Sira Muran). The town of Changlu was captured by Khang medsi, one of A pao ki's officers. When the latter again attacked Tso chau, a white hare was seen to climb the walls (? the meaning of this, perhaps it was a bad omen). As he had the same day destroyed another town, its governor,

Lisebin, went out with the citizens and surrendered. Tulei, a general of A pao ki, with 5,000 cavalry, surrounded Litsunsioi, who had marched with an army to the town of Wangdu. All his efforts to break through were unavailing until Lissedoho came to the rescue with 3000 horsemen, which relieved him. He thereupon fell in turn upon the Khitans with vigour, and compelled them to withdraw. When he arrived in Yo chau, he despatched 2000 horsemen in pursuit of the Khitans. They were attacked by A pao ki, and lost many prisoners. When A pao ki reached Tan chau, he was in turn attacked by the army from Yo chau, but the latter was again defeated, and a general captured.

A pao ki now issued an edict, by which the people of Tan chau and Shon chau were planted at Sin chau or Sinyang, in the province of Dung ping in Liau tung. He again altered the honorary names of the year to Ti yan tsan, *i.e.* "the aid of heaven." He also issued an edict by which he amnestied all prisoners, except those under punishment of death (Gabelentz, pp. 22, 23).

Visdelou describes the events of the year very shortly. He says that in the 11th month of 921, A pao ki marched against Pihchehli, where he captured more than ten towns. A month later he was defeated by the Chinese and retired (Visdelou, p. 189).

Early in 922, A pao ki entered the province of Yeou chau (the modern Peking). In the 4th month he attacked Dse chau or Ki chau. The town was captured after an attack of four days, and its governor, Hotsiong, was made prisoner; he also took Che chau. He made over the organization of the army to Luguweyung and Niyelugu, and gave the soldiers a feast. At the request of Yang wen li, he also sent an army to the relief of Dsenchau, which was being attacked by Li tsun sioi, the Tsin Emperor. The army of the latter was defeated, and its commander killed. He also invaded the various tribes in the north and south, and divided the booty he secured among the poor; he also separated his tribe Tiela into two parts, and made Siyenyechi general of the northern part, and Guwansi of the south, and he appointed

his younger son, Yugu or Yaokhu, commander-in-chief of the army (Visdelou, p. 189; Gabelentz, p. 23).

On turning to the Chinese story again, we read that on his return from his victorious campaign, the prince of Tsin proceeded to nominate himself Emperor. He repaired to Wei chau (*i.e.* Tai ming fu), and having raised a mound in the middle of the city, he mounted it and offered sacrifice, surrounded by his various officials in their state robes. Then seating himself on a throne, he declared that he mounted the throne to continue the dynasty of Tang, which had adopted his ancestors. He accordingly gave his dynasty the name of Tang, and it is known as that of the Heou Tang or the Later Tang. He changed the name of Wei chau into that of Hing tang fu, and made it his eastern capital. He restored its ancient name of Tai yuen fu to Tsin yang, and made it his western court, and gave Ching chau, which he made his northern court, the name of Ching ting fu (De Mailla, vol. vii. pp. 193, 194). He then pressed the war with increased vigour against the Liang Emperor, whose capital Ta Liang he at length captured. Moti, the Liang Emperor, rather than be made prisoner, was slain at his own request by one of his own slaves, while the families of his principal adherents were exterminated (*id.* pp. 206, 208). Thus perished the short-lived dynasty of Liang, and the prince of Tsin became master of all the northern provinces of China.

Meanwhile A pao ki did not sit quietly under his great defeat, but we find him making attacks along the frontiers of the Tsin dominions. Thus we read that in 923 his second son Yaokhu captured the town of Ping chau, with its governor Ju se yan, and the sub-officer Jang tsung. A pao ki then went there in person, changed its name to Lu lung-dsiyun, and nominated a Tsese there. The Hii or Sisi having rebelled, he subdued them, and killed 300 of their leaders with sacred arrows, and threw their bodies into the river. He then gave orders to Yaokhu to attack Yeou chau (*i.e.* the modern Peking), and sent another army against the province of Shan si. Having defeated the

Chinese, he captured Tsioi yang and Pe ping (another name for the modern Peking). This was in the very month when the Prince of Tsin proclaimed himself Emperor. On their return from their expedition into Pehchehli, the troops of Yaokhu were rewarded for their services. The growing influence of the Khitan power is shown by the fact that we are told the King of Persia sent tribute, that is, he probably sent envoys with presents (Visdelou, p. 189; Gabelentz, p. 24).

In January, 924, A pao ki sent an army to ravage the southern part of the kingdom of Yen (*i.e.* of Pehchehli), and later in the year he removed the people of Ki chau in the same province to Liau chau. At this time the Pohai Tartars killed the Khitan viceroy in their country, Jang-sheosi.

In the summer of the same year A pao ki assembled the Empress, the heir to the throne, the generalissimo of his forces, the tsai siangs or viziers, and the other Tartar chiefs, and thus addressed them: "The sky which is over our heads looks down on us from on high, and distributes its favours among all people. In ten thousand years you may discover one holy master and a wise king. As on the one hand he is made by the sky, and on the other he rules all living things, he wages no war and undertakes no enterprize save by the will of heaven. This is why he draws inspiration thence. He follows the will of God, and his orders are religiously carried out. He wins the hearts of men. In this way those who are in error return to truth, and those who are far from him, like those who are close to him, are exempt from vices. We may say of such a king his greatness of mind can compass the sea, and his constancy can establish the mountains." (Gabelentz reads this, "People may say of my kingdom that it surrounds the great sea and touches the Taishan or Holy mountains.") "Since I began to build up our empire, and since I became the father of the Universe, I have established firm laws. After this, need my successors trouble themselves with the difficulties of government? The duration, the growth and decay of empires have their causes. Their pre-

servation and destruction depend also on the princes who govern them. Fortunate expeditions and favourable opportunities ought equally to approve themselves to heaven and to the people. Among all the kings of men has there been one who could secure immortality for himself? My term of existence will end in the year 926. There remain only two things to do, and I have only a short time to do them in. It behoves me to use diligence" (Visdelou, p. 190). We need not wonder that his audience should have been somewhat startled by these enigmatical phrases. It would seem they were preliminary to his preparing for an expedition into Western Tartary against the Tukon or Tukohoan, Tanghiang and Supu. Having left Tuioi, the heir to the throne (styled the Hoang tai tsi or the august very great son), as regent, he took his younger son Yaokhu, who was the commander-in-chief of his troops, with him.

In the 7th month Ho lu and other officers attacked the Tartars who lived to the east of the mountains So kuen no (?) and defeated them. In the next month A pao ki reached the mountain U khu, where he sacrificed some geese to the sky, and presently reached the ancient kingdom of the Shen yus (*i.e.* of the Khans of the Hiongnu). There he climbed the mountains A li tien ya to si, where he sacrificed a stag of an extraordinary kind. On the first day of the 9th month he encamped near the ancient city of the Uighurs (*i.e.* Karakorum), and there he put up a marble tablet, inscribed with his victories. Later in the same month he adored the sun, in the forest of Tai lin, and then sent an army against the Tsu po (called Su pu by Gabelentz), and two other armies, one under the southern Tsai siang (Yelioisu), and the other under an I li kin named Di ye li, with orders to plunder the country of the south-west (Gabelentz says the country of Su pu). These two armies returned to him in a few days with the captives they had made.

A pao ki having cut a channel from the river Kin ho (*i.e.* the Golden river, Bretschneider, Notices of Med. Geog., note 237), filled several watercarts with the water, and also took some stones from the mountain U Shan (*i.e.* Black

Hills, probably the Karakorum mountains are meant, *id.*). These he took home with him. The stones he set up on the banks of the Hoang ho (*i.e.* the Sira muran) and on the mountain Mu ye (*vide supra*), to remind posterity that the rivers and mountains had rendered him homage, as the rivers do the sea, and the small mountains the greater ones. In the end of the ninth month the kingdom of Tache (probably the Tajiks or Persians are meant, and not the Arabs, as Visdelou suggests) sent him tribute to his camp. On the following day he ordered the ancient monument of Pi ko khan (*i.e.* the Buku khan, the founder of the Uighur power) to be repolished, and an inscription to be engraved on it in Chinese, Khitan, and Turkish, containing a recital of his good deeds. The same month he defeated the barbarians who lived in the mountain Hu mu si (?). Having encamped at the foot of the mountain Ye li si, he sacrificed a red cow to the sky and a black horse to the earth. The king of the Uighurs, called Pali or Pari, went to his camp with tribute. On the first day of the tenth month he hunted in the mountains Yu lo (?), and captured several thousand wild animals. The next day he encamped at the mountain Pa li si (?). Thence he sent an army which, crossing the moving sand (Gabelentz says the river Lioisa), captured the town of Fu tu (called Feotut sheng by Gabelentz), and subdued all the hordes of the Western borders. The first day of the eleventh month he captured Pi li ko, the Dudu of the Uighurs of Kan chau (in Kan suh), and took the opportunity of forwarding envoys to their Khan, U mu chu (Visdelou, p. 191), of whom the Dudu was the deputy or vice-ruler. This letter is referred to by Ye lu tai shi in the note he sent to U mu chu's descendant, Pi le ko. We are told in the history of that king that A pao ki, having carried his victorious arms on the north as far as the town of Pu ku han (*i.e.* to Karakorum), sent a letter to the Uighur chief (whose ancestors had been driven away from Karakorum in the previous century), worded thus: "Do you ever think of your old country? If you do, I will restore it to you; if not, I will retain it myself. It is immaterial whether it is

in your hands or mine." It seems that U mu chu replied that it was already ten generations since his people had abandoned their old land and settled in China; that his soldiers and people were content with their new country, and would not leave it willingly; and that he could not therefore return to the old country (*id.* p. 28). A pao ki seems in this campaign to have conquered the various Turkish tribes of Western Mongolia, as he had previously conquered the Mongols and the tribes of Eastern Mongolia, and thus appropriated the whole country surrounding the Gobi desert, which remained in the hands of the Khitans until the destruction of their dynasty by the Kin Tartars, as I have mentioned in my last paper.

After sending his letter to the Uighur chief, we are told A pao ki went to hunt tigers in the mountains Ula ye li (?), and advanced as far as the mountain Pa shi (?). For sixty days the army advanced hunting fashion, and had fresh venison daily (*id.* p. 191).

In January, 925, A pao ki sent couriers to the Empress and to Hoang tai tsi, to announce his victories to them. In the next month his son Yao khu made an invasion of the Tang kiang (*i.e.* Tangut). The Empress soon after sent off Khang mo ta to make inquiries about her husband's health, and to take him clothes and refreshments. She seems also to have sent Siao a ku chi to make a raid into Pehchehli and Shansi, whence he returned laden with booty. Soon after Yao khu presented the captives whom he had made in Tangut. This was followed by a feast given by the Emperor in the mountains Shui tsing shan (?). In the fourth month he attacked the Siao fan, who lived in the south (? the Si fan tribes of Kukunur), and subdued them. Meanwhile the Empress and the Hoang tai tsi rejoined him on the river Cha li (?). Soon after envoys arrived from U mu chu, the Khan of the Uighurs, with presents. In the fifth month A pao ki went to the north of the country of the Shi wei (*i.e.* of the Mongols, to pass the summer heats), and four months later he made his way homewards again.

On his return he received envoys from the founder of

the revived Tang dynasty (*i.e.* of the late Tsin Emperor). The Japanese and the Coreans also sent him envoys (Visdelou, p. 192). Later in the year he went in state to the Buddhist temple, called Ghan kue si, where he entertained the monks, and published an amnesty. He also set at liberty the captive eagles and falcons which were used in falconry, and the kingdom of Sin lo in Corea sent him tribute (*id.*). Calling his people together, he now addressed them, and said he had accomplished one of the two objects of which he had formerly spoken to them, but there still remained another, namely, the punishment of the rebel kingdom of Pohai, whose people had put the Khitan viceroy to death. He accordingly marched at the head of his troops against In chuen (called Dajensiowan by Gabelentz), the king of Pohai. He was accompanied by the Empress, the Hoang tai tsi, and his other son, the generalissimo Yao khu. He offered the usual sacrifices to the mountain Mu ye, and also offered a black or grey cow to the sky, and a white horse to the earth. This last was offered up on the mountain U shan. On arriving at the foot of the mountain Sa kha, he had a criminal put to death with sacred arrows, and soon after reached the mountain Shang ling, and proceeded to invest the town of Fu yu, also called Khaiyuwan, which belonged to Pohai (It was situated north of Ku yung hien in Liau tung, Porter Smith, pp. 6 and 17).

In January, 926, we are told that the sun was overclouded with a white vapour. Soon after the town of Fu yu was captured, and the officer in command there was executed. A pao ki then detached a body of 10,000 mounted soldiers under the command of Anduan, the Ti in or grand master of the palace Siao a khu chi (called Agudsi by Gabelentz), formerly Tsai siang of the North, and other officers, and sent them on as an advance guard. They met and defeated the main army of Pohai. The same night A pao ki's two sons laid siege to the town of Khu khan or Ho han, and shortly after the Pohaian king In chuen capitulated. A few days after, while A pao ki was encamped to the south of Khu khan, the latter, dressed

in a white and simple robe, and leading a sheep tied with a straw cord, left the town at the head of 300 of his principal people, and went to him. A pao ki received him very graciously, and gave him his liberty, and appointed him governor of Pohai; but the kingdom was by no means finally conquered. When A pao ki's officers went into the town to draw up an inventory of the captured arms, they were murdered, and shortly after Inchuen again rebelled. The town was then taken by storm. Inchuen again implored pardon. He and his family were placed under surveillance, while, we are told, A pao ki offered grateful sacrifices to the earth and sky. The governors of the chief towns of Pohai—Anbiyan, Modsi, Nanhai, and Dingli—sent in their submission. The captured spoils were distributed among the victorious troops, fresh sacrifices were offered, a general amnesty proclaimed, and the title of the regnal years was once more changed—they were now called Tien hien or Tiyan siyan, meaning 'illuminated by heaven.' Having sent envoys to inform the Tang Emperor of his success, A pao ki entered the town of Khu khan, and inspected its arsenals and treasures; these he distributed generously, a large share falling to the chief of the Hii, who had been his ally in the expedition. The name of Pohai was now changed to Tung tan or Dung dan, while that of Khu khan was changed to Tien fu or Ti yang fu cheng (? if the modern Fung lien fu or Mukden), *i.e.* celestial happiness. He appointed his eldest son Tu yu (the Hoang tai tsi) governor of Tung tan, *i.e.* Pohai, with the title Gin hoang vang, *i.e.* august king of men. He also assigned to him his own brother Tie la or Diyela as first Tsai siang or minister, while the post of second Tsai siang was assigned to the person who held it before the overthrow of the Pohaian kingdom. Other officials were promoted and rewarded; a general amnesty was decreed in all parts of Pohai, and an annual tribute of 150,000 pieces of stuff and 1000 horses imposed. Shortly after the Ting wei, the Coreans, the Wei me, the Tie li or Di ye li, and the Moho, sent to pay tribute. Some towns apparently still held out, for we find A pao ki now sending a force to

subdue the town of Chang ling fu, in Pohai, and again sacrificing to the sky. He paid a state visit to his son, the governor of Tung tan or Pohai, and shortly after sent Anduan to subdue the three Pohaian towns—Anbiyan, Modsi, and Dingli—which had rebelled. Only the two chief men of Anbiyan were put to death. Having given another feast to his troops, A pao ki now wended his way homewards, accompanied by the captive king of Pohai and his family. His son, the new governor of Pohai, went as far as the mountain Sa tsi shan to say good-bye to him (Visdelou, p. 193; Gabelentz, 27, 28).

During the expeditions of A pao ki into the West and against Pohai, the Khitans did not apparently desist from their attacks on the Chinese frontiers; and we read that in 925 the border commanders of the empire made reports to the Emperor, stating that unless they were assisted they could not protect their charges (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 218).

The cause of their success was doubtless the weakness of the Tang Emperor, who seems to have given himself up to debauchery and to have neglected affairs of government, which caused revolts in various places (*id.* 240, 241). Li se yuen, who is called a Tartar, and was doubtless also a Sha to Turk, and whom the Emperor had adopted, was sent against the rebels (*id.* 242, 254). He was however persuaded to go over to them, and thus strengthened, they speedily overwhelmed the Imperial party, and the Emperor himself was killed in his palace. This was in 926 (*id.* p. 250). He was succeeded by Li se yuen, under the style of Ming tsong.

The new Emperor sent Yao koen or Yu kun to announce his accession to A pao ki. The latter was much touched, we are told, by the news of the late Emperor's death. "He was the son of my *anda*" (that is, son of my sworn friend) he said. Ming tsong seems to have concealed the fact of his having taken part in the rebellion; and when A pao ki inquired how it was he had not assisted his predecessor more effectually to put down the rebellion, Yao koen replied that he was too far off to do so.

A pao ki then addressed a seasonable homily to the envoy:

"I have heard," he said, "that the son of my *anda* was completely devoted to pleasure, to the drama, and to hunting; that he took little care of his soldiers or his people, and that it was this which brought him to trouble. When I saw his evil courses, I drank no more wine, I went no more to the play, I sent home my actors, and I released my falcons and my dogs. If I had followed his example, I should long ago have fallen myself" (*id.* p. 256). Having thus addressed him, he went on to say that he had no ill-will to the new Emperor, and he would promise to be on good terms with him if he would cede to him all the country north of the Hoang ho. Yao koen answered this outrageous claim by replying that he had no authority to treat for anything of the kind. A pao ki, in a rage, had him seized, and imprisoned him for ten days; he then again summoned him to his presence, and said it seemed unreasonable to have asked for so large a cession, and that he would content himself with Ching ting (?) and Yeou chau (the modern Peking). He had paper and writing materials produced, and was for insisting upon Yao koen signing such a cession; and when he refused, he would have killed him if Han yen hoei had not held his arm. He then ordered him to be confined (*id.* 257).

The lately conquered kingdom of Pohai proved a troublesome acquisition. We read that in the fifth month of 926 two of its towns, Nanhai and Dingli, rebelled. Yao khu was sent against them, and speedily subdued them. Soon after the viceroy of Tie chau rebelled. He was also forced to submit by Yao khu. Shortly after Tie la or Di ye la, A pao ki's brother, and the senior Tsai siang of Tung tan (*i.e.* of Pohai) died. A pao ki sent In chuen, the last king of Pohai, under a guard, to his chief capital, Hoang tu. He gave him the name U lu ku, which was the name of his own charger, while the name A li chi, by which his Empress's palfrey was known, was given to his wife. Soon after A pao ki himself became unwell. He was then at the town of Fu yu. The following night a great star fell in front of his tent, and on the day of the whitish snake a yellow dragon, one *li* in length, appeared above the fortress, and the light about it

was quite dazzling; it eventually came down and entered the palace. A blue vapour covered the sky for a whole day, and meanwhile A pao ki died, thus fulfilling the enigmatical prophecy he had uttered three years previously. He was fifty-five years old when he died, and he received the posthumous title of Ching tien wangti (*i.e.* the Emperor who mounted to the sky), and the style of Tai tsu, given to the founders of dynasties. His body was taken to the capital, Hoang tu, and was temporarily buried to the north-west of the town. It was afterwards buried at Tsu ling, *i.e.* the sepulchre of Tai tsu (Visdelou, p. 194). De Mailla says at the mountain Fu ye shan (really Mu ye shan, Ross, p. 220, *vide ante*), thirty *li* to the east of Kwang ning, in Liau tung (*op. cit.* p. 258).

We are told that the Empress Siaoli, when her husband was dying, summoned 100 of his principal officers, and ordered them to be put to death on his tomb, and bid them go and serve him in the other world. One of them protested against this honour, and was rebuked by the Empress, who wondered that he should object when his master was so much attached to him. He replied, with grim humour, that there was no one he was so much attached to as herself. She said she was willing to go, but must stay to look after her son and the pressing necessities of the state. Stretching out her right arm, the Spartan lady ordered her attendants to cut it off at the shoulder, and bury it with her lord. On their begging her on their knees not to do such a thing, she insisted on its being cut off below the elbow, and upon its being buried as above described. The officer who expostulated, we are told, and several others, had their lives spared (Ross, p. 220; Visdelou, p. 196; De Mailla, *op. cit.* vol. vii. p. 258). A viceroy was appointed to take charge of the tomb. The place where A pao ki died was situated to the south-east of Fu yu fu, between two rivers. A grand palace was afterwards built on the site, and named Shing tieu tien, *i.e.* 'palace of him who is gone to heaven,' while Fu yu fu was given the name of Hoang lung fu, or city of the first order of the Yellow Dragon, so named from the yellow dragon which appeared

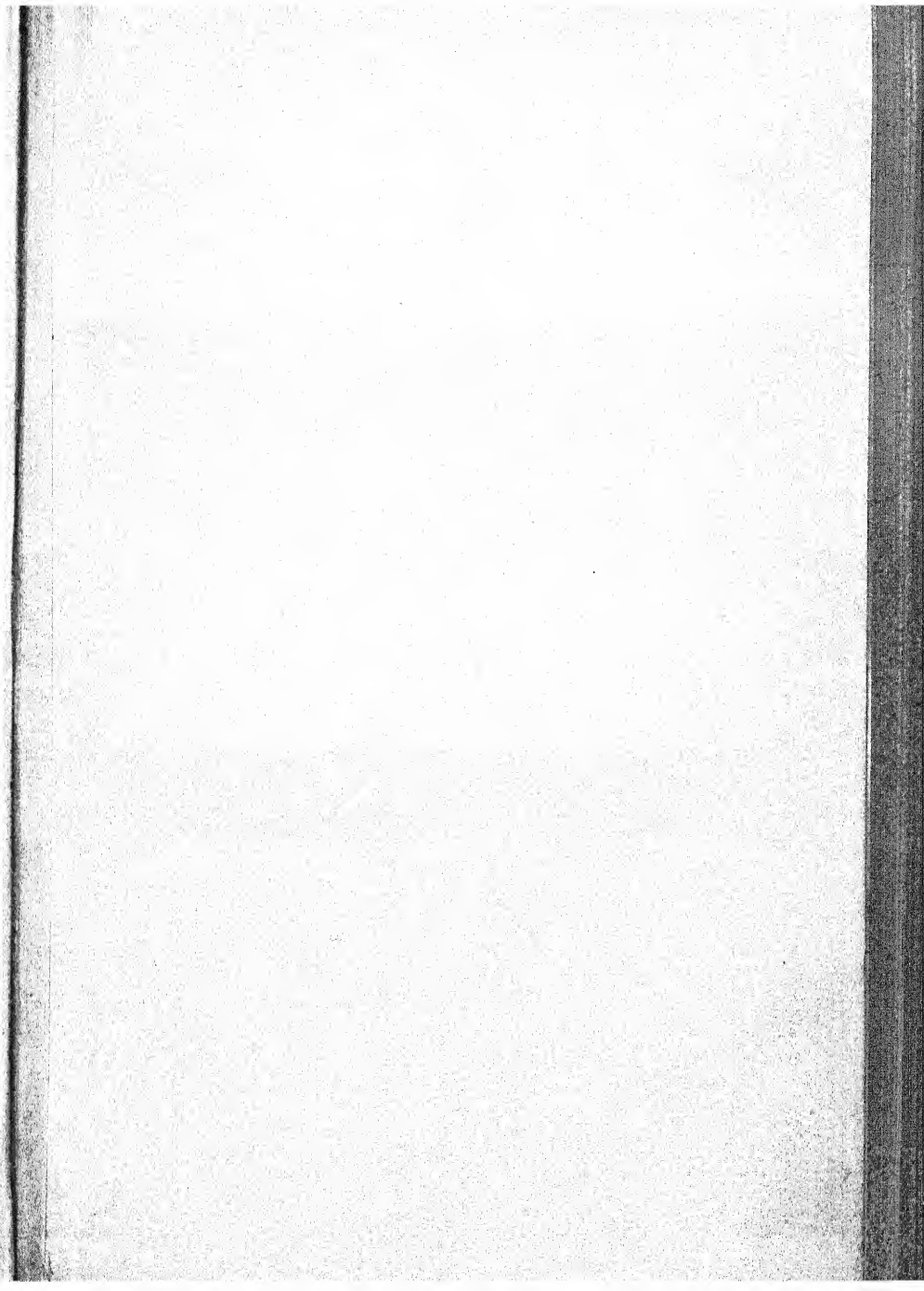
there on the day of A pao ki's death. He was a famous figure in the history of Eastern Asia, and the real founder of the Khitan power. By his conquest of Pohai he secured the dominion over Liau tung and Manchuria as far as the river Hurka, the tribes beyond which, known as the Wild or Uncooked Jurchi (who, as we showed in a former paper, were the ancestors of the famous Kin Tartars), were independent of the Khitans. On the west A pao ki dominated over the various Mongol and Turkish tribes of the Gobi desert as far west as Sungaria, and probably even further. On the south his dominions were limited by Corea, which probably paid him tribute, and by the territory ruled over by the dynasty of the second Tang, founded by the Sha to Turks. We do not propose to carry the story further in the present paper, and shall remit the account of the long war which ensued with the latter power, and which ended in its destruction and the extension of the Khitan dominion over the six Northern provinces of China and as far as the Yellow River, to the next paper, in which we shall describe the Sha to Tu kiu or desert Turks.

ART. VII.—*On the Identification of Nagarahara, with reference to the Travels of Hiouen-Tsang.* By WILLIAM SIMPSON, F.R.G.S.

ON leaving for India to accompany the army into Afghanistan in 1878, Colonel Yule, among other hints of places of interest of an archæological character to be looked out for, mentioned Nagarahara, the capital of the Jelalabad Valley in the Buddhist period. In the time of Hiouen-Tsang the district bore the same name as the capital, and it had no king of its own, but belonged to Kapisa, a city situated somewhere in the direction of Kabul. The district of Nagarahara extended to about 600 Chinese *Li*, from east to west, which would be over 100 miles. This might reach from about Jugduluck to the Khyber, so that in this last direction it would thus border on Gandara, and on the other extremity would touch Kapisa, which was also the name of the district as well as the capital of that name. The Valley of Jelalabad is small in comparison to that of the province which formerly belonged to it. From Darunta on the west to Ali-Boghan on the east is fifteen miles, but, on the left bank of the Kabul River, the flat land of Kamah extends the valley on that side, about five or six miles further to the east. The termination of the Valley at this place is called Mirza Kheyl, a white rocky ridge comes down close to the river, and there are remains of Buddhist masonry on it, with caves in the cliff below. On the right bank opposite Mirza Kheyl is Girdi Kas, which lies in a small valley at the northern end of a mass of hills which terminates the Jelalabad Valley on that side at Ali-Boghan, separating it from the Chardeh Plain, which again extends as far as Basawul. I got a kind of bird's-eye view of this one day from a spur of the Sufaid Koh, 8,000 feet high, near to

Gundumuck, and the Jelalabad Valley and the Chardeh Plain seemed to be all one, the hills at Girdi Kas appearing at this distance to be only a few slight mounds lying in the middle of this space, which would be altogether about 40 miles in extent. When in the Jelalabad Valley, the Girdi Kas hills are undoubtedly the eastern barrier, while the Siah Koh Range is the western. The Siah Koh Range trends to the south-west, and then turns due west, forming a distinct barrier on the north till it is lost at Jugduluck; there are only some low-lying ridges between Futteeabad and Gundumuck, but they are so small that it might be said to be a continuous valley all the way from Ali-Boghan to the plain of Ishpan. The eastern end of the Siah Koh Range terminates at Darunta, which is the north-west corner of the Jelalabad Valley. The Kabul River, instead of going round the extreme end of this range, has, by some curious freak, found a way through the rocky ridge so close to the extremity, that it leaves only what might be called one vertebra of this stony spine beyond. The river here has formed for itself a narrow gorge through perpendicular cliffs, in which it flows, from the district of Lughman, into the level plain of the Jelalabad Valley. The Surkhab pours down from the Sufaid Koh, starting close to Sikaram, the highest point of the range, which our surveyors found to be 15,600 feet above the sea. It passes over the western end of the Ishpan plain, towards the Siah Koh Range, and it then keeps to the contour of its base all the way to the Jelalabad Valley, and joins the Kabul River about two miles below Darunta.

On the right bank of the Surkhab, at its junction with the Kabul River, there are numerous remains of an old town of importance; and this is the site I propose for the ✓ ancient city of Nagarahara. I was nearly four months quartered at Jelalabad with General Sir Samuel Brown's force, and made a point of visiting the vestiges of the past in the Valley, and I know of no other place where there are such marked evidences of a city having existed. All the other remains were evidently those of the Buddhist religious



NAGARAHARA.
The ancient Capital of Jellalabad region.







establishments, a fact I feel confident of from the topes, and mounds, or remains, left by the Viharas, which tell plainly enough what they had been. Hada, about five miles south of Jelalabad, is the only other place whose appearance would entitle it to be placed as a competitive site; but, as this spot is accepted as the Hidda of the Buddhist period, it cannot have been the ancient Nagarahara.

The town of Jelalabad presents no evidences of antiquity above ground. The south-west corner of the town has a slight elevation of ground, which may have been remains of former structures; it is the Hindu quarter, and there is a place called Gaddi Surya, where there is a temple, which the custodian allowed me to inspect. It possesses a very marked peculiarity, this being that it has none of the usual Hindu symbols, but contains the ashes of a Gooroo, which looks very much as if it were a still existing remnant of Buddhism. I am inclined to believe that a Buddhist establishment may have existed here, but this was not the site of a large city.

Hiouen-Tsang states that Nagarahara was 20 *li* in circumference, which would be about four miles; and at the spot I have suggested there are remains which can be traced at this moment over a space agreeing very closely to the Buddhist Pilgrim's figures. The angle formed by the junction of the Kabul River and the Surkhhab would be the north-west corner of the site, there are long ridges in that direction which are evidently not the remains of topes or Viharas, but of defensive works. Similar ridges are also visible on the south, and north-east, while amidst the cultivated fields there are quantities of stones all over the whole of the space. Not far from the centre of this proposed site, there projects from the alluvial plain a ridge of rock, about 100 feet high, and 400 and 500 feet long on the top,¹ which extends from north-east to south-west. On the summit there are fragments visible of the old walls, with masonry undoubtedly of the Buddhist period, just visible among mounds and rubbish,

¹ This is only a guess, and I have great distrust of my own accuracy in estimates of this kind.—W. S.

the result of fallen buildings; while round the base of this rock there is also a large accumulation of debris from old structures. Among this debris some courses of Buddhist masonry are visible, as if the sides of the rock had been built up in a perpendicular form to give it strength as a fortified stronghold. The original rock is only visible at one or two places on the summit, and about the centre there is a round hole cut in the rock, which looks as if originally intended for a flagstaff. On talking to the villagers, they said it was the *Balar Hissar of a purana Sherh*, or the "citadel of an old city." On asking to whom it had belonged, the usual answer was given in which they respond to every inquiry regarding Buddhist remains—they say, it is *Kaffir log Ke*, or "infidel people," the name applied by Mahomedans to all who do not belong to their faith. The villagers also called the locality *Wuttapar*, which I understand means "City of Stones," from the quantity of remains scattered about. They also applied the word *Bagram*,¹ a term found in connection with the sites of old cities in other places, such as near Kabul, Peshawar, etc., and they spoke of a Bagram Rajah, who was a Kaffir, and, therefore, of course, pre-Mahomedan.

These evidences led me while on the spot, in 1879, to believe that I had come upon the site of the old Capital of the Valley. On returning home, I consulted, among other works, the *Memoire sur la Carte de l'Asie Centrale*, by L. Vivien de Saint-Martin, which is attached to M. Julien's translation of Hiouen-Thsang. Here I was delighted to find that this author had all but identified the exact spot from Hiouen-Thsang's own account. He was only led astray a very little distance by the rough sketch-map of Masson, in the *Ariana Antiqua*. Vivien de Saint-Martin traces the route of the Chinese Pilgrim from Kapisa to *Lan-po*, the present Lughman, and from that into the Jelal-

¹ Bagram, some authorities give the meaning of this word to be "the City," or "Chief City," and that the term remains yet on the sites where old cities have stood. Sir Henry Rawlinson explains the word as meaning "God's Acre," and that it implies a place of sepulture.

abad Valley. In leaving Lughman, it is stated that, "il . . . fit environ cent li dans la direction du sud-est, franchit un grand passage de montagne, traversa un large fleuve et arriva au royaume de *Na-kie-lo-ho*," or Nagarahara.¹ Vivien de Saint-Martin points out that this mountain and river must be the Siah Koh and the Kabul River, at the Darunta Gorge, where the road from Jelalabad to Lughman still passes at the present day. A ferry is kept up for travellers, the boat being a small raft floating on skins filled with wind, and there is a rope from side to side of the river, by which this primitive craft is hauled across. It is not at all improbable that this sort of ferry is as old as the time of Hiouen-Tsang. It will be seen by a reference to the map that when the Pilgrim had passed the Siah Koh range, and crossed the river, he was close to the site which I have identified as the ancient Capital of the region. On the summit of the Siah Koh, which forms the last point at its eastern end and forms the north side of the Darunta gorge, there are the remains of an old fortification which the natives say was "Kaffir Ka," or Buddhist, and skirting the rising ground round its base, there is the road used at the present moment, and the Pilgrim as he passed this would find the Jelalabad Valley opening before him, and the citadel of Nagarahara would meet his view; it must then have been covered with the buildings of which we now see the remains; the glittering *tees* of the topes in the city would also be visible—showing that his words, which have come down to us, are, in this case, quite correct as to their geography—a character, I fear, we cannot attach to all his descriptions.

Masson's map gives a very fair general representation of the locality, but, if it is from a survey, it has not been a very accurate one. About a mile and a half or two miles west of Jelalabad, he gives a dotted line enclosing a space, which he calls the "Dasht of Begram," and adds that it has "numerous tumuli scattered over it." There are undoubtedly some remains on the right bank of the small stream where he

¹ *Julien's Trans.* vol. i. p. 96.

places them, but they are not in sufficient quantity to compare with the site I have proposed, and there is no Bala Hissar, nor defensive lines visible. I was impressed with the evidences I saw when on the spot, and made the identification from them, before I had seen Vivien Saint-Martin's critical remarks, or Masson's map. The former writer was led astray as to the exact place by the carelessness of Masson's topography. Still he is so near to the spot, that I consider he has identified the site, and all that I pretend to do in this case is only to adjust the identification, so that it may be perfectly correct. The map I give is traced from that made by the survey party which accompanied General Sir Samuel Brown's column, and, although the rock which formed the ancient Bala Hissar was not in my tracing, I have put it in from my sketches,—it cannot be far wrong, and it is as near as possible to four miles from the Kabul gate of Jelalabad.

Masson gives a small drawing of the old Bala Hissar, and he entitles it "Tumulus or Mound of Kwaja Lahoree." At p. 99 of the *Ariana Antiqua* there is a description of it under the heading of "Tappa Khwaja Lahoree," which it may be as well to quote. Masson says:—"This mound is one of the most extraordinary objects on the plain of Jelalabad, from its large dimensions. Its base has a circumference of one thousand eight hundred feet;¹ it stands near the Kabul river, and on the skirt of the site called Beghrum, where tradition assigns a city called Lahore. From the remains of masonry scattered about its sides, we may readily conjecture it to have been an ancient place of sepulture. The character of these remains is at once decided by the chequered arrangement of the exteriors,—a fashion prevalent in all sepulchral monuments, and, for aught we know, peculiar to them. The presence of the caves in these vestiges and on the side of the mound also indicates the purpose which it has served. Coins, trinkets, and other relics are found here, generally at any

¹ This size round the base agrees in a rough way with my guess of the length of ridge on the top; but I would say that it is more of a ridge than a mound.

time, but particularly after rains. Jars are also frequently disinterred, and point out that it was not a particular cemetery, but the common one of a community. Adjacent to it are many tumuli, particularly near a hamlet named Chakanor."

Masson opened a very large number of the topes in the Jelalabad Valley, and ought to have had tolerably correct notions of them, but he made a distinction between topes and tumuli, which my experience leads me to reject. Those which had tumbled down till the rubbish only presented the appearance of a mound he called "tumuli"; while to those with remains of architecture visible he gave the name of "tope." Masson only explored for coins, and made his excavations in the form of a mine into the centre of the remains; had he interested himself in the architecture, he would have discovered that his mounds were all topes. At least I can say that I explored three mounds, and although no architecture was at first visible, I brought it to light below the accumulated rubbish. One of these is marked "tumulus of loose stones" in Masson's map, and he had come to the conclusion that nothing was to be found in the tumuli, hence he left a number of them still untouched. His application of the word "tumulus" to the mass of rock which I have indicated as the ancient Bala Hissar is equally doubtful. It is evident that he had not noticed the rock on the summit. The mode by which he infers a sepulchral character to the place is peculiarly feeble. Jars are found, and this points to the conclusion that it was not an exclusive, but a common cemetery, of the community. To reason in this way wherever potsherds are found, would be easy, but doubtful. Another evidence is "the chequered arrangement of the exteriors." This refers to the fragments of "Buddhist masonry," still visible on the sides of the ridge; as topes, viharas, and walls of any kind were constructed of this particular masonry, its chequered appearance goes for nothing as to telling us the purpose for which it was constructed.

On one of my visits to this old site, a place was pointed out on the opposite side of the Kabul River to which the name

“Khawja Lahoree” was given by some of the people belonging to the spot. I have on this account put in the name on the locality thus defined to me on the map in *red*. I understood at the time that it was the Ziaret or shrine of a Mahomedan saint, and that he had been known as “Khwaja Lahoree,” a name which would certainly apply better to a man than to a city. Captain Bartram, of the Royal Engineers, who was with me at the time, understood our informants in the sense I have just explained. Still, information got from villagers in conversing with them is so apt to be unreliable, that I would feel inclined to take Masson’s authority, for he was residing on the spot for some time, as much safer than mine in this case.¹ Masson, in the Narrative of his Journeys, says—“Tradition affirms that the city on the plain of Jelalabad was called Ajúna, and alike asserts that the ancient Lahore was there; which may mean, that prior to the paramount sovereignty in these countries being possessed by Lahore (it must be remembered it was so when Mahmud of Ghazni first invaded India), it was established here” (vol. iii. p. 164). I give this second extract merely to show that Masson accepted the tradition that a town called Lahore stood at the place he calls “Begram”; but it is to be regretted that he has not given the sources of the tradition; for if it was only the villagers on the spot, it may be of no more value than that by which I put the shrine of “Khwaja Lahoree” on the other side of the river. The name Ajuna is probably a form of Adinapur, and which Masson, in vol. i. p. 182, states was the present Bala Bagh. This is all made pretty clear by Vivien de Saint-Martin, who explains that the Adinapour of Baber’s time was the Sanskrit Oudyânapoura, or “la ville du Jardin,” thus agreeing with its present name of Bala Bagh,—the last of these words meaning garden. It is this word Oudyana-poura, which the Greeks are supposed to have identified, or translated, as *Dionysopolis*. Bala Bagh is, according to Masson’s statements, thirteen miles from the present Jelalabad;

¹ The publication of this may lead some one who may visit the spot to make more careful enquiries as to which spot the title of Khwaja Lahoree belongs.

hence it is not to be confounded with the site I have pointed out for Nagarahara, although at one time it seems to have been the principal town in the valley.

On Masson's sketch-map will be found the word "Nagrak," attached to a village, not within the dotted line of Begram on that map, but on the ground here assigned as the site of Nagarahara; this name, Vivien de Saint-Martin points out as a possible remaining fragment of the old name, and thus pointing to its position. In the tracing I have used for the map to accompany this paper I also find attached by the surveyors to what is most probably the same village the name "Nagarat." I did not chance to learn this name when on the spot myself, but very close to the same, nearer perhaps to the supposed Bala Hissar, there is a large mound,—the same I believe as that on Masson's map called "Tumulus of loose stones," for it seemed to be only a mass of boulders: the villagers gave me the name of this as the "Nagara Goondeé," *Goondeé* being used to designate all mounds or ruins of former structures. Thus we find the word "Nagrak," "Nagarat," or "Nagara," still existing on the very spot I propose as the site of the ancient Nagarahara.

At this tumulus of Nagara Goondeé I had some excavations made, and found the remains of the base of a tope, the details of which were similar to the others in the locality. The measurements indicated that this was one of the largest size, the Ummer Kheyl Tope being the only other that would compare in grandeur to this one; both being about 300 feet in circumference in the circular portion of the structure. This tope must have stood within the city, and it may have been the one mentioned by Hiouen-Thsang as being in the interior of the town, and which had contained a tooth of Buddha; at the time of the Pilgrim's visit the tooth was gone, and the tope was in ruins, but he describes it by saying—"qu'il était remarquable par son élévation, sa largeur et sa magnificence."¹ These words agree with the measurements I found; and if it should be accepted that this is the

¹ *Julien's Trans.* vol. i. p. 97.

site of Nagarahara, I think there will be little doubt as to the identification of this monument.

From the map it will be seen that the town would be protected on the north and west by the Kabul River and the Surkhab; on the east there is a depression towards a small stream, and at the south-west corner, I noticed some ridges as if they had been the remains of the defences on that side, and the ground was low on the outside, and now a sort of swamp, where our horses found considerable difficulty in getting through. This will show that there were natural features which belonged to the site, fitting it well for defence.

The site was not only strong, it must have been also, from its surroundings, a beautiful city. It would be difficult to find along the Italian base of the Alps a position which for scenery would excel that of the ancient Nagarahara. On the south it has the magnificent Alpine range of the Sufaid Koh, stretching across the landscape on that side, whose highest peak, Sikaram, as already mentioned, is over fifteen thousand feet high. On the north there is one grand mountain, with wide extending flanks, called the Ram Koond; it is over fourteen thousand feet in height, and being near at hand, its snowy top towers high into the sky. Lower and nearer still are lesser ranges, giving picturesque outlines, and producing variety of aerial effects to the eye. The rugged ridges of the Siah Koh are close to the spot on the west. To these remarkable natural features we have to add the Buddhist establishments of the locality, which must have formed a very striking element in the scene. In the map accompanying this paper I have indicated these Buddhist remains in red, so that their position may be easily followed. On the north side of the Kabul River, just opposite the site of the town, the ground is high, and in some places there are rocky cliffs. Along this for nearly three miles there are yet a continuous range of remains, of caves in the rock, and mounds left by topes and viharas;—this is so close to the site, that these structures must have formed part of the ancient city, it was a sort of "Surrey-side." From the accounts of the Buddhist Pilgrims we learn that the topes and viharas were very

gorgeously constructed with precious substances. I doubt a good deal of what they say on this head, but I found the remains of painted decorations and even vestiges of gilding. Fah Hian describes one of the viharas at Hidda as covered with plates of gold. We need scarcely doubt but the *tees* of most of the topes would be gilt. To the picture you form in your imagination of this old city you must add these three miles of picturesque cliffs covered with monuments and monasteries glowing with colour and gold, and must not forget to throw into the picture the multitude of monks going about in their yellow robes. All this must have met the view of Hiouen-Tsang as he entered the valley at the Darunta pass, and there existed most likely another very striking monument, which would appeal to the religious feelings of the "Master of the Law," and which must very soon have caught his eye. At the western end of the range of cliffs just described, the end towards Darunta, there is a perpendicular mass overhanging the river. It has been honey-combed into caves. There is a long tunnel which connects them all through the rock, but they look out on the water, where I think there has been a gallery connecting them at one time. In this cliff there is a large recess, about thirty or forty feet high, there is no passage behind by which to reach it, hence the conclusion is derived that it was not used like the others, but was a niche, with a colossal figure of Buddha sitting overlooking the valley. The statues of this kind were formed of mud, and covered with a thin coating of very fine plaster, and then coloured and gilt;—I came on the lower part of a colossal statue of this kind, which must have been about twelve feet high, at the Ahin Posh Tope, and which was formed in this manner;—being of such materials, this figure has long ago decayed, or most probably it has been destroyed by the Mahomedans. It will also be seen on the map that for some miles along the base of the Siah Koh range the Buddhist remains are plentiful. These were on the lower ridges and spurs—the monks seem to have almost always selected elevated spots for their monasteries, commanding a good view all round,—and hence they could

not only see, but were also seen, and this range of structures was near enough to form another suburb to Nagarahara. On the south again, also near enough to be a suburb, are a range of heights, under which the present Kabul road now passes westward,—along this, for a distance of six or seven miles, there is an almost continuous line of remains; there are caves in the rocks, and the mounds of topes and viharas on the ground above them.

From the map it will be understood how this extensive array of structures surrounded and overlooked the city, and it will be easy to see how they must have added to the appearance of it; and that, with the natural features of the magnificent mountains I have described, few spots, I feel sure, could compare with it. At the present day the greater part of the Jelalabad Valley is sand and stones, with no cultivation. There is every reason to suppose this was not the case in the Buddhist period. At Girdi Kas our engineers came upon an old aqueduct, of Buddhist masonry, and a tunnel through the spur of a hill—which, at one time, led water to the Chardeh Plain, which is now a desert of stones—but the aqueduct is in itself pretty strong evidence that the ground at some former time was productive. Among the rocks at the Darunta Gorge there is a chasm, which is supposed to have been the beginning of a canal, all of which is obliterated. At Hidda there can still be seen the remains of a rock-cut *Karaise*, which is now waterless. These are all hints telling pretty clearly of another condition of things in the Valley from what we see now. The multitude of remains which I have described are in themselves quite sufficient evidence to tell us that there must have been in the past a far greater food supply than at present. The monastic population itself must have exceeded many times the whole population at this moment existing in the Valley; and the costly monuments tell of wealth which is not to be found in our day in any part of the country. This is an important point, which was forced on my mind, and which no writer I am aware of has called attention to, as giving us a glimpse of the former condition of things—telling us

of vast changes which have taken place in the region since the time when the Chinese Pilgrims visited the country.

In the map of the Jelalabad Valley given with this paper, to show the position of the ancient Nagarahara, I have roughly indicated most of the Buddhist remains in a *red colour*. The map is too small to give details, and the quantity of remains must be judged of more by the amount of *red*, than by the supposition that every mound or heap has been put down. Only large detailed plans of each locality could give a perfect representation of these remains. I mention this, for Mr. Fergusson, in his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, trusting to Masson's statements, gives the exact number of Topes of which vestiges are supposed to exist. Masson did good work in his own way, but, in this direction, he is not a reliable authority. At his time little was known about Indian architecture, and the necessary knowledge did not exist for any one to form a judgment on any of the numerous points involved in connection with it. As to the number of Topes, to speak of them alone for the moment, I should say that it is impossible to form an estimate. This will be best understood by stating, that here, as in other Buddhist regions, there were Topes of all sizes; the largest, such as the Ummer Kheyl, and the Nagara Goondee Topes, which are about 100 feet in the diameter of the circular part of their construction; while every size is found, down to some which I explored, whose diameter was only about three or four feet. These smaller Topes seem to have been in great numbers. At Hada monuments of this kind were cleared out where they stood close to each other, and a reference to the plans of Jamal Giri, and Takht-i-Bai, in the Peshawar Valley, which have been more thoroughly explored than any spot in the Jelalabad region, will give what seems to me a fair idea of the clusters of Topes we came upon. I should speak of the remains of Topes in the Jelalabad Valley by hundreds, and it will require a good deal of careful excavating before even an approximate calculation of their number can be formed. The Topes are all more or less in a ruinous con-

dition; some are only mounds, what is left of them being covered up by their own debris falling over. The smaller ones are indistinguishable among the mass of rubbish which has accumulated. None of the Viharas, so far as I saw, now remain. In some few places fragments of the walls were visible, but, as a rule, mounds of earth and boulders can only be seen to tell of their existence. The forms of these remains were in many cases easily distinguishable from that of the Topes, for the plan of the Viharas seems to have been generally that of a square, and the ridges of earth in this form are in some cases very marked, and might be taken as the remains of tanks. In one or two cases the plan of the Vihara and large Tope can be distinctly made out, the Tope being outside, its centre having been placed on a line passing through the centre of the Vihara. At Gunda Chismeh this is the case, and one or two of the steps are visible, projecting through the earth, on the side next the Tope, in the centre, showing that there was a doorway from the Vihara at that place leading to it. Fah-Hian describes a dagoba, which, if I understand it rightly, was in the centre of "a square forty paces a side."¹ The Ahin Posh Tope stood in the centre of a square enclosure, and another at Hada was arranged in this manner. The great quantity of these Buddhist remains in the Jelalabad Valley was a point that impressed itself strongly on my mind—I have already alluded to this, and the account of them as suburbs of the City of Nagarahara—and I wish to impress it as a very important feature, as showing the condition of the Valley in the Buddhist period.

We have accounts of Hada, as it is now called, under the name of *Hi-lo*, or *Hidda*, from both Hiouen-Thsang and Fah-Hian. It is about five miles due south from Jelalabad, Hiouen-Thsang gives it as about thirty *li*, or six miles, south-east of Nagarahara—the distance as well as the direction thus given agrees very exactly with the position assigned to the Capital, and as the position of Hidda is not a matter

¹ *Beal's Trans.* p. 43.

of doubt, this becomes valuable evidence in favour of the site at the junction of the Surkhab and the Kabul River.

The same author also states that Hidda was four or five *li*, or about one mile, in circumference. This I should say would be the size of the town itself, for the remains of Topes and mounds, as they exist at the present day, cover a much larger space—the probability being that they were in the suburbs of the town. As these remains are scattered about on heights, and are so very irregular, I cannot even venture at a rough guess of the space they cover. It seems probable that the present village stands on the site of the old town, at least it does not appear that it extended to the westward, for, on this site, there is a considerable space covered with the ruins of Topes, and the mounds of Viharas, while no remains exist to show that the town extended in that direction. On the east there is a large mound or hill, which I did not manage to examine minutely, but it is, I should think, too large to be artificial. It is covered with crumbling walls, and masses of stones, and it may have been the Bala Hissar, or stronghold of the old place. Masson intends it, I think, on his map by a mound to which he gives the name of "*Kazana Toppa*." From the quantity of stones on this mound, and on the ground between it and the village, we may with great safety assume that the Hidda of Hiouen-Thsang's time was hereabout. The remains of Topes and Viharas are principally on some high ground intersected with ravines on the west side, these ravines giving the Buddhists the facilities, they seem almost always to have looked out for, of excavating caves; and here they are in such numbers, that their exploration might perhaps turn out to be as interesting as that of the mounds on the surface above them. Most probably it was in some of these Viharas, of which now nothing but mounds remain, that the bone forming the knob on Buddha's head was kept as a sacred relic, and which made Hidda celebrated in the Buddhist period as a place of pilgrimage. From Fah-Hian we learn that the Vihara in which it was kept was "entirely covered with plates of gold, and decorated with the seven

precious substances.”¹ Hiouen-Thsang states that there was also at Hidda the skull of Buddha, as well as the pupils of his eyes, his sanghati or robe, and his staff. These relics must have been a powerful attraction to pilgrims, and we find that Fah-Hian went to Hidda before going to “Nagrak,” or Nagarahara, but then he came into the Valley from Peshawar, while Hiouen-Thsang came from Lughman, and thus he came to the capital before visiting Hidda. Hidda was evidently a place of much greater sanctity than Nagarahara. Masson came to the conclusion that the remains of this place are of a later date than others in the Jelalabad Valley, and, although the coins found in some of the Topes are very late, yet I feel inclined to adopt the opposite conclusion. Still I confess that this is little more than an impression, and that I have scarce any evidence to produce that would weigh on the minds of others. Explorations may yet reveal to us more on this head, and I shall leave the matter, hoping that this may be done, for I suspect it will be found to be the most interesting spot in the Jelalabad Valley, and its mounds will be the most likely to reward the excavator who has the good fortune to try his hand at them.

On the stony plain to the north of Hada² I came upon a straight line of stones extending over a mile at least, if not more, in length. I have laid it down as correctly as I could in *red* on the map. The object for which it was constructed seems a puzzle. It was three feet ten inches wide, and looked more like a path than anything else. Had it been the remains of a wall, I think that some portions would have been left higher than others above ground, which was not the case. I take it that the whole of this plain, now only covered with stones, was at the Buddhist period all under cultivation,

¹ *Beal's Trans.* p. 41.

² This is the name on the new survey maps. When I mention the present place, I use this name, but when the ancient town is meant, I use the earlier form of the word. I may mention that, to the west of the place, there is an important group of caves, to which in the map I have given Masson's name of *Tappa Zurgaran*, or “The Goldsmith's Mound”; but one of the caves, which is more extensive than the others, is known as the palace of the Rajah Hoda, the word from which Hada or Hidda is supposed to be derived. The cave being Buddhist, its connection with this rather mythical Rajah is doubtful.

and that this line of stones, from its direction, was a paved way from Nagarahara to Hidda. This is the only probable suggestion I can make, and I offer it with no other pretensions than what these words convey. I do not think it likely that it was made by the Mahomedans, and yet the name of Ali Murdan is great over all this region, as far as Cabul, in connection with constructive works. If it was a paved way to Hidda from the capital, it would be an evidence of the traffic between the two places, which resulted either from business or from the number of people who were constantly visiting the shrines at Hidda.

While I was at Jelalabad, Colonel Yule wrote and asked me to look out for the "Cavern of the Shadow," where Buddha left his shadow, which it would be important to identify. This shadow could be seen by those who were sincere in their faith, and who prayed devoutly. Hiouen-Thsang describes his visit to it very minutely, and how his faith was so richly rewarded by a sight of this sacred phenomenon. Hiouen-Thsang states that Hidda was south-east of Nagarahara, and this cave he places on the south-west. Hidda was thirty *li*, and the cave twenty; it was according to Fah-Hian in a large mountain; Hiouen-Thsang also mentions the mountain, and that the cave was near a cascade, where the summit was scarped, and the sides cut like walls. The long ridge of heights extending from the Ahin Posh Tope to Sultanpur and Rozabad presents no features which would agree with this description; but the sides of the Siah Koh range are very steep and full of ravines, which would suit these details exactly, and, at the same time, the direction is near enough to that given by the Pilgrim: If the distance given of twenty *li*, or four miles, is anything like accurate, the position of this wonderful cave ought to be very nearly made out.

The range of heights from Ahin Posh Tope, which is about a mile south of Jelalabad, and which stretches westward to near Sultanpur, a distance of about six or seven miles, are covered with the remains of topes and viharas, and they are so close together that they must have, at the time of Hiouen-

Thsang, presented a continuous line the whole way, and such an extent of structures must have had a very imposing appearance. The rock is conglomerate in these heights, and the cliffs are full of caves, but all in a very decayed condition. It was at the east end of this range where I commenced my explorations, at a large mound known as the *Ahin Posh*, or the "Iron-clad Tope." The rectangular mounds round it indicated that a very large monastery had once been here, and the quadrangle round the tope had evidently been built upon, presumably in the Mahomedan period, and made into the stronghold of some chief of the locality; the later walls of rude masonry being constructed over those of the Buddhist masonry. As most of the places have lost their original names, and are now known by those given by the Mahomedans, this peculiar one of "Ahin Posh" is most probably not Buddhist, but as yet no satisfactory explanation of its meaning has been suggested. I cleared out all round the mound, and found the remains of the base of the tope, and was able to make out a correct plan of it. The square base was one hundred feet on each side, and the circular part was eighty feet in diameter, hence it ranked among the largest in the valley, the Ummer Kheyl and the Nagara Goondée Topes only exceeding it in size. A tunnel was driven into the centre of the monument, and in its small cell were found twenty gold coins, and a golden relic holder, set with stones. Seventeen of the coins were Indo-Scythian, of the reigns of Kadphizes, Kanerki, and Oerki. The other three were Roman, of the Emperors Domitian, Trajan, and the wife of Hadrian. These coins are valuable evidence that the tope could not possibly be older than the second century after Christ, the probability being that it was a couple of hundred years later than the last of the Roman coins.¹ About a mile and a half to the west of Ahin Posh is a place called Gunda Chismeh, with the smooth rounded mound of a

¹ An account of these coins, with photographs, by Dr. Hoernle, will be found in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for March, April, and August, 1879, and a more detailed account of the explorations, with descriptions and drawings of the architecture, are given in a paper read by myself before the Roy. Inst. of Brit. Archts. on the 12th Jan. 1880.

tope, and the rectangular mound of a vihara; here I also made excavations in the tope, and got the details of the architecture; but a tunnel into the centre failed to find the cell, so no relics were discovered. The name Eedoo-Khey! Tope, on the map, was given to me by the villagers at Gunda Chismeh.

Between this range of heights and the base of the Siah Koh, is flat ground under cultivation, and full of villages; this space, I regret to say, I saw little of. There has been a tendency in the people to construct their villages on the ruins of Viharas, and often with the Tope remaining within the mud walls, of which numerous instances are to be seen. I visited the Sultanpur Tope, which stands in the middle of a field by itself, and Ashok Boorjée, which is an exceptional monument. It is a square tower of mud standing on a mound, with layers of slate in its construction, none of these features being exactly Buddhist or Mahomedan. Masson calls it Tappa Ashruk, or Burj Jemadar, and states that it is believed to have been built by a Gilzai Jemadar of the name of Ashruk. This Masson doubts, on account of the slate in it, and also from its large dimensions. It occurs to me that as it is close on the south-west to the site of Nagarahara, it may be the remains of some of its defensive works; but probably rebuilt at a later date, for it is not similar in construction to the other Buddhist remains.

The mass of remains along the base of the Siah Koh forms another of the important groups in the Jelalabad Valley. The south-western portion of this group I only rode through on one occasion, so I have only a rough idea of them. On the ground between the Surkhab and the foot of the mountain, forming the south, or south-west end of the group, are three Topes, to which the natives gave me the names of Khudpur, Kala Shahi, and Tuttun. Masson, I think, calls them the "Kotpur Topes." The one named on the map Khudpur, is now on the very brink of the cliff overhanging the bed of the Surkhab, and its tumbling into the stream is likely at no very distant date. The other two are far from having reached the mound condition, particu-

larly the Tuttun Tope; most of its architecture is yet remaining.

To the north of this is a great mass of heaps, with very little architecture visible, to which I got no name, but I take it to be the group which Masson calls the "Topes of Passani." Here and all along as far north as the Khaista Tope, the remains extend for some distance up the sides of the mountain.

There is a road or track along here, leading to the ferry at Darunta, and from Passani to the Khaista Tope, a distance of over a couple of miles, the remains seemed to have no very perceptible break. About the middle of this space is what Masson calls the "Bimaran" group, a name I heard repeated on the spot. Here some of the Topes are yet in very good condition, particularly the small one, within the walls of one of the villages, which Mr. Fergusson gives in his *History of Indian Architecture*,¹ from Masson's drawing, who calls it "Tope No. 3 of Bimaran." On the plain towards the Surkhab, not far from this, is the Jani Tope, the name given to me agreeing with that of Masson's. To the north of this Masson classes the remains in two groups, one of which he calls "Deh Rahman," and the other "Nandara." These names I did not hear on the spot. The Tope Masson calls "No. 2 of Deh Rahman" was mentioned to me as the "Ummer Kheyl Tope," from the name of the kheyl, or clan, who live there. It is certainly remarkable for its size, but Masson's measurement is not correct; he makes it 180 feet in circumference. On one of my visits, Lieut. Talbot, R.E., went round the circular part with a tape line, and made it out to be 300 feet. This cannot be more than a few feet out of the exact size, for a portion of the lower belt of pilasters still remains. It stands on the level ground, and over it on a rocky spur is one Masson calls "Tope No. 1 of Nandara." The name *Khaista*, or the "Beautiful Tope," was given to me for this monument; which Masson also gives as *Khasta*, but he explains it to be "Pushto,

¹ *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 78.

signifying wonderful." It is the best preserved of all the Topes in the Jelalabad Valley, and was of great value to me in working out the architecture of these monuments of the Buddhist period. I could not be sure whether there was any design in the placing of these two Topes or not, but the position of a large tank, of which some of the Buddhist masonry still remains on the level ground, and in a line between the two Topes, led me to think that the whole formed part of one general design. The tank may have been perhaps about 300 feet square.

The group of Topes and caves on the north side of the Kabul River extends from the Pheel Khana Tope to the Barabat Tope, a distance of about two and a half miles. That which I call the Pheel Khana Tope, is by Masson called the "Tope Gudara." "Pheel Khana" means elephants' quarters, and there is a cave, which is exceptional in its form and height, known as the "Pheel Khana." This cave is low down on the rock opposite the junction of the Surkhab, and may have been used as a place for elephants at some time or another, perhaps when Nagarahara was inhabited. This gives the name to the Tope above, and I have applied it to all the remains at this spot, distinguishing the eastern end of the same by the name of Barabat. Masson's name of "Gudara" I did not hear from any one, while more than one person used the words "Pheel Khana Tope." This Tope stands prominently on the heights above; a little higher still than the Tope is a rude niche in the rock, in which, from its shape, I infer that there once was a large standing figure of Buddha. There are other remains on these heights, from which I guess that there were other Topes, as well as structural Viharas. The largest and perhaps the most important collection of caves in the Valley is at this spot. There is a perpendicular cliff below the Tope which faces westward to the Siah Koh and the Darunta Gorge; the rock is composed of soft sandstone with layers of conglomerate, so that it was easy to excavate. The caves open out on the river and look towards the Siah Koh; they have a long dark tunnel cut in the rock behind, which

serves as a means of access; on account of its extent the natives call it "The Bazaar"; this with the caves connected forms the most extensive excavation I saw in Afghanistan. I have already alluded in the first part of this paper to the large niche in the face of this cliff, which I have supposed had once in it a colossal figure of Buddha, in a sitting position; this I infer from its proportions, and the evidence of its having been a niche is derived from there being no communication between it and the long connecting tunnel behind. Round the corner to the east from this cliff is a small bit of flat ground, and the rock forms a kind of crescent or amphitheatre, under the Pheel Khana Tope, which is full of caves, terminating at the eastern end with the Pheel Khana cave.

This cave I have mentioned as being different from the other caves, and next door to it is another exceptional cave, at least it is so among the caves of the region. It was the only Vihara cave I found, so far as my experiences went in Afghanistan. The great mass of the caves were simply recesses in the rock, with an arched roof, and similar in type to the caves at Buddha Gaya, while this cave had small cells placed all round a large rectangular cave. If the Afghanistan caves were first modelled after the early Indian type as seen at Buddha Gaya, then we may take it for all but certain that this Vihara cave is a late one, and that it had been excavated from a description given by some one who had visited the well-known Vihara caves of Western India.

I traversed the ground all the way from the Pheel Khana Cave group to the Barabat Tope, and saw many caves, but was not able to inspect them. The cliff is conglomerate, and the caves seemed in a very decayed state. I have already mentioned the Ziaret on this side of the river, to which the name of "Kwaja Lahoree" was given to me. I find that Masson also must have had some notice of it, for in the *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 88, he mentions the "line of sandstone (?) elevations," and alludes to "a central spot, which, seeming to refer to neither of the Topes, may probably relate to a celebrated Tappa, or mound, on the plain on the other side of the river, and called Tappa Khwaja

Lahoree." What led him to write this sentence he does not explain. The Ziaret is exactly opposite the site of Nagarahara, and the name may be important, as preserving some legend in connection with it.

It may be worth mentioning here that some at least of the Mahomedan Ziarets are pre-Mahomedan shrines. The theory I have to suggest is, that they were Buddhist, and most probably they were in some cases founded on the remains of what is known as figures of the Sleeping Buddha. The Buddhists were, and are still given to making large figures of this kind. We know that such figures existed in Afghanistan. Hiouen-Tsang mentions one at Bamian, which he describes as being 1000 feet in length. In Afghanistan and the Punjaub there are many large tombs which are sacred to the Mahomedans, some are called *Nau Guz Wallahs*, or "Nine Yard Fellows," and those larger than this are called *Chahis Guz Wallahs*, or "Forty Yard Fellows." The celebrated tomb of Lamech, known as "Meiter Lam," in Lughman, is forty-eight feet long, seven and a half feet high, and about the same in width. There is also a tomb of Lot in the Jelalabad Valley of somewhat similar dimensions. By supposing they were originally sleeping Buddhas, places of pilgrimage, and sources of revenue, we have the simple explanation, of which examples can be found in other parts of the world, of how they would be continued after a change of faith had taken place, and a new name would be fitted into the old one. I saw myself the shrine of a Nan Guz Wallah at Peshawar, where I was told that the Mahomedans and the Hindoos visited on alternate days. By supposing it was an old Buddhist spot of sanctity, we have about the only possible reason of its possessing a sacred character in the minds of both. From this it will be seen that the Ziaret, to which I have put the name of Khwaja Lahoree, may have been a Buddhist shrine originally, and in some way connected with the ancient Nagarahara.

A portion of the Barabat Tope—Masson calls it "Bar Robat"—still remains, and is visible for some distance

round. It is on the spur of a hill, and stands a little back from the river. On my visit to it we met an old man, who said he remembered the Sahib who came and opened it; according to Masson this was M. Honigberger, who found a vase of steatite containing ashes, etc. (*Ariana Antiqua*, p. 88). The level ground, which widens out, and forms, opposite Jelalabad, the district of Besud, begins at this; and the cliffs all the way to the Pheel Khana Group are a little above the level of the river, full of old tunnels for taking water to it for irrigation. They are all in a broken-down state, but one is yet under repair, and is at present in use. My impression is that these aqueducts are old, but it would be difficult to come to a certain conclusion as to whether they date back to the Buddhist period or not.

I believe that the hills forming the northern side of Besud have some Buddhist remains on them. I did go over the ground, and if any exist, they are not prominent or visible from a distance. I only visited the district of Kamah once, and that was with an expedition under General Macpherson, against the Momunds. They occupied the heights, and hence archæological inspection was dangerous. On more than one of the spurs of the hills I saw what I took to be remains. At Mirza Kheyl we were so close that the Buddhist masonry was visible, and the caves in the cliff under left no doubt in my mind as to their character. On the island in the Kabul River at Girdi Kas, I could see the remains of a Tope, as well as walls, and I presume it was an old monastery.

Our engineers were employed for some time at Girdi Kas making a road, and I had more than one invitation to pay them a visit, but was never able to take advantage of it; what I learned of the ancient aqueduct there was derived from the officers engaged at the spot.

On a cliff near to Ali Boghan is a shrine called "Pir Goondee Ziaret." The walls here are none of them of Buddhist masonry—so far as I could see, but the caves in the rock round it led me to think it had been originally a Buddhist site.

One of the Khans of the Kunar Valley, when at Jelalabad

making his salaam to the late Sir Louis Cavagnari, mentioned that there was a Tope at his place which Masson had come to open, but the Khan of that time would not allow him to proceed. The Khan said to Cavagnari that he had no objection if excavations were now to be made. Cavagnari asked me to go and visit the place, and an escort was sent with me. It was about fifteen miles from Jelalabad, at a place called *Kona Deh*, or the Old Village, which was constructed of stones from the Buddhist remains. Judging from the extensive remains it must have been a large and important place at one time. The Tope was small, and very ruinous. Some of the walls of the monastery were standing to a height of some feet. As there were more interesting monuments nearer at hand in the Jelalabad Valley, I did not recommend operations at *Kona Deh*. There were the remains of old aqueducts here also. I went about two or three miles further up the Kunar Valley to Islampur, where there are some more vestiges of Buddhist masonry.

I cannot pretend to say that this short account exhausts all the Buddhist remains in the Jelalabad Valley, for the space is large, and I could not visit every spot, but I think it contains all the more important vestiges. To those interested in the subject, this paper may in the mean time be useful, as giving some notion of their extent and position, and it may serve as a guide to any one visiting the Valley, till further explorations are made. Information as to many of these places will be found in the *Ariana Antiqua*, and the details of the architecture will be found in my own paper read last year to the Royal Society of British Architects.

ART. VIII.—*Hindû Law at Madras.* By J. H. NELSON, M.A.,
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SEVERAL books lately published at Madras show that in the opinion of their authors there is something very wrong in the mode in which suits between so-called Hindûs, involving questions of so-called Hindû law, are now dealt with by the High Court of Judicature at Madras and the courts subordinate thereto. And a perusal of some of the reports of High Courts in other parts of India will lead many to suppose that a not inconsiderable part of the law made by those courts, not by the legislature, for the benefit of so-called Hindûs, is not less open to objection than are many of the doctrines promulgated in Madras. The purpose of this paper is to attempt to show that, whereas the High Court of Judicature at Madras professes, and doubtless desires to keep up, as required by the Civil Courts Act, the laws and customs of the tribes and castes subjected to its jurisdiction, it in fact imposes on them laws of its own making, and which until quite recently have not had force in any part of India. To this end I shall endeavour to prove, as fully as may be possible in the little space at my command, (1) that in ancient times law, in any ordinary acceptance of the term, never was administered to Hindûs by Hindûs or others; (2) that if law was administered to Hindûs in ancient times, at all events it never was administered in the kingdoms lying south of the Vindhya mountains; and (3) that if it was, it was not the law contained in the *Mitâkharâ*, and other books of the kind.

With regard to the first of these propositions, it will not be necessary here to define the term '*law*,' or to consider the various opinions according to which '*law*' is the command of a Sovereign, or the expression of a nation's consciousness of what is expedient, or something else; it will be sufficient for my purpose to state that I mean by law no more than an aggregate of rules of conduct that courts of justice, of what-

ever kind, habitually recognize and enforce. And here at the threshold of the inquiry I will venture to ask if any one of the numerous Sanskrit words given in dictionaries as meaning 'law' can be said to be equivalent to such an aggregate? Can any Sanskrit word be held to convey, even approximately, this idea so familiar to Western minds? What we render into English the '*Institutes*' or '*Law*' or '*Code*' of Manu is the *dharma-śāstra*, but *dharma*, whatever else it may mean, certainly appears not to mean anything like 'law' in the sense in which I am using it. Thus, according to Haradatta, quoted by Professor Max Müller, "*dharma* (virtue) is the quality of the individual self, which arises from action, leads to happiness and final beatitude, and is called *apūrva* (supernatural)." And the latter authority tells us that *dharma-śāstras* consist mainly of *āchāras*, laws, manners, and customs, which he explains thus: "All the duties which are to be performed by the individual on his own behalf. These duties refer to the different castes, and to the respective occupations of each." And Professor Weber suggests that these *śāstras* may have been committed to writing in order to give caste distinctions which were rejected by Buddhism, and generally in order to protect Brahmanism. Then if we turn to the book ascribed to *Yājñavalkya*, we find that a gift, properly made, gives the idea of law. And that "the *śruti*, the *smṛiti*, the practice of good men, what seems good to one's self, and a desire maturely considered—these are declared to be the root of Law." Again, it tells us that "whatever is declared by a person who has in an eminent degree knowledge of the soul in its relations, the same should be [held as] Law." Also that "if two texts of the Law be opposed to each other, one argument founded on usage is of force; but the *dharma-śāstra* is of greater force than the *artha-śāstra*. This is a settled rule." Now, what is *artha*? Dr. Roer says it is 'ethics.' Weber makes it to be 'technical arts.' And in Julien's *Buddhist Pilgrims* the word is declared to be a technical term meaning 'the distinct knowledge of sense.' Yet *artha* is Law inferior in authority only to *dharma*!

So much for the name and idea. Let us next look at the works that are commonly supposed to contain the Law of the Hindûs. The first thing to be remarked about them is, that from the time of Megasthenes to that of Sir William Jones, few persons, if any, appear to have noticed their existence. The observant Greek envoy, who lived for years at the Court of Chandragupta, and wrote the earliest and most valuable description of the Indians that has come down to us from ancient times, cannot have seen or heard of the "Laws of Manu." Not only does he expressly say that the Indians "use unwritten laws," he also describes a state of things wholly inconsistent with the idea that justice was administered to the people by judges in accordance with the provisions of written laws like those attributed to Manu, or indeed with the idea that the people principally guided themselves by any such laws. For he tells us, amongst other things, that the life of the Indians is very frugal, simple, and orderly, marked by abstention from fraud. "They do not know official writings, but manage all their affairs from memory. . . . And in the matter of laws and pecuniary transactions, their simplicity is proved by the fact that they have not many forms of action; for they have not actions of pledge or of deposit. Nor do they feel the want of attesting witnesses or seals, but they give credit at their own proper risk." In another fragment he says: "The Indians neither lend money at interest nor so borrow it. But it is not customary for an Indian either to wrong or to be wronged. And hence it is, they are not in the habit of making written agreements or deposits." In yet another fragment he says: "Amongst the Indians, if any man is defrauded of money lent upon interest or deposit, there is no remedy by suit; but he who trusted blames himself." With regard to criminal justice, he tells us that: "He who maims another, not only suffers a like maiming himself, he also has his hand cut off;" and "he who has injured an artisan in the hand or eye is punished with death. And the King orders the worst criminal to be shaved, deeming this to be the deepest disgrace of all." He also states that no Indian

is or keeps a slave, it being an ancient law that all persons should be on an equality in all things; that a woman who kills a king when found drunk, is rewarded by having intercourse with his successor, his son; and that men buy a number of wives from their wives' parents, giving a yoke of oxen for each.

When we consider these matters, and what Megasthenes tells us of the people's habits in respect to eating and drinking, and of the King's body-guard of Amazons, and particularly the fact that the writer divides the people, not into the four classes of Manu, but into seven classes quite different from those four, it becomes very difficult, it seems to me, to believe that the Code of Manu gives a picture even approximately correct of the state of Indian society in the fourth century before Christ. Still less can we believe that it contains the laws then observed by that society.

Nearchus confirms Megasthenes' statement to the effect that the Indians had no written laws, whilst he knew that they possessed the art of writing. Next we come to the Chinese pilgrims, Fah Hian and Hiouen Tshang, of the fifth and seventh centuries of our era respectively. The former of these affirms that in the happy *Madhya-dêsa*, the headquarters of Hindûism, the people "know neither registers of the population, nor magistrates, nor laws. . . . To govern them the King requires not the apparatus of punishments. If any one be guilty of a crime, he is simply mulcted in money, and in this they are guided by the lightness or the gravity of his offence. Even when by relapse a malefactor commits a crime, they restrict themselves to cutting off his right hand, without doing him any further harm." Hiouen Tshang, though he tells us much about the life and customs of the Indians of his time, appears to know nothing of the existence amongst them of written laws. On the contrary, his description of their extraordinary simplicity of life, and his remarks on the mildness of the administration of the *Madhya-dêsa*, make it highly probable that in his time the *Śramanas* and Brahmins studied only religious and philosophical works, and that the only justice administered was

criminal justice of a most fantastic and arbitrary character. When we come to the European travellers, Bernier, Tavernier, etc., we find that they say nothing of laws, written or unwritten. And Anquetil Duperron, who did his utmost to discover evidence of the fact that law was known to and observed by Hindûs, was fain to admit that the production of Halhed's Gentoo Code was a boon to India, however unphilosophically and imperfectly it might have been put together. On the other hand, as will presently appear, there is good direct evidence going to show that before the establishment of British courts of justice the Hindûs did not make use of laws, written or unwritten.

Next we must remember that the *dharma-sâstras*, as we now have them, appear to be metrical treatises based, mediately or immediately, on *Grihya-sûtras* possessed and handed down from father to son by different families. Max Müller tells us that the earlier Âryan families had each its own *śākhā* or recension of the *Veda*, each its own *smṛiti* or tradition, and probably each its own heroes, and perhaps even its own deities. And in some cases it has become possible to know to what family or group of families, or to what *charaṇa* or sect, a particular *sûtra* belonged. Thus, for example, it seems to be clear that what we call the "Code of Manu" is nothing more than a fragment of a comparatively modern and perhaps often recast metrical redaction of the *dharma-sûtra* adopted by the *Mānavas*, who constituted a division of a school professing the *Taittiriya* or "Black Yajus"; whilst the work attributed to Yājñavalkya is to be traced back to the possession of followers of the schismatic "White Yajus." And as appears from a *Vārttika* to Pāṇ. iv. 3, 120, *Kāthaka* may be used, not only for the sacred traditions, but also for the laws of the *Kāthas*. Now, not only was it right and proper for each family to follow its own *śākhā* or recension of the *Veda*, but in the commentary to *Pāraskara's Grihya-sûtra* "Vasistha declares that it is wrong to follow the rules of another *śākhā*. . . . Whosoever leaves the law of his *śākhā*, and adopts that of another, he sinks into blind darkness, having degraded a sacred Rishi."

This being so, the question naturally arises, whence comes the general belief now obtaining in India, that Hindûs, of whatever family or sect, all join in observing a particular body of laws ?

In the next place, it is to be remembered that when—perhaps in the fourth century before Christ—the Brahmans had finally achieved supremacy over the other classes, and established their peculiar system on a firm basis, their actual dominion extended over but a very small part of India. On the banks of the Indus, and to the east of it, were the *Vrâtyas*, the conservative Âryans who had declined to leave their old home and follow their brethren to the banks of the Ganges. This large aggregate of tribes was essentially non-Brahmanic, had its own *yaudhas* or warriors, its own *arhants* or teachers, and was despised as heretic. On the north were various barbarous tribes inhabiting the bases of the Himalayas. Towards the east the Brahmans were kept back by the Ganges. And in the south were the invincible Mahrattas, and the Vindhya mountains, then a practically insurmountable barrier. Even within these comparatively narrow limits the Brahmans were not all-powerful; the *Madhya-désa*, or country between the Jumna, and probably the Ganges, was the only part of India in which they exercised unbounded influence. Max Müller observes that : “As to the customs of countries and villages, there can be no doubt that in many cases they were not only not founded upon Brahmanic authority, but frequently decidedly against it. The Brahmanic law, however, is obliged to recognize and allow these customs, with the general reservation that they must not be in open opposition to the law.” Manu’s Code, however, goes further than this, and says in unqualified terms that the conqueror “must respect the deities and their virtuous priests . . . and establish the laws of the conquered nation as declared.” And similarly Yâjnavalkya’s Code says : “Of a newly subjugated territory, the monarch shall preserve the social and religious usages, also the judicial system and the state of classes as they already obtain.” It cannot be doubted, therefore, that as the Âryans pushed their way eastwards, and

extended their establishments north and south, they permitted the conquered tribes to retain each its own usages and system, and did not attempt to thrust upon them the Brahmanic institutions, which indeed were intended for, and suited to, the Âryan twice-born classes alone.

Hardly had Brahmanism reached its full proportions when Jainism and Buddhism sprang into ascendancy, and forthwith Jainist and Buddhist *śāstras* supplanted those of the ancient faith, and may have guided the magistrate in some measure in deciding causes. But the edicts of Aśoka seem to show that under the Buddhists the encouragement of devotion and morality was held to be of incomparably greater importance than the administration of justice, civil or criminal, and it is difficult to believe that that enthusiast found time for the consideration of this latter. It is difficult to say when Brahmanism began to revive in India proper. Apparently Buddhism was vigorous in Fah Hian's time. And when Hiouen Thsang travelled through India in the first half of the seventh century, he seems to have found Buddhism still the dominant religion of the majority of the people, though he everywhere saw reason to bewail the decay of his beloved faith; and he gives an account of the manners and customs of the people, from which we must infer, it seems to me, that what justice there was, was administered in accordance with Buddhistic ideas. In later times, successive invasions and conquests of India must have made it impossible for the Brahmans to turn their attention to legislation and jurisprudence, even if they were inclined seriously to study subjects in their eyes so devoid of importance. Indeed, the miserable state of India under the later Mahomedan rulers must have been such as to shut out the possibility of the Brahmans reviving an ancient body of laws, if such had ever existed, or establishing a new body of laws. Thus Bernier has given us an interesting account of Benares as he knew it in 1670, and from what he says of the mode in which pupils were instructed in "the Athens of India, whither resort the brahmins and religionists,—who are the only persons who apply their minds to study," it is abund-

antly clear that nothing like a revival of learning could have taken place there or elsewhere in India proper at or shortly before that time. For, amongst other things, he says that the most eminent teacher did not attract more than twelve or fifteen pupils, who usually studied ten or twelve years, "during which time the work of instruction proceeded very slowly." They learnt Sanskrit, the *Purāṇas*, and some a little philosophy. They were very idle, and had no spirit of emulation, because for them there was no hope of honour or reward. It is true that Prince Dara Shekoh, the eldest son of Shah Jehan, took some interest in the mysteries of the Hindū faith, and got some *Upanishads* rendered into Persian for his own private information; and a few other Mahomedans may have patronized Hindū learning and literature to a certain limited extent; but such men were exceptional, and Bernier expressly declares that the Hindūs hid their books for fear lest their rulers should burn them. And so things went on, from bad to worse, till Warren Hastings, unable to find any existing Code or Digest of Hindū Law, ordered the compilation of the "Code of Gentoo Laws."

The eleven Pandits of Bengal, Bahar, and Oudh, who were hired to compile this amazing work, are stated by Mr. Halhed to have "picked it out sentence by sentence from various originals in the Sanskrit language, neither adding to nor diminishing any part of the ancient text," and it is possible that they did this; but if they did, they certainly contrived to produce a work very different in form, arrangement, and matter, from any Sanskrit treatise known to our law courts, and it is almost impossible to avoid suspecting, with Anquetil Duperron, the good faith of those who prepared it. The "Gentoo Code" purports to be taken from twenty several works, ten of which are "general treatises" ascribed to Manu, Yājñavalkya, and others, whilst no less than twenty-two authors are stated to have been quoted in the compilation, but which of these numerous authorities were considered by the compilers to be entitled to the most weight it is impossible to know. It is observable,

however, that Vijnânêśwara's name does not appear in the lists of authors quoted and used, but the *Mitâkharâ* is ascribed to one Mirtekherâ-Kar. And no reference is made to Kullûka Bhaṭṭa, who, according to Sir William Jones, is to be deemed the greatest of legal commentators, whilst the works of commentators on Manu, such as Medhâtithi and Govinda Râja, are merely quoted occasionally. Further, it is noticeable that "the Pandits of Mithilâ" are constantly cited as authorities opposed to certain writers, whilst here and there the opinion of a single author is given as authoritative, though at variance with that generally received. On the whole, it seems to be clear that the compilers of the "Gentoo Code" were by no means certain of the absolute validity or propriety of many of their more important doctrines.

Shortly after this abortive work was published, Sir William Jones produced his celebrated "Laws of Manu," a translation which has been allowed by all to be a work of some merit, and which gave rise to the study of Sanskrit in Europe, and to the administration of a very extraordinary kind of law in India. When a writer of so vast a reputation took upon himself to declare that the *Mânava-dharma-śâstra* contained a "system of duties, religious and civil, and of law in all its branches, which the Hindûs firmly believe to have been promulgated in the beginning of time by Manu, son or grandson of *Brahmâ*, or, in plain language, the first of created beings,—and not the oldest only, but the holiest of legislators," and to declare further that it might be the "Institutes of Hindû Law" preparatory to the copious Digest lately compiled, and introductory perhaps to a Code of Hindû Law, it followed almost as of course that the Government and officials of India, unable to judge for themselves, should at once accept the declaration as absolutely and unquestionably true. The mistake was made, and three generations have not sufficed to remove its evil consequences. I have already shown that the "Laws of Manu," as we have them, are merely the remains of a treatise adopted by the sect called *Mânavas*, of which, by the way, little trace at present is known to exist, and I will now go on to give a brief

sketch of its contents and manifest scope, for the purpose of suggesting that the so-called Code was not intended to be a body of laws, and by its very nature was precluded from ever being accepted as such. Sir William Jones has admitted in his preface that the Code "is a system of despotism and priestcraft, both indeed limited by law, but artfully conspiring to give mutual support, though with mutual checks;" but this admission appears to me to be altogether inadequate. It would be far more correct, I think, to say that the main object of the work is to establish the fact that the Brahmins, at all events those of them who study the *Védas*, are simply gods upon earth, and by right the possessors of all things valuable; that the *Kshattriyas* were created for the purpose of keeping the peace amongst men; the *Vaisyas*, for the purpose of amassing wealth for the use of *Brahmins*; the *Súdras*, to be the very humble slaves of Brahmins; and the mixed castes generally to do all kinds of hard and unpleasant work, without grumbling. Since it could hardly be expected that Brahmins would sit down and read the *Védas* during every hour of every day, the Code contains detailed instructions as to the mode in which they should spend their lives, from the cradle to the grave, so as at last "to attain a superior state above." And since it was not unlikely that some Brahmins at least would err occasionally from the path of strict duty, punishment is provided, of equal severity for crimes the most enormous and transgressions the most trivial, but with the express proviso that every crime, of whatever enormity—as, for example, the deliberate murder of a priest—may be completely expiated by the criminal undergoing a slight penance at his discretion. Although Brahmins were well able to protect themselves from evil-doers by mere speech, that is, by the use of appropriate curses, it was advisable that the King should be directed to interfere in their behalf, and therefore certain chapters are devoted to the duties of Kings or *Kshattriyas*, the principal of which are to give presents to learned Brahmins, and protect them from all evil. Thus, stealing gold from a priest is made a crime of the first degree, whilst killing a woman is one of the

third ; and a cheating goldsmith is to be cut to pieces with razors. The *Vaisyas* and *Sûdras* are to occupy themselves with their respective labours ; and whilst the former may read the *Vêdas*, if they can, for their own information and guidance, the latter may neither read them nor hear them read. Nor may they amass wealth, lest they should cause pain even to Brahmans. In other words, the most numerous class must remain for ever in ignorance of the sacred writings which contain the only rules of conduct prescribed for the Âryan, lest he should attain bliss hereafter ; and in poverty, lest he should be happy in this world. Is it possible that the most debased of human creatures could have submitted, or have been expected to submit, to a system so iniquitous and so absurd ? I believe it to be impossible. But if the oppressive and repressive regulations of this system were never accepted as laws by the Âryan settlers in the *Madhya-dêsa* or Central India, and by the existing occupants of the land who were called *Sûdras*, it does not follow that the *Mânava-dharma-sâstra*, when composed, was without meaning and without validity. Had it been so, it could hardly have survived in any form till now. Parts of it no doubt represent with some fullness and accuracy a state of religious belief and feeling that once obtained very commonly amongst the inhabitants of the *Madhya-dêsa*, and we may find in it plain marks of the spread of the grand idea that the mere religion of rites should be set aside in favour of moral obligation, of tenderness towards animal life, of respect towards parents and children and teachers, in short of duty towards others as well as towards ourself. Much of the doctrine of this Code appears to be inconsistent with the precepts contained in the inscriptions of Aśoka, and with the principles stated by Fah Hian and Hiouen Thsang to characterize the mild administration of Central India in their respective times. Indeed some of the usages described by the Code of Manu exist at this very moment. But they pertain to religion and morals, not to the law of courts.

I must now move on to my second proposition, namely, that whatever may have been the case elsewhere, law never

was administered in the kingdoms lying south of the Vindhya mountains. In the first place, it is to be observed that there appears to be no reason to suppose that any considerable body of Âryans at any time invaded the South of India. A long struggle between the immigrant Âryans and the occupant *Sûdras* and *Kshatriyas* resulted in the complete victory of the former, and their permanent establishment in and around the *Madhya-dêśa*; but probably they were content with their acquisitions in the parts indicated, and made no effort to work down through the inhospitable passes of the Vindhyas and the wild countries lying beyond them. Or, if they made the effort, it was unsuccessful. The Âryans never conquered the South of India, and therefore never imposed laws on its inhabitants; but they must have had abundant and constant intercourse with powerful and more or less civilized tribes on their borders, and it is an unquestionable fact that by some means a leaven of Âryan faith and practice was introduced even into the southernmost parts of India, where in the course of centuries Jainism, Buddhism, Saivism, and a vast variety of sects took root and flourished. Of the defeated tribes that resisted the Âryans with the greatest pertinacity, some appear to have been beaten back towards the South, and thus we find the *Drâviḍas*, who are said by Manu to have been *Kshatriyas* who sank to the lowest class by the omission of rites and seeing no Brahmans, founding powerful kingdoms in the South of India, and supplanting everywhere the ruder tribes with which they came in contact. It seems to be clear that these *Drâviḍas*, and the kindred *Āṇḍhras*, and some other great tribes of the South, reached a considerable degree of civilization by their own unassisted efforts, and independently of the Brahmans. And thus Burnell states in his *Palæography*, that when Âryan civilization began to extend to the Tamil country in the ninth century, "it found there a people already in possession of the art of writing, and apparently a cultivated language. Thus Sanskrit . . . remained almost exclusively in the knowledge of the Brahmans." In other words, the people at large remained

non-Brahmanic. With regard to this, I observe that Hiouen Tshang describes the character of the writing of the *Andhra* country as much the same as that of Central India, and that of the *Drâviḍa* as differing from the same a little. Now, that these Southern tribes should subsequently—that is, after the ninth century—have thrown aside their own usages and customs in favour of those recommended by Brahmanic books, is of itself highly improbable, particularly when it is remembered that Jainism and Buddhism prevailed so widely and during so long a space of time in this part of India. Even in the fourteenth century, as appears from an inscription given in Bengal A. R., vol. ix. p. 270, the Jains were so numerous in Bucca Râyar's dominions, that he thought fit to publish everywhere the decision of a great assembly, to the effect that “there was no distinction or contradiction between the religion of the *Jains* and *Vaishnavites*.”

It is highly improbable that the Tamils and Telugus should have given up their own usages and customs, and to my mind there is ample and convincing evidence that they did not. First, let us see what Marco Polo say of them. He declares that: “Man and woman, they are all black and go naked, all save a fine cloth worn about the middle. They look not on any sin of the flesh as a sin. They marry their cousins german, and a man takes his brother's wife after the brother's death; and all the people of India have this custom.” More than this, he tells us that the King, having five hundred wives of his own, forcibly took to himself the wife of his brother, who discreetly made no opposition to his will. He also tells us of the curious custom of a creditor drawing a circle round his debtor, and thereby effectually arresting him. Marco Polo saw the King himself so arrested, and compelled to pay a debt. Another custom described by him was that of permitting criminals condemned to death to slay themselves with several knives at the place of execution. Again, he mentions as something uncommon the Queen of *Mutfli* abstaining from a second marriage “for the great love she bore” her dead husband. Surely Marco Polo did

not find the people of Ma'abar following the law of the *Mitázará* or the "Code of Manu"? Coming to more modern times, we find in Renneville's *Voyages* that P. Van den Broeck, who lived for several years on the Coromandel coast, declared in 1624: "I could not discover that they had any written law, nor any tribunal for criminal matters, although sometimes, when they catch some robbers, they impale them or cut off their heads, which they put on the end of a pole." About the same time Abraham Roger, a Dutch clergyman, who lived during many years on the same coast, described with some minuteness the peculiar customs of the people, and, amongst other things, he has stated that the Brahmans married girls of all the four classes, though their marriage with *Súdras* was disapproved of,—and as many as they pleased. One of them might marry two or three sisters, or his father's sister's daughter, or his own sister's daughter. And a *Súdra* might marry his brother's daughter; the Governor of Paliacotta did so. But two brothers might not marry two sisters. Fornication was disapproved of, but not punished, nor was adultery. *Satt* was extensively practised by all classes. But all except Pariahs took care to have their children taught to read, write, and cipher. Of laws, written or unwritten, this writer appears to know nothing. Next we come to a most important witness, the Jesuit missionary Father Bouchet, who lived for many years in the Tamil countries. In 1714 he wrote a long letter from Pondicherry to a magistrate of high rank in France, for the purpose of informing him as to the law and administration of justice in the countries in which he was serving. In that letter, which will be found in the "*Lettres curieuses et édifiantes*," vol. xiv., occurs the following passage: "Ils ont ni Code ni Digeste, ni aucun Livre où soient écrites les Loix ausquelles ils doivent se conformer pour terminer les differences qui naissent dans les familles." The writer then goes on to say that the natives have the *Veda* in four parts, which they call "the divine laws," but it is not from the *Veda* that they "draw the maxims that serve as rules for their judgments"; and that

they have another book which they call *Vienachuram*, i.e. I suppose, *Vijnānēśwara*, and in which we find plenty of beautiful sentences, and some rules for the different castes, that might guide a judge, and narratives of divers ancient judges of repute, but they do not think of following the method of these sages, however much they may admire them. Also the natives have their ancient poets, who professed to teach morals, but they do not base the principles of their decisions on what their poets have written. What they rely on, what "all the equity of their judgments is founded on," is certain inviolable customs and usages handed down from father to son, and regarded as "regles certaines et infallibles pour entretenir la paix des familles, et pour terminer les procez qui s'élevent, non seulement entre les particuliers, mais encore entre les Princes." Custom, he says, was everything, and argument was used in vain to those who in all disputes had but one thing to say,—“it is the custom.” Father Bouchet had asked sometimes why the natives had not collected their customs in books, that could be referred to at need, and the answer had been that, if they had done so, it would be only the learned that would be able to read the books, whereas all the world was perfectly well acquainted with their customs, that had been handed down from generation to generation. But it was only their general laws and universal customs that were thus preserved; the particular rules affecting the different castes were inscribed on copper plates, said to have been kept at Conjeveram, before the Moors ruined that famous town. And the writer appears to have thought this to be not improbable, since he had known of a copper grant of land being fetched from Conjeveram, and was aware that the Brahmans of that place were still consulted about the customs in question. With regard to the ‘maxims’ alluded to above, he observes that it was wonderful how well boys of ten or twelve knew them by heart, and that the practice of so learning them was beneficial.

Father Bouchet has written down some of these maxims, and briefly referred to certain others, and his observations

as a whole are a very profitable study. The first maxim is that : When there are several children in a family, the males alone inherit ; the girls have no claim to the inheritance. Upon Father Bouchet objecting to this as most unjust, he was told that "the nation had agreed to it," and it was not unjust because fathers, mothers, and brothers were obliged to marry girls into families as good as their own, and so provide for them. But the maxim did not apply in the case of various petty kingdoms, in which the right of succession to the crown descended always from the side of the mother, and so that females were preferred to males. The Princess might marry whom she pleased, and, whatever her spouse's caste might be, her children would always be Kings, her blood being royal and his counting for nothing. Unfortunately the names of those kingdoms are not given. The second maxim is that : The eldest son of a King, or Prince, or *Pāleiyakkāran*, or Head of a Village, does not necessarily succeed to the estates or government of his father. If the elder son be capable, it is customary for him to succeed. If he be not, the King appoints the younger son to succeed, or in default of such appointment the relatives assemble, "upon the King's death, and elect the younger." With *Pāleiyakkārans* and Heads of Villages, the younger son is always preferred to the elder if more competent to perform the duties of the office. Father Bouchet admired the sight of two nephews of the famous Sivaji dividing between them the government of Tanjore, upon the death of their uncle, a brother of Sivaji. They lived together in the Tanjore Palace in perfect union, but for convenience sake governed each half of the kingdom. The third maxim is that : If the property is not divided upon the death of the father, whatever wealth has been gained by one of the sons must be thrown into the common stock, and equally divided. This is said to have prevented endless disputes, inasmuch as if any one tried to break the custom, his relatives always stepped in and insisted upon his observing it. Father Bouchet observes that where one of a family of brothers was stupid and the others clever, he usually got a much larger share than the rest, upon the

principle that he would not be able to add to his wealth by his own exertions, whereas his brothers would be able to add to theirs. Division of families was everywhere rare : in many families it was a thing unknown. In such all lived together in harmony, under the management of an able member, who was treated with the utmost deference and veneration. Such families were greatly respected. In one case a woman was managing the entire affairs of no less than eighty persons. The fourth maxim is that : Adopted children take their shares of wealth, upon its partition, equally with the natural children of the fathers and mothers who adopted them. Adoptions are made by childless men, apparently for the sake of preserving the family property. The act is performed in the presence of assembled relatives, who assent to it, and sign a deed, but without religious ceremonies. If after adopting a son two persons have children born to them, those children will be subordinate to the adopted son, as being junior to him : for "the laws make no difference between the adopted child and natural children." Besides the regular mode of adoption there is a mode by which parents, who lose a child, adopt one who resembles the lost one in appearance : they beg him to regard them as his parents, and he in all cases consents so to do. A *Sūdra* may thus adopt a Brahman, who will treat him with respect, though the two may not eat together. This mode of adoption is not confined to persons who have lost children, but many adopt by it brothers and sisters. It is determined in all respects by the death of the adopter, and its effects never pass to his children. The fifth maxim is that : Orphans must be treated like the children of those to whom they are entrusted. Thus uncles and aunts are considered at law to be the fathers and mothers of their brothers' and sisters' children. And hence a widower does his best to marry his deceased wife's sister, that she may properly look after his children. In default of an elder brother, uncle or aunt, the relatives of the orphan assemble and elect a guardian for him, and having done so hand over to the guardian the orphan and his inherited goods, lists of which are duly taken,

in order that upon the orphan attaining his majority his goods may be made over to him entire. As soon as possible he is made to work for his living; and if he shows signs of intelligence, he is taught to read, write, and cipher. The sixth maxim is that: Whatever crime a son may have committed against his father, he cannot be disinherited. Even if one's life be attempted by one's son, one must forgive him. And in like manner the son can in no case disinherit his father, who in default of sons is his natural heir. The seventh maxim is that: The father is obliged to pay all the debts that the children have contracted; and the children are equally obliged to pay all the debts of their father. Father Bouchet remarks that this is a general rule, and serves to determine all suits that involve the question of liability for debt, as between father and son and others. However profligate may be the son, the father must pay his debts; and similarly the son must pay all his father's debts, although contracted for the gratification of culpable self-indulgence, and even though the son expressly renounces the inheritance. And so where there is a family of undivided brothers, the eldest brother must pay the debts of a spendthrift younger brother, and afterwards permit him to take an equal share of the inheritance with the others: for the elder brother becomes the father of the family, and "in fact the other brothers come and throw themselves at his feet, and as for him he regards them as his children."

"Such," says Father Bouchet at the end of his letter, "are the general maxims which serve the Indians for laws, and which are followed in the administration of justice. There are other particular laws which regard each caste." With regard to the tribunals that administered justice in conformity with these maxims, he states that each Head of a Village was judge of all causes arising within the territorial limits of his jurisdiction, and tried them with the help of three or four experienced villagers sitting as assessors. From the judgment of this court a dissatisfied party might appeal to the *Manyakkáran*, or Chief of a group of villages, who would hear the appeal sitting with assessors: and from his judg-

ment an appeal lay to "the immediate officers of the King, who judge in the last resort." Affairs of caste were settled by the heads of castes, or by an assembly of relatives. And disputes between disciples by their *Guru* or Priest. In some cases parties referred their differences to arbitrators. The *Manyakkārans* alone took a fee for deciding a suit: some of them as much as ten per centum on the value of the suit. Ordinarily the winner paid the costs, being able, it was supposed, to afford to pay them out of the amount recovered. *Gurus*, it is observed, took much greater fees. At the hearing of the cause the parties appeared in person, or by a friend, with their witnesses; the cause was heard in public, but considered in private, by the judge and assessors; and in due course came the judgment. There was no delay in adjudication, and little expense, but the honesty of the judges was very questionable. The greater part of the suits brought were for the recovery of debts. It was customary for borrowers to give a written obligation to pay, duly dated, signed, and attested by at least three witnesses. Interest was charged at three rates, namely, twelve, forty-eight, and twenty-four per centum, esteemed to be virtuous, sinful, and indifferent, respectively. The writer then goes on to explain that obstinate debtors were arrested by their creditors in the name of the Prince, under pain of being declared rebels, and compelled to remain within-doors until they gave satisfaction for their debts. In the mean time passers-by would intercede, and the creditor would give some months' more time. The default being continued, a second arrest would be made, and the debtor taken before the Prince, who would give still further time. At last the debtor's goods, his oxen, and furniture, would be sold, and the debt satisfied. It was rarely, however, the case that part of the debt was not struck off in favour of the debtor.

So much for the administration of civil, we now come to that of criminal justice. In cases of theft and other crimes, where evidence was not forthcoming, the ordeal of plunging the arm into boiling oil was undergone by the suspected person. Or he was made to pull a ring from out of an

earthen vessel in which a serpent had been put. But before the ordeal an ample opportunity of escape was given by enabling the thief to restore the stolen article, in such wise that it should not be known who had restored it. 'S'il s'agit d'un meurtre, et que la Loy du Talion ait lieu dans la Caste, cette Loy s'observe dans toute la rigueur.' But this law was observed only amongst the robber-castes that dwelt between Madura and 'Marava,' by which latter term I understand the town of Ramnad. Murders were very rare, and perhaps this was the reason why the demands of justice were so seldom satisfied in respect of this crime. A fine of one hundred pagodas was usually paid to the prince by a murderer; sometimes only one hundred *écus*, and that even where the victim was an officer of the Prince. A husband was allowed to kill his wife and her paramour together, if caught in actual adultery, but not one at one time and another at another. Queen Mangammál had abolished capital punishment, without producing any appreciable increase in the number of murders. Banishment was a nominal punishment, meaning no more than leaving the city by one gate and re-entering it by another. Brahmans were never put to death for their crimes. Their eyes were put out in some cases; and occasionally they were slowly starved to death in iron cages.

I will not stop here to remark on the differences, some of them very remarkable, between the usages described in this letter and the laws administered in the Madras courts; but I think I should make a few remarks upon some of the writer's statements, which appear to me to show that in all probability he was misled to some extent by loose and inadequate information. Taking together his somewhat inconsistent statements touching the procedure followed in recovering debts, I am disposed to believe that, as a fact, very few disputes of a civil nature were disposed of by a Head of a Village, and that where such authority did adjudicate upon a matter, with assessors, he would never venture to execute judgment as against a respectable man. The arrest by the creditor himself is spoken of by Marco Polo as the ordinary

procedure, and would be consistent with the provisions of the *Mānava-dharma-sāstra*. Also it would be consistent with the custom of *dharna* described by Sir W. Jones in the "Supplemental Papers," and which was not sanctioned by the *sāstras*. Probably the *Gurus*, as will be shown hereafter, decided many more causes than did the Heads of Villages, or the *Manyakkārans*; and probably their administration of justice was far more rough and ready than that described by Father Bouchet, no doubt from hearsay. In the next place, I imagine that the writer was wrong in supposing that the *lex talionis* applied in cases of murder. In Recueil x. of the "Lettres curieuses et édifiantes," Father Martin gives an account of the horrible practice that obtained in 1709, in the *Marava* country, of killing or maiming oneself or one's child or near relative, in order to compel one's enemy to do a similar act to his own prejudice. This was the true *lex talionis* of that country, based upon the prevailing superstitious idea, that the guilt of an act attaches not to the doer of the act, but to him who by his conduct caused it to be done; and can be expiated only by the latter doing a corresponding act to his own hurt. Much the same principle appears to underlie the practice of *dharna* above alluded to, where the Brahman employed to enforce payment, goes with a poignard, and threatens to kill himself unless the debt be paid. And compare the account given in the "Supplemental Papers" of Sir W. Jones of two Brahmans near Benares cutting off their mother's hand to spite a foe, and being outcasted for the offence, and subsequently, to their great astonishment, punished in accordance with the new English ideas; also the account given in the same paper of a Brahman poisoning himself before the house of some Rajpoots in the Benares District. As regards an appeal lying in due course from the judgment of the Head of a Village to the *Manyakkāran*, and from the judgment of the latter to "the immediate officers of the King, who judge in the last resort," I can only say that, after referring to many native authorities, and the collection of letters of Jesuit missionaries, in four volumes, called the "Mission du Maduré," I cannot believe that any right of

the kind existed, even in theory, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. I am not aware that the Tamils have any Tamil or Sanskrit word for our 'appeal,' which they have taken into general use. No doubt some dissatisfied disputants in Father Bouchet's time may have preferred their complaints successively before every authority that would hear them, but there were no appeals 'regular,' or 'special,' or 'further.' Moreover, *Manyakkārans* were not necessarily superior in rank and authority to Heads of Villages. And the "immediate officers of the King" included, at the time when Father Bouchet wrote, ministers, generals, and executive officers of various kinds, but no judges; as I have shown in the "Madura Manual."

The important evidence afforded by this letter is amply corroborated by the following passage at p. 25 of Orme's History of the Military Transactions in Indostan, ed. 1763: "Intelligent inquirers assert that there are no written laws amongst the Indians, but that a few maxims transmitted by tradition supply the place of such a code in the discussion of civil causes, and that the ancient practice, corrected on particular occasions by the good sense of the judge, decides absolutely in criminal ones. In all cases derived from the relations of blood, the Indian is worthy to be trusted with the greatest confidence; but in cases of property, in which this relation does not exist, as a cunning subtil people they are continually in disputes; and for the want of a written code the justice or injustice of the decision depends on the integrity or venality of the judge. Hence the parties prefer to submit their cause to the decision of arbitrators chosen by themselves, rather than to that of the officers appointed by the Government." This goes to show that the 'maxims' of Father Bouchet probably were not imaginary, though we may be permitted to doubt whether his apparent belief that every schoolboy knew them by heart was warranted by the fact.

The next witness I shall cite is Buchanan, the well-known author of the "Journey from Madras," who appears to have been most indefatigable in his researches in the Mysore and

adjoining countries, at the beginning of this century. Numerous passages in his work show that every caste had its own peculiar usages and customs, and that offences against them were punished in the caste by the hereditary chief with assessors, or by the *Guru* or priest, or by an assembly of elders, not by officers of the Government; that codes, digests and law-books were utterly unknown, even to the Brahmans; that many castes had their own religious books, in which the Brahmans had no concern; and lastly that a very considerable part of the population was actually heretical, whilst but a very inconsiderable part of it attempted to follow the rules of the Brahmans. Of the *Nambûris*, the arrogant Brahmans of the West Coast, Buchanan especially says, at vol. ii. p. 425, that they were subject to the jurisdiction of the *Alvaghiri*, who was always assisted by a council of learned men, and guided by the Hindû law, that is to say, by a work known as the *Asoca Prayashchitta*, by *Veda Vyâsa*. "The Laws of Manu," he adds, "seem to be probably unknown to the *Nambûris*, who all pretend to be *Vaidikas*."

The Abbé Dubois, writing nearly about the same time, observes that in India "there is no public system of law; and custom, as various as the tribes, regulates everything." Elsewhere he observes that: "Every caste has its ancient customs, agreeably to which, like the patriarchs of old, it can inflict the severest punishment upon the guilty. Thus, in several tribes, adultery is punished with death." And that, since the Princes are too indolent to do their duty, "there are no other means of attaining this end," viz. justice and good morals, "and of preserving good order, but by the authority and customs of the castes." In noticing the practice of adoption, and the mode in which estates descend, this author states that he is guided in his remarks by the "Directory or Ritual of the *Purohitas*," and it seems to be probable that he never so much as heard of the *Mitâwarâ* and other treatises on law now alleged to be of paramount authority amongst Hindûs. With regard to adoption he tells us, amongst other curious things, "that the

adoption of girls is rare, though not without example." And the few rules of succession he gives are quite opposed to the rules of the law-books. Thus, he affirms that where the second of three divided brothers dies, leaving widows, but no male issue, the younger brother has the right to take his assets and support the widows. The mother gets no share of property, nor does the widow of a divided brother get any, nor does a daughter. Industrious men are obliged to pay the debts of their prodigal brothers, and poor relations are always troubling the managers of thriving families. The following passage is most instructive: "The book from which I have quoted does not enter more deeply into the division of property in difficult cases. The relatives assembled decide any dispute according to the rules of the country or the caste, and more frequently still according to the wealth and generosity of him who best rewards them for a favourable decision." Considering how many years this writer passed in daily intercourse of the closest kind with Hindûs of every class, these words appear to me to be almost conclusive upon the point in question.

A generation later the Bombay Government set on foot an inquiry into the customs of the various castes living within its jurisdiction, and as to the nature of the Hindû law obtaining amongst them. Unhappily the inquiry then actually made was quite inadequate, and nothing appears to have been done since to complete or extend it: but its main result, namely, Steele's "Hindû Castes," nevertheless is of the utmost value to inquirers. We learn from it that questions were put to numerous castes assembled for the purpose at Poona and Sattara, and the answers given by them show that in that part of India, at all events, the Hindû castes have no written documents or books to refer to as authority in points of disputed custom, but "Ancient usage, as determined by the caste on creditable evidence, is the general guide." And since there are no written rules but the *śâstra*, "Cases unprovided for are determined by an assembly of the caste, whose decision becomes in future a precedent equal to law. Custom has sanctioned many things

in opposition to the Sastru." Brahmans, it appears, "are obliged to act up to the letter of the Sastrus, but in other castes the rules of the Sastrus are modified by local usages and the custom of the country." Thus, "a virtuous wife will not quit her husband even on his losing caste; she is, however, allowed in this case to marry another man by Pat." And amongst the lower castes generally widows and even wives may remarry. And "a person does not, by exclusion from caste, forfeit property and right of inheritance." The Lingayat castes obey the orders of their *Guru*. And whilst the written laws by which the *Goswâmis* profess to be guided are the *Dharma* and *Mânava śâstras*, they have peculiar customs of their own. Not to multiply instances, the book as a whole shows clearly that law was a thing unknown to the people living near Poona and Sattara at the beginning of this century; but the following passage is too suggestive to be missed: "Should a Brahman lose caste, those of his caste, who from their intelligence are worthy of giving their opinion, repel him altogether from caste privileges, in the event of his having murdered a Brahman or killed a cow, or committed other *Maha Patuk*, first informing the Sirkar thereof, should it be a matter of which the Sirkar takes cognizance."

Enough has now been said touching the non-existence of law in South India before the British Government took possession of it. I will now deal, very briefly, with the third proposition above stated, namely, that if any law was administered in ancient times to the inhabitants of South India, it was not the law contained in the *Mitâksharâ* and other books of the kind. The burden of proving that such books were once regarded by Hindûs as containing actual laws by which they were personally obliged, rests of course on those who affirm that such was the case. But I have never yet been so fortunate as to find an atom of evidence advanced in support of such affirmation. So far as I can see, Sir William Jones, Colebrooke, and the early Sanskritists, generally took for granted the existence of "Hindu Law," and the courts of India have adopted their teaching without making the least

inquiry as to its probable correctness. The one great authority in Madras in the first quarter of this century was Ellis, who unfortunately died before his researches were complete, and without leaving behind him more than a few notes of observations. What has been preserved of these in the Transactions of the Madras Literary Society and Strange's "Hindoo Law," shows clearly that Ellis accepted as true far too much of Sir W. Jones' and Colebrooke's teaching, but nevertheless was not absolutely blind to what he saw going on around him. In noticing the peculiar customs of South India, he remarks that the Brahmans never fully introduced there the law of the *Smṛti*, though they succeeded in abolishing the Jaina faith, and they were compelled to wink at many inveterate practices. Again he says: "There are legal institutions in Southern India, more ancient than those which have been introduced from the North; and it is in these chiefly that the difference between the two divisions consists." In speaking of the books supposed to contain these "legal institutions," he says: "There are four which far exceed the rest in authority in Southern India, namely, the *Mitāṣarā* of Vijnānēśwara, the *Mādhaviyam*, the *Smṛti Chandrikā* and the *Saraswati-Vilāsam*." And after discussing the supposed rival claims of these works, he decides that upon the whole the first of them, *i.e.* the *Mitāṣarā*, should be held to be the paramount authority. But for this decision no sufficient reason, indeed it may be said no reason, is given: and, unless I am greatly mistaken, Ellis decided as he did simply and solely because he relied too much on Colebrooke's dicta. For amongst other things it appears that Ellis's native adviser upon law, a *śāstri* named Pattabhi Rāma, merely "admitted that the *Mitāṣarā* is the most generally prevailing authority;" but said that in the *Drāviḍa* and other countries of the South the *Smṛti Chandrikā* and other books were chiefly esteemed. Now, no one who understands natives can doubt, it seems to me, that Ellis's adviser politely and deferentially 'admitted' the "general prevalence" of the *Mitāṣarā*, only because he perceived that Ellis's mind had been unduly influenced by what Colebrooke had said about

it: but nevertheless was honest enough to state what he verily believed to be the real authorities for South India. But however honest that opinion may have been, there is no reason for adopting it, unless and until it is corroborated by similar opinions of competent natives of all castes, from all parts of the Madras Province. And such opinions, I am confident, will never be obtained. I have already shown that Father Bouchet appears to have known of the existence of the *Mitāṣarā*, and to have expressly stated that its authority for any practical purpose was nil. Anquetil Duperron knows the Telugu form of the name of the compiler of this work, but was informed that that name was once borne by a Telugu King who collected the *Vignāna* or laws of his country! In the list of authors given in the Gentoo Code the *Mirtekherā*, which I take to be the *Mitāṣarā*, is ascribed not to *Vijñānēśwara* but to "*Mirtekherā Kār*," and judging from the mode in which the names of most of the authors are misspelt, I cannot help thinking that we have here a clerical error.

If the *Mitāṣarā* really is not an authority upon law, and, as I have already abundantly shown, there appears to be no reason for supposing it to be such, what shall we think of the other treatises approved by Ellis? According to that inquirer's own showing the *Smṛti Candrikā* belongs to the Vijayanagara kingdom, but apparently was not under the sanction of the Government; whilst the *Mādhavīyam* was compiled by the minister of the first two *Rāyars* of that country, and therefore must have been law, and the *Sarasvatī Vilāsam* was the standard work of the *Orugallu* capital, and is remarkable principally because it proclaims in explicit terms the absolute nature of the Prince's power, and the constitution of several kinds of judicial tribunals in South India. Beyond this meagre and uncertain information nothing appears to be known about these works, except, of course, that the *Śāstri* above mentioned thought fit to recommend them as authoritative for certain supposed ancient kingdoms.

In opposition to what Sir William Jones, Colebrooke, Ellis

and other early authorities have said about the so-called laws of the Hindûs, let me now cite two of the latest authorities, Bühler and Burnell. The former of these says: "The older *Smritis*, and the originals of the rest, are not codes, but simply manuals for the instruction of the students of the *charaṇas* or schools . . . Such strictures would only be justified if they were really 'codes' intended from the first to settle the law between man and man." The latter says: "The digests were never intended to be actual codes of law; they were written in a language understood by a very few, and because of the Vedic quotations in them, they must have remained almost exclusively in the hands of the Brahmins. Again, they refer for the most part to the Brahmins only, and utterly ignore the numerous un-Âryan peoples scattered about India, and which form the greater part of the population of the south, whose usages (whatever they may call themselves) can in no wise be referred to the *Dharma-Çâstra*. There is not a particle of evidence to show that these works were ever even used by the Judges of ancient India as authoritative guides; they were, it is certain, considered merely as speculative treatises."

If then, as I have endeavoured to prove, there has been no administration of law in any ordinary sense of the term in South India, by and amongst the Hindûs, how, it may be asked, has society been kept together? And I would make answer as thus. It has been kept together, in a loose and very unsatisfactory manner, partly by the purely arbitrary power of Kings and Chiefs of every degree, partly by the almost equally arbitrary power of the individual castes, partly by the power of the *Gurus* or priests, and partly by the power of the assembled relatives. I must defer to a future occasion an inquiry into the nature of these several powers, and the extent to which they may have been exercised in conformity with known usages and customs. For the present I must content myself with giving a single significant instance of the mode in which the castes exercised jurisdiction in the last century. In the second volume of Talboys Wheeler's "Madras in the Olden Time" will be

found an account of a serious case of abduction of a Râjput woman, which occupied the time and attention of the Madras Council for several days, and ended by the Council handing over the culprit to the Heads of the Caste, who fined him in the sum of 400 Pagodas.

In conclusion, I must not omit to notice the fact that Hindû law-books have no place in Ceylon. The enterprising Tamils of that island have succeeded in preserving until now their rude 'maxims' for the law-courts, in the form of the written and well-known '*Thessa-walemé*,' which agrees but in very few particulars with "Manu's Code" and the *Mitâxarâ*, whilst in many, and those the most important, it is wholly opposed both to the letter and the spirit of those works. As successive Governments have preserved the customs of the Tamils of Ceylon, so the High Court of Judicature at Madras has preserved the customs of the dwellers on the Malabar coast. In the course of time the non-Muhammadian castes of the Madras Province generally may obtain judicial recognition of their customs.

ART. IX.—*On the Proper Names of the Mohammedans.* By
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I CONCLUDED a former essay on Mohammedan proper names with a promise of renewing the subject in another paper, which should deal with the names of women, and some other points not included in my first sketch. The system, as it is represented to us by Arab authors, though somewhat complicated, admits of a distinct arrangement; and each class of proper names throws light on national character and manners, as they were developed during the first centuries of the Hejra, and have left their traces in countries over which the Arab dominion extended. My former notice touched very slightly on the meaning and etymology of old names, to which my attention was first directed. I was very soon brought to a stand by difficulties inherent in the attempt to trace the origin of ancient names, and which are enhanced in the case of those of the Arabs by the peculiarities in the structure of the language, where the meaning of words varies so much with the strength and position of the vowel-points, of all sounds the most liable to phonetic decay. The language itself has undergone a great change since the time of Mahomet, and many old words and expressions are interpreted on traditional authority.¹ When we add to this

¹ For illustration of the uncertainty which attaches to many Arabic words I refer the reader to Lane's preface to his dictionary, in which he enters at some length on the difficulties he encountered, owing to the changes which the language has undergone. "Many explanations," he remarks, "when first given by Arab lexicographers, were perfectly intelligible, but have become less and less so in succeeding ages, and at length are quite unintelligible to the most learned of modern Arabs. Sometimes the term *معلوم* (known) is appended to a word which has quite ceased to be so." . . . "Perfect reliance," he adds, "is not to be placed on the vowel signs." Fresnel, also, in one of his essays on the history of the Arabs before the rise of Islam, dwells on the same subject: "Il y a tels mots des traditions de l'Aghaniy que ne se trouvent dans aucun dictionnaire arabe, et pour lesquels il faut accepter bougré malgré la définition que le Rawy nous en donne dans le corps même de son récit. Il raconte le fait comme on le lui a raconté dans le desert, sans changer une syllabe, mais s'interrompt naturellement pour expliquer à ses auditeurs les expressions qui ne sont plus en usage parmi eux."—*Journal Asiatique*, Avril, 1837.

the fact that the classic language of Arabia is one of several dialects, we may conclude that the meanings of many of the old names that figure in history are beyond our reach. This indeed is made apparent in M. Hammer-Purgstall's essay, on which I drew so largely in my last paper. Out of a hundred pre-Islamite names given by that writer, with the interpretations they have received from Arab authors, a considerable number are not traceable in the dictionary of Freytag, consulted by him. In my former essay I pointed out that very few of the examples there given are of names known to the early history of Islam, or appear in the genealogical tables of the Arabs. The meaning assigned to others is so strange as to awake scepticism. Without therefore attempting to treat the subject scientifically, I thought I might offer a certain number of examples of the most celebrated or common names in use in pre-Islamite times, whose etymology is acknowledged, or seems traceable, and from which a judgment may be formed of the tone of thought which prevailed in their invention. I will commence with the name of Mahomet in the three-fold form; in which, according to Mohammedan tradition, his name is used on earth, in heaven, and in hell; and will add those of his immediate relatives, ancestors, and followers, and of the heroes of Islam during the rise of the religion. These constitute the stock from which the great majority of modern names have been derived.

MOHAMMED, مُحَمَّد, 'the praised,' or 'praiseworthy.'

AHMED, أَحْمَد, 'the most praised.'

MAHMÚD, مَحْمُود, 'the praised.'

From the same root from which these are derived (حَمِد) we have HAMÍD, حَمِيد, 'most praised, laudable';¹ also YAHMADA, يَحْمَد, a tribal name (Freytag). The proper names *Hamdān*, حَمْدَان, and *Hamdūn*, حَمْدُون, seem to belong to the same

¹ In my former paper I remarked on the rare instances in other languages of names that refer to praise. It escaped me that Judah in Bible history represents this feeling. Indeed the expression of thankfulness attributed to Leah on the birth of her son is the counterpart of that which is reported by Abulfeda of Abd el Motallib on the birth of Mahomet, which I there quoted. Leah says, "Now will I praise the Lord" (*Odeh*, יָדָה): "therefore she called his name Judah" (Gen. xxix. 35). There is the same play on the name in Jacob's blessing on his son (Gen. xlix. 8): "Judah, thou whom thy brethren shall praise."

root. They were borne by princes of a celebrated family that are mentioned in a poem of Moténabbi, quoted in De Sacy's *Chrestomathie* (iii. p. 35). An Arab writer, commenting on the passage, says the latter is not a form in use among the Arabs, and seems to be a plural.

HAMDAN gave a name to a tribe, and

HAMDÚNA was the name of a daughter of the Khalif Harun Arrashid.

A'LY, على, 'high,' or 'exalted.'

HASAN, حسن, 'beautiful.'

HUSEIN, حسين, 'a little beauty.'

KASIM, قاسم, Mahomet's son, from whom he received the appellation Abu Kasim. The word means literally 'divided,' and was not in previous use as a proper name. It is applied to one of the seven peris who were attracted by the Prophet's recitation of the Koran and made profession of Islam.¹ Mahomet had three other sons by Khadija, who all died in infancy,

1. TAHIR, طاهر, 'pure,' gave a name to a dynasty which became independent of the Abbasside Khalifs in the third century of the Hejra. The founder bore the soubriquet of Dhu il yemenín, 'the possessor of the two right hands,' i.e. ambidexter.

2. ABDALLAH, after Mahomet's father.

3. TAYIB, طيب, 'good, delicate.'

A'BBAS, عباس, 'stern' (countenance); Mahomet's uncle, from whom the Abbasside line of Khalifs are descended.

HAMZAH, حمزة, another uncle of the prophet. He is said to have received this name, which is that of a vegetable, by way of soubriquet from his partiality for it, and it was applied in the form *Abu Hamzah* (Hammer-Purgstall).

ABUBEKR, ابوبكر, father-in-law of Mahomet, and first Khalif. D'Herbelot, and other writers of eminence, have interpreted the phrase 'father of the damsel,' i.e. of Ayesha, who alone of Mahomet's wives had not been previously

¹ Vide Koran, sura xlv. The names of the seven are given in Tabari, i. 434.

married. It has been pointed out to me that this interpretation is founded on error. *Bikr* with a *kesra*, and not *Bakr* or *Bekr*, signifies damsel or virgin. The latter word is rendered in dictionaries 'young' (camel), but it was an established proper name at the time of Mahomet, and gave a name to a tribe, an offset of the tribe *Rabia*. The name still survives in *Diarbekr*, 'the country of *Bekr*.' The neighbouring provinces bear the names of *Diarrabia* and *Diar-modhar*, from well-known tribal names.

Mahomet's ancestors by the female line are traced by *Abulfeda* for nine generations to *Fehr*, who is identified with the founder of the *Koreish* family. They run as follows. His mother was the daughter of

WAHAB, وهب, 'giving or bestowing.' *Waháb*, وهاب, is an attribute of God as 'the bestower' (of benefits). More than one *Abd el Waháb* figures in the early history of Islam. The name is better known in modern times as that of the founder of the sect of *Wahabees*.

The immediate ancestors of *Wahab* are

ABD EL MANÁF, عبد المناف, servant of the idol of that name.

ZOHRA, زهرة, 'a flower.'

KELÁB, كلاب, 'dogs,' a well-known tribe.

MORRA, مرّة, 'bitter.' In the examples of fanciful appellations given in my former paper, the devil appears as 'the father of bitterness' (*Abu Morra*). The name *Morra* will recall the exclamation of *Naomi* in her affliction: "Call me not *Naomi*" (pleasant), "call me *Mara*" (bitter): "for the Almighty" (*Shaddai*) "hath dealt very bitterly with me" (*Ruth* i. 20).¹ It may be noted that *myrrh*, مرّ, is so called from its taste.

KA'B, كعب, 'square.' In *Freytag's* dictionary it is rendered "*quadrata forma fecit quid.*" Hence the temple of *Mecca*, *Al Ka'aba*, received its name from its square form. The proper name must have referred originally to personal appearance.

¹ The play on the word is preserved both in the *Septuagint* and in *Jerome's* version: "Vocate me *Mara*, hoc est amaram, quia amaritudine replevit omnipotens."—*Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*.

LOVAI, لوى, 'a curve or bend.' This also probably applied to some personal defect.

GHÁLÍB, غالب, 'overcoming or conquering.' Taghlib is the name of a branch of the great tribe Rabia.

FIHR, فهر, 'weak or jaded.' This personage is identified by Abulfeda with Koreish.

By his father's line the descent of Mahomet is traced by the same author to Adnan, one of the great Arabian stocks; but very few of the older names can be identified with any modern root. His father's name was Abdallah, 'son of God.'

ABD EL MOTALLIB, عبد المطلب, the servant of Il Motallib, his uncle. The name was said to have been applied as a nickname, owing to an incident quoted by Sir W. Muir in his *Life of Mahomet*.¹ Al Motallib means desire in the abstract, or a thing desired. If applied in the latter sense, it corresponds with Saul, the son of Kish. Abd al Motallib's real name was *Shéba*, شيبا, 'grey-haired,' so called because his hair was white from his birth. Compare with the above

ABU TÁLÍB, ابو طالب, 'father of the seeker or striver,' the name of Aly's father, and one of the most common names of later times. We have seen that Abu Tálíb is applied figuratively to the horse.

HÁSHIM, هاشم; the word means literally one who breaks or contuses, from هَشَمَ, 'he broke.' The name is said to have been applied to the ancestors of Mahomet in whom the lines of Omeya and Abbas unite, from an incident in his life related by Tabari. He fed the poor during a season of scarcity, and "broke the bread in the soup."

In Hashim's father, Abd el Menáf, the male and female lines unite in the immediate ancestors of Fih'r's wives.

MÁLÍK, مالك, 'master or ruler.'

NODAR, نضر, 'bright, beautiful.'

O'MAR, عمرو, and A'MRU, These pre-Islamite names

¹ Muir, I. ccliii.—Al Motallib, on the death of his brother Hashim, took charge of his son Shéba, and the people of Mecca, seeing him pass with a lad at his side, concluded he had purchased a slave, and exclaimed, Abd el Motallib, lo! the servant of Al Motallib.

are connected by Hammer-Purgstall with A'amar, عامر, 'an inhabited place.' This is the literal meaning of the latter word; but as most of the words which are traced in dictionaries to the root عَمَرَ, 'coluit,' have affinity with life, I think we may assume that the name of the second Khalif bore that meaning, or something akin to it. In history he appears as *O'mar ibn Khattáb* or *bin il Khattáb*, الخطاب, a word that claims affinity with *Khátbeh*, 'discourse,' and *Khátib*.

The companions of the Prophet, who are held in special veneration, are ten in number, and, according to a tradition recorded by Abulfeda, were named by Mahomet as the future inhabitants of Paradise. These are the first Khalifs, and six others, whose names are among the most common of after-times; these are

TALHA, طالحه, the name of a tree ("ein grosser baum," Hammer-Purgstall). It is applied to both men and women. Mention is made in Ibn Khallikan of a governor of Sejistán, in the third century of the Hejra, who was known by the name of Talhát al Talhát, from his mother.

ZOBEIR, زبير, 'bulky, strong.' The word is also used in the sense of misfortune.

SA'AD, سعد, 'happiness.' From the same root we have Musa'úd, مسعود, a pre-Islamite name, and well known in history in later times; also Sa'adi and Sa'adat.¹

SA'ID, سعيد, 'happy or fortunate.'

ABDURRAHMAN, ابد الرحمن, 'servant of the merciful.' There are a host of worthies bearing this name, and it is one of the most frequent recurrence in after-times. I have already pointed out the frequent use of names combined with *abd*, 'servant,' in early Arabian history, such as, servant of the sun, servants of different gods worshipped by the Arabs, and, in one instance, servant of the Messiah! Great variety of names have come into use in later times founded on the same principle.

¹ Sa'ad was the name of an idol worshipped by the Bani Malkán. *Vide* Pococke's Specimen, etc., p. 101. It is supposed to have been an unshaped stone.

O'BEIDE, عبید, or O'beid allah, for the name appears in both forms. In Abulfeda he is described as *O'beid allah*, the son of Abdallah. *O'beid* is the diminutive of *abd*, 'servant.'

Among other names belonging to the contemporaries of Mahomet, or persons who figured in the first ages of Islam, I may cite

KHÁLID, خالد, sometimes خلد, literally 'everlasting,' but probably used originally in the sense of simple endurance.

WÁLID, والد, 'a parent.' The name of two Khalifs of the Omniade line. Hence also the term Wálidah Sultán, applied to the queen-mother in Constantinople.

JA'AFAR, جعفر, a son of Abu Talib, 'a little stream.'

ZOHEIR, زهير, 'little blossom,' one of the Ansar.

YEZID, يزيد, a name of frequent occurrence in pre-Islamite annals, and that of a general who commanded in Syria during the Khalifate of Abubekr, and also that of three Khalifs of the house of Omeya. In the form Bayazid, a corruption of Abuyazid,¹ it is well known in Turkish history. The name is derived from *Zúd*, زك, 'increase or augmentation,'² and from the same roots we have the words *Zaid*, زيد, a freedman of Mahomet, and *Zayád*, زياد. In Johnson's Persian and Arabic dictionary the word Yezid receives the interpretation of 'cursed, cruel, execrable,' and a similar sense is attached to it in Koeffer and Bianchi's Turkish dictionary. It had probably been employed in this bad sense owing to the odium which attached to the memory of the first Khalif of that name, and the author of the death of Hussein, son of Aly. D'Herbelot says that Persian authors never mention his name without the imprecation *La'anahu Allah*, 'the curse of God be upon him.' Layard (Nineveh and its Remains, ch. ix.) informs us that the Musselmans trace the name of the Yezidis, the Kurdish worshippers of the evil spirit, to the same Omniade Khalif; but he adds justly that it must be

¹ In Pocock's preface to Abulfarage's *Dynasties* the name is so traced: "Sultan Yilderim Bayazid, يلدريم بايزيد, qui et alias Abuyazid dicitur."

² See Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, i. p. 276, where this proper name is quoted with some others as resembling in form the verbal forms فَعَّلَ and فَعَّلَ or any of the persons of the imperfect.

sought elsewhere, as it was used before the introduction of Mohammedanism. In fact the words *Yezid* or *Yezidi* have affinities both with Arian and Semitic roots. In Persian we have *Yezd*, *Yezdegird*, and *Yezdan* (the name of the good genius). This last word is traced by Haug (Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, p. 194) to a Sanskrit original.

SELÁMA, سلامه, or SELMA, سلمى. Several names occur in pre-Islamite annals traceable to the root *Salama*, سلم, 'he was safe' (from danger or trials), and it assumed many new forms afterwards, as in the examples *Selm*, *Suleima*, the diminutive of *Selma*, *Moseilama*, and *Moslim*. This last, which is applied to all professors of Islam, was not unfrequently used as a proper name in the first centuries of the Hejra. Abu Moslim was the author of the revolution that placed the family of Abbas on the throne of the Khalifs. I need not point out that Solomon, the son of David (in Mohammedan history, *Suleiman*), is traced to a similar root, which in Hebrew means 'peace.'

ISLÁM, in the abstract, has supplied more than one proper name. One of the uncles of Behlúl Khan, founder of the house of Lodí, was called *Islám Khan*, and another chief of that name, apparently an Affghan, figured at the same period (Elphinstone, book vi. ch. iii.).

RÁFA'A, رافع, 'one who raises a thing or person;' the name of a freedman of Mahomet. Il ráfa'a is used as an attribute of God, 'the raiser or exalter' (of the just).

KOREISH, قريش. I have in my last paper expressed my doubts as to the two interpretations, given to this celebrated family by Hammer-Purgstall, of acquisition by barter (der erwerb durch waarentausch) and a sea monster. In the latter case it is assumed to be derived from *Korash*, قرش, which bears that meaning in dictionaries. The name was given to one of the ancestors of this celebrated family, according to an authority referred to by Pococke, "ob audaciam." Tabari says that, according to some, the word means 'investigation.' "De nominis origine dissentiunt," says Freytag; and here I must leave the question in its obscurity.

HAKAM and HAKÍM, حَكَم, حَكِيم, names implying wisdom, were contemporaries of Mahomet. The latter was a nephew of Khadíja, and one of the most violent adversaries of Mahomet during his early preaching at Mecca. His proper name was Amr, and he received from his relations the title of *Abu'l hikam*, 'father of wise counsel.' Mahomet called him *Abu jahl*, 'father of ignorance,' and the nickname stuck to him ever after (Caussin de Perceval, vol. i. p. 372).

RABIA'H, رَبِيعَة, a name that recurs frequently in old times. Hammer-Purgstall includes it in his list of old names with the rendering "der Helm," adding, "fehlt in diese bedeutung bei Freitag." The Beni Rabia' were called *Khosa'a*, خَزَعَة, because they seceded, from خَزَع, 'absceidit' (De Slane's Ibn Khallikan, vol. ii. p. 452). The Koreish were a branch of this family. The first of the name that figures in history bore the soubriquet of *Rabia'h il fars*, 'Rabia' of the horse,' presumably from his attention to the breed. Rabia' is applied to the spring, and hence, according to Pococke, to the months of the year that bear the same name, "a vernante terræ statu" (Specimen, p. 181).

KHARIJA, خَارِجَة, 'external,' probably used originally in the sense of foreigner or stranger. The term Kharijites, خَوَارِج, 'seceders or separatists,' was first applied to the armed secession from Aly.

FADHIL, فَاضِل, 'excellent.' The son of Abbas.

MODHAR, مَوْضَر, 'white.' An ancestor of Mahomet, to whom the Koreish trace their origin, as the Beni Hanifa trace to Rabia.

HANÍFA, حَنِيفَة, has given its name to an historical tribe and to a celebrated sect, and also to some twenty learned doctors. According to Ibn Khallikan, the founder of the family, whose real name was Uthal, received the appellation from a wound he received in a fray that shattered (*Hanaf*) his foot and rendered him club-footed. The word *Hanaf*, حَنْف, is so interpreted by Lane. His adversary lost his hand, and was called Jazíma, from جَزَم, 'he cut off.'

KOTAIBE, كَتَيْبَة, 'intestines.' This is its meaning in modern dictionaries, and it is so interpreted by Hammer-Purgstall. I have already expressed my doubt whether it could have

been originally used in this sense; but I have since fallen on a passage in Ibn Khallikan where it is given as the received interpretation. That author says: "It is the diminutive of *Kitba*, the singular form of *Aktáb*, which signifies 'entrails.' It is a common noun, but came to be used as a proper name. From it is derived the relative adjective *Kutabi*."

HARITH, حارث, 'the acquirer'; a very common name in old times. It is also applied to the lion as "the strongest to acquire" (Lane).¹

NO'MÁN or NA'AMÁN, نعمان, the name of several kings of Hira, and conferred on the first child born at Medina after the Hejra. Abu l'Amaital, quoted by Ibn Khallikan, says that the word is one of the terms to designate blood, and that the opinion that the flowers, *Shakaik an Noman*, were so called after one of the kings of Hira, is an error. The story current was that the king was so pleased with their colour that he forbade them to be gathered. It seems uncertain whether the flower so referred to was a poppy or anemone. In Catafago's Arabic Dictionary the term *Shakaik an Noman* is said to be applied in Syria to the latter. We must not be led away by the resemblance of sound to suppose that the Greek name (*ἀνεμόωνη*) is of royal descent. Dioscorides, quoted in Scapula, interprets it "sic dicta quod vento flante aperiat." It still bears the name in France of *l'herbe au vent*. The name is one of the few I have met with that corresponds in sound or spelling with those of the Old Testament. Naaman the Syrian is supposed to represent 'pleasantness.' In Arabic it must originally have referred to colour only, and that is the interpretation in the *Kamus* (De Slane, note to Ibn Khallikan, vol. i. p. 57.)

SINÁN, سنان, 'spear's point,' a name of high antiquity. In Ibn Khallikan I find the following reference to this name. Abdallah Asád, ibn Furát, ibn Sinán, used to say: "I am *Asád* (lion), and the lion is the noblest of animals; my father was called *Furát* (Euphrates), and *Furát* is the

¹ In Hammer-Purgstall's list it is rendered "der erwerber." Sir W. Muir (Life of Mahomet), referring to this name, affirms that it was employed in the sense of 'lion,' in opposition to *Mundzir*, 'a dog,' which was borne by the rival kings of Hira.

purest of waters; and my grandfather's name is *Sinân* (spear), which is the best of weapons" (vol. ii. p. 132).

HABÍB, حبيب, 'friend.' A favourite officer of Moawia.

SOHEIL, سهيل, a Koreishite who took an active part in the opposition to the claims of Mahomet. The root signifies 'plane' or 'smooth,' and it is applied both to plane countries and to persons easy (in disposition). Soheil however is the name of the star Canopus, and it is possible that the proper name was derived from the star, which, according to Abul-farage, was an object of worship to the tribe of Tai, as Sirius was to the tribe of Kais, and Aldebaran to the tribe of Misam. I am inclined to take the meaning of the name in its literal sense, and in support of this it may be added that, according to an Arab writer referred to by Lane in his dictionary, Soheil was a tyrannical collector of tithes on the road to Yemen, and God transferred him to the stars. Hyde, in his commentary on Ulugh Beg's tables, thus expresses himself: "Arabicum nomen سهيل Soheil est in formâ diminutivâ, a verbo سهل *Sahala*, lenis facilis ac planus fuit; et nomen سهل *Sahl*, est planities terrâ mollis; vel, adjective, facilis indole; et diminutivum ejus Soheil (*q.d.* inep-tulus) in hac significatione partim, partimque in ipso vocis sono quadrare videatur cum nomine כסיל *Chesil*, facilis moribus, insipiens, quod vulgo, sed male, redditur Orion." This last reference is to the book of Job. There are other proper names in use that correspond with those of stars or constellations, and are mentioned further on where I give specimens of names taken from animals. There is no reason to suppose they were borrowed from the heavens. Such are names of Scorpion, Ram, Lion. I should perhaps except from the latter remark the name of RASSELAS, Prince of Abyssinia, which is a corruption of Ras el Asad, 'the lion's head' (μ Leonis). The nomenclature of the principal stars and constellations by the Arabs is comparatively modern, and borrowed from the Greeks. Some of the ancient Arabic names of stars are still preserved. (Hyde, commentary on Ulugh Beg.)

Of names derived from colour we have the following examples—

MODHAR, 'white' (referred to above), and NAAMAN, 'red.' Also

MOGHAIIRA, مغيرة, a contemporary of Mahomet, from مغر, 'a reddish colour.'

ASWAD, اسود, 'black.' There have been many of this name. One of them was a rival of Mahomet, and claimed a heavenly mission. His career is described by Abulfeda.

HIMYAR, حمير, 'red.' The sovereign of this name, one of the kings of Yemen, was so called, according to an Arab tradition, from the colour of the garment that he usually wore (Pocock, Spec. Hist. Ar., p. 58).

SHÉBA, شيبا, 'grey-headed.'

Names derived from animals are not very numerous. Twenty-four of the hundred examples of pre-Islamite names in Hammer-Purgstall's essay are of birds, beasts, or insects; but very few of these are historical. Of lions I have met with several examples.

HAIDAR, applied in the way of honour to Aly, became afterwards very common.

HIRSUMA, هرثمة.

ASAD, اسد. This last is applied to the constellation Leo.

LAIS, لاث, the founder of the Saffaree dynasty.

KELÁB, 'dog,' or rather dogs in the plural, is a well-known tribal name. In the form Kolaib, 'little dog,' it was applied as a nickname to a prince of Nejd in pre-Islamite history.

ANMAR, انمار, 'leopards'; another tribal name.

ANÍSA, انيسة, the name of a bird. The foster-sister of Mahomet (Abulf. i. 18).

HAMAL, حمل, 'sheep,' was a prince of the line of Shatafan, who figures in the records of the sixth century A.D. He was one of the sons of Badr, بدر, the full moon. Hamal has been applied in modern times to Aries. The principal star of this constellation is also called Annáteh, الناطة, one that butts (as a ram).

A'KRAB, عقرب, 'scorpion,' is used as a man's name (*vide* Wright's Arabic Grammar, vol. i. p. 276). I have not met with an example. It is applied to the constellation Scorpio.

I offer these specimens of Arab nomenclature as repre-

senting the tone of sentiment which prevailed in pre-Islamite times, and in the early age of the Mohammedan religion, in the invention of proper names. They are selected on no fixed plan, but have been taken as examples fell in my way of names whose meanings seemed obvious or traceable. They comprise most of those of Arab origin which have been in common use among Mohammedans in later ages. Very few indeed have a religious significance, and few are derived from natural objects, as animals or plants. A certain number, as might be expected, represent personal peculiarities, or appearance, and more than is usual with other races are founded on some abstract or moral sentiment. It may be added that they, for the most part, represent some simple idea. There are very few compound expressions, such as were in use among the Jews; indeed, I may note that, although there are several points of affinity to the system which we find established in the Old Testament, there are few names that are common to both Jews and Arabs, and not at all in proportion to the affinity of language. It has been already pointed out that the numerous scriptural names that are employed by the Mohammedans, and are in common use at the present day, received their sanction from their being mentioned in the Koran, and were unknown to Arab history before the time of Mahomet. It would appear from the names of those Jews who were settled in Arabia, and came in contact with, or in conflict with Mahomet, that they had in a great measure dropped the old names of history, and accepted new ones of Arabian origin. Thus, the Jewish tribes at Medina or in its neighbourhood were the Bani Canucaa, the Bani Nadhir, and the Bani Coreitza. Among the Jews who took a part in the struggles against the rising religion were Hoyei, Salam, and Kinána, chiefs of the Bani Nadhir, Kab, the son of Ashraf, Benjamin, a Moslim convert, Ozzal, the son of Samuel, and Ibn Sanína. There is also mention of Abu Hukkeik, the chief of a branch of the Bani Nadhir. He is also called Abu Rafi. His successor is named Oseir. Rihána was the name of the Jewess who was reserved from the massacre of her kindred, in that dark passage of the life

of Mahomet, to satisfy the lust of the conqueror. Some of them are common Arabian names, and the others, with the exception of Benjamin and Samuel, bear no resemblance to names common among the Jews of Palestine.

The most obvious points of resemblance between the practice of the Arabs and that of the Jews are the following.

1. The constant reference to the tribal or family relation, as the sons of Israel, the sons of Judah, and the sons of Aaron.
2. The use of names of relationship corresponding with the *Kunyat* of the Arabs.
3. Connexion with a place, as Bethlehemite and Tishbite.
4. The frequent use of names carrying with them a religious signification.

The two first spring naturally from similar social conditions. The expression 'sons of Israel' (*Beni Israil*), which is rendered in the authorized version 'children of Israel,' is identical with the Arab term, and is applied to neighbouring tribes, as the sons of Ammon and the sons of the Anakim. (*Deut. ix.*). Sometimes we read of the *men* of Benjamin, or Judah, as the case may be; and the tribe or nation is sometimes personified in the name of the great ancestor: "The Lord smote *Benjamin* before Israel" (*Judges xii. 35*), and "Satan stood up against *Israel*" (*1 Chron. xxi.*). Or again, we read of the Benjamites, Gadites, and Manassites (*Deut. xiv.*); the adjective of relation being formed in the same way as in Arabic. In the time of the kings, we hear less of the children of Ephraim or of Judah. The sovereigns are kings of Judah, or of Israel; God is the God of Israel; and the people are addressed as personified in the names of their progenitors: "To your tents, O Israel;" "Hear ye me, Asa, and all Judah and Benjamin; The Lord is with you" (*2 Chron. xv.*). So also in the Books of the Prophets the people are sometimes spoken of as Judah or Israel, or the house of Judah and Israel. And this last expression is used in other passages (*Jer. ii. 4*). In one memorable instance it will be remembered that the address was to the *daughter* of Sion. At this later period the old tribal feeling was maintained in families, just as we find it among the Arabs. There are in the Book of Chronicles, not merely long tables

of genealogies, but families are described as the *sons* of Aaron, or some less remote ancestor.

At this period of Jewish history I observe a form of expression which I have not noticed among the Arabs. In the genealogical tables recorded in the Books of Chronicles persons are sometimes described as the fathers of known places, as the fathers of Gilead, of Hebron, of Tekoa, of Beth-zur, and of Bethlehem, etc. (1 Chron. ii. 42, 45, 51), and this is variously interpreted as the lords or founders of the places named. Some of these names appear elsewhere as proper names of persons, and in one passage Gilead is described both as a person and as a place,¹ as if Jephthah's father were the lord (Scotticè, 'laird') of the place. Dependent cities were called daughters of the parent city, just as we use the expression mother-city, originally applied to a city that sent forth colonies.

It may be observed generally, with regard to the Jews, that there is a much greater diversity of proper names than was the case with the Arabs, and a more sparing employment of nicknames. The names of the old patriarchs rarely recur in their later history, and invention was constantly stimulated in providing new names. The Mohammedans, on the other hand, bound themselves down by a rule, which was observed very generally in the first centuries of the Hejra, restricting the names conferred at the circumcision of the infant to names hallowed as having been borne by the founder of their religion and his companions, or as being mentioned in the Koran. This limitation of choice forced on the introduction of names of relation and nicknames in endless variety.

Similar causes in Christian history favoured the growth of the system of surnames. On the conversion of the heathen the sacred names of the Bible were always conferred on baptism, and we read of cases where the rite was administered to multitudes that followed in the wake of a monarch; and Johns and Marys were conferred on hundreds at a time. A second name thus became indispensable.

¹ Judges xi. 2: "And Gilead's wife bare him sons"; ver. 5: "The elders of Gilead went to fetch Jephthah."

The use of the *Kunyat*, or name of relationship, never established itself among the Jews, as it has with the Arabs. There are a few proper names founded on the principle, and some implying brotherhood, but we never hear of a person being addressed as a father or mother of so and so; and the figurative use of the expression, which forms so important a feature in the Arab system, was very sparingly employed by the Jews.

Some of the Jewish names make me doubt whether *Abi* was always used in compounds in the sense of father. I cannot accept the usual rendering of Abigail, 'father of joy,' as applied to a woman, or as it is elsewhere given, 'whose father is joy.' Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, means literally 'father of Jah,' *i.e.* Jehovah, which is inconceivable. To escape from this, the forced interpretation has been adopted, 'whose father is Jehovah.' But a person whose father is A would be called the son of A, both by Jews and Arabs, and therefore that rendering must be thrown aside.

It is noteworthy how many Jewish proper names are compounded with the name of God; as Daniel, Ezekiel, Gamaliel, Uriel, Uriah, Josiah, and Jeremiah, etc.

With the Mohammedans, on the contrary, there is a very sparing use of the name of the Almighty, though a frequent reference to His attributes. At the first rise of the religion there was a great unwillingness to stamp the name of God on coins; and it was not until the end of the second century of the Hejra that titles were employed by the Khalifs in which the name of God appears. It is especially mentioned by historians that the third son of Arrashid was the first to introduce the new style, which was afterwards employed very generally by Khalifs of the house of Abbas or of other lines. Abdallahs existed before the time of Mahomet, and it is one of the most common names in after-times. There are some other proper names in which the name of God appears, as *Ata* allah, the gift of God, and *Zib* allah, the shadow of God; but these are exceptional, and came into use by way of compliment; while there are a host of names referring to God's attributes, as Abdurrahman, Abd el Kader, etc.

HISTORY OF CHANGES.

The system of the Arabs remained in force for several centuries in the countries over which their power extended. When the Empire of the Khalifs fell to pieces, and new dynasties arose of Turkish, Mogul, or Persian origin, new names came into use, and to a certain degree superseded those of the Arabs. The practice of conferring in infancy a name sanctioned by religious usage continued to prevail, and many of the rude conquerors on their conversion adopted one of the saintly names to which the choice was originally limited, just as the barbarians, who overran the Roman Empire, were, on their conversion, baptized under Christian names. The new name did not however necessarily supersede the old. Thus we read that the celebrated Alp Arslan, on his conversion, took the name of Mohammed; but the latter name disappeared from history. These saintly names, however, still held their ground, and names of religious signification such as the *lacabs*, of which I have given examples in my former essay, spread everywhere, and to one or other of these sources the great proportion of names now in use in Mohammedan countries is traceable.

The change that the system of the Arabs underwent consisted mainly in the adoption of names of Tartar or Persian origin that became mingled with those of the Arabs. Double names came into fashion and were compounded without any fixed rule. The limited stock from which the *alams*, or personal names, were derived, rendered this inevitable. Sometimes we meet with double saintly names, as MOHAMMED ALY, MOHAMMED HUSSEIN, etc., just as we have double Christian names in Europe. More frequently the scriptural name is compounded with some other designation, expressive of rank, quality, or religious feeling, in a way that will readily occur to those who have resided in the East.

The *Kunyats*, names expressive of relationship, as father, mother, brother and sister, dropped out of use, or rather were not adopted by the new races, except so far as they had lost their original signification, and were employed as proper names, as ABUTALIBS, ABUBEKRS, etc.

In the struggle for existence, Arabic finally gained the upper hand. This is conspicuously the case in the names of the reigning family at Constantinople. Out of thirty-four princes who have succeeded to the throne, thirty-three bear names of Arabic origin, or Hebrew names sanctioned by Mohammedan usage. The only exception is the second in the line, ORKHAN, which has a Tartar ring about it, and is certainly not Arabic. Some of the princes of this line bear names of Persian or uncertain origin. JEM, the unfortunate son of Bajazet II., is, I conceive, a Persian word, and appears in the old compound JEMSHID; SHAHINSHAH, KIRKHOND, and ALUMSHAH were the sons of Bajazet II. Khond is also an old Persian designation, and has been the subject of two learned dissertations by M. Silvestre de Sacy and M. Quatremère.

A convenient illustration of the proportion in which names of various origins were employed in India during the Mogul dominion, is to be found in the list of Mansabdars in Akber's court, as recorded in the Ayin Akbery. Out of a list of upwards of four hundred, only fifty-one are Hindus; and there are very few Hindustani Mussalmans in the higher ranks. Taking the first hundred in the list, which includes members of the reigning family, more than one-half are names of Arabic or Hebrew origin, and about ten more are compounds of Arabic and Turkish or Arabic and Persian names. The remainder are Persian, Turkish, and Hindu, in nearly equal proportions, and a residuum of about ten in number that I cannot trace, but assume to be Turkish or Mogul.¹

In this comparison I have put aside titles like Mirza or

¹ Among the Mansabdars of Turki origin figures one MIHTAR KHAN ANISUDDIN. Blochmann adds: "The word MIHTAR, a prince, occurs very often in the names of Humayun's servants." The word will be familiar to residents in India as the common name of a scavenger. H. H. Wilson (Glossary of Indian Terms) supposes that it was so applied ironically. This may be the case, and indeed is analogous to the familiar application of the name Khalif to some Mohammedan domestics in India. I think it more probable that it acquired this meaning from its having been applied to persons attached to the person of a prince, and, by an easy change, to one who undertook a menial office. The word is Persian, the comparative of *Meh*, *دو*, and in Bianchi's Turkish Dictionary receives, among other explanations, the following: "À la cour de Perse, Chambellan qui a toujours accès auprès du roi."

Khan, and all tribal designations. It appears, from their tribal names, that a large proportion of the Turki or Mogul Mansabdars had Arabic proper names.

The examination of another list, supplied by Blochmann in his translation of the work, in which the Mansabdars of Abulfazil's list are compared with those of the *Tabakat-i Akbari*, yields nearly the same results.

In an examination of the names that prevailed in India a hundred years later, I find nearly the same results.

In the *Seir Mutakerin*, a history of the times which immediately preceded the rise of British power, and of the revolutions which are connected with the name of Clive, I find scarcely any Turkish or Persian names. Several of the honorific titles applied to the twelve Imams appear in use as proper names, such as *NAKI Aly Khan*, *TAKI Khan* and *Mirza MEHDI*.

A great deal of confusion arises here as elsewhere in Mohammedan history from the changes in the designation of men of high rank; but this is not peculiar to Eastern countries. The translator of that work complains of this in the preface, and instances the case of a person who played a prominent part who appears in successive pages as *Mahmed Khan*, *Saader Khan*, *Burhan-el-Moolk*, and lastly, *Burhan el Moolk Saadet Khan*.

So also the son and successor of Aurungzib is spoken of successively as *SULTAN MUASSIM*, *SHAH ALUM*, *SULTAN MOHAMMED MUAZZIN*, *MAHOMMED MUAZZIN* and *BEHADUR SHAH*. He did not assume the last title until after his accession to the throne.

On the first irruption of the northern conquerors, names of Turkish origin abounded everywhere. They are very common in the various branches of the house of Seljuk, and maintained their ground against Moslim influence for many generations. There are several *TOGRUIS*, the name of the real founder of the dynasty. *ARSLAN*, 'lion,' appears in various forms, as in the celebrated *ALP ARSLAN*, 'bold lion,' *KARA ARSLAN*, 'black lion,' and *KURRUL ARSLAN*, 'red lion,' There is mention of a *KILIJ ARSLAN*. *Kilij*, in Turkish,

means 'sword,' but lions are not confined to the family of Seljuk, and Arslans recur in other families. BABER, the founder of the Mogul dynasty, bears a name which is applied to both lion and tiger.

Among the Ortokites we meet with a name afterwards to become so illustrious, that of TIMUR. TIMURTÁSH, spelt *تمر تاش*, is interpreted, 'stone of iron.'¹ The latter name also appears in Baber's memoirs as that of an Amir in the service of Baber's father. *Tash* 'stone' is to be found in other combinations. GOKUL TASH, 'heart of stone,' is the name of a lady mentioned by Baber, and also of a man. The name of the former in full is, MINGELIK GOKULTASH; that of the latter, MIRZA KÚLI GOKULTASH. ALTUN TASH, a viceroy of Khasim under Mahmud (Tabakat-i-Nasiri), means 'stone of gold.' *Altai*, according to De Guignes, means 'gold.' Altun is in Modern Turkish 'gold coin.'

Wolves are not uncommon in Turkish history. MODHAFFER ED DIN KÚKUBÚRI is the name of a Turkish prince, whose seat of government was at Arbela, in the thirteenth century A.D. According to Ibn Khallikhan *Kúkubúri* means 'blue wolf.'²

KÚRT BEY was the name of one of the Mamlúk princes, who made a desperate stand against Selim I., on his conquest of Egypt, and Kúrt Pasha is the name of a pasha in recent history, though whether the name *Kúrt*, 'wolf,' was his real name, or applied by way of reproach, does not appear.

TOGRUL, *طغرل*, in Modern Turkish, means 'falcon.' This bird has supplied proper names in various languages in the East as well as the West. Among the Mamlúks of Egypt we meet with AK SONKOR 'white falcon,' SONKOR ASHKAR 'red falcon.' Quatremère, in his translation of Makrisi's

¹ Hyde, in his preface to Ulugh Beg, quotes a passage from Arab Shah, in which the Turkish name is rendered literally in Arabic as if it were his ordinary designation. Al Hadid, son of Taragai, son of Abgai *Hadid*. *حديد* is in Arabic 'iron.'

² *Guk* means blue, and De Slane, in a note to his translation of Ibn Khallikan, suggests that *burí* may mean wolf in some old dialect of Turkish. I should add, that in Marsden's work this Prince's name is included by a mistake, which he acknowledges, in the coins of the Ortokite dynasty and the name on the coin is spelt *Kúkkberi*, *كوكبرى*. *Beri* in Modern Turkish bears various meanings.

History, has a learned note on the derivation of the word. The name, it appears, was common among the Mamlúks of Bahri, and was taken from a species that belonged to the regions of the north. *Shahin* 'falcon,' is a common historical name among both Turks and Persians.

The syllable *Kai* or *Kei*, so frequently found in combination, as *KAI KHOSRU* or *KAI KOBAD*, was adopted by the Turks from the Persian. We find it in the names of the Seljuk princes, or the slave kings of Hindustan; but the origin is to be found in the ancient line of Persian kings. *Kai* or *Cai*, according to D'Herbelot, means in Pehlvi 'giant' or 'great king.' It is traced by Vullers, *Lexicon Etymologicum*, to the Sanscrit कवि *vates*.

TAKIN or *TEGIN*, تکین, which is made familiar to us as the termination of the name of Sultan Mahmúd's father, was not uncommon in early Turkish history. The word means 'warrior.'¹ *Sebuktegin* was a purchased slave, and became the son-in-law and successor of *ALPTEGIN*, lit. 'the bold warrior.' Names compounded with this word occur frequently in history. *TOKTEGIN* was also an enfranchised slave, and succeeded *Tutush* as *Atabeg* of *Damascus* in the twelfth century A.D. I meet with *SIPUSTEGIN* in *Ferishta*, and in the *Tarikh-i Sebuktegin*. There is mention of an *AHMED NIALTEGIN*, a rebel chief, also a *BILKATEGIN*. The name of the latter appears on a *Samani* coin of the fourth century A.H. It is in the *Russian Collection*, and described in Mr. Thomas's paper on the *Coins of the Kings of Ghuzni*, *Journal R.A.S.*, Vol. XVII.

The rise of purchased slaves to power, which forms so remarkable a feature of this period of history, makes us familiar with many names of Turkish or other origin. The slave kings of India, as they were called, rose from the humblest station to the throne, and retained their Turkish

¹ In *Meninski's Lexicon* *tekin* is rendered 'bellicosus,' and given as the equivalent of *Behadur*. Mr. Redhouse, in reply to my inquiry, says that the word means 'a champion,' 'one who fights in single combat with a similar picked enemy.' The Turkish root is تکی 'sole,' 'single,' 'odd,' 'unimpaired,' 'peerless.'

names, combined with the honorific titles affected by all ruling sovereigns of that epoch. KUTB UDDIN, the first of these rulers, is familiarly known by the name of AIBEK, literally 'moon lord,' or 'lord of the moon,'¹ a name that was also borne by a petty prince in Syria, originally a slave, who rose to power under Saladin. One of the generals of Aibek bears the name of TAJ UDDIN ILDUZ ('the star');² I should add that the meaning of most of the names of these Turkish soldiers is very uncertain, and the attempts that have been made to interpret them should teach us caution.

With the Mamlúk rulers of Egypt we have another crop of names. They all affected high-sounding titles of religious significance, but the most conspicuous members of this line of rulers are better known in history by the names they brought from the country of their birth, whether Turkestan or Circassia. The attempts to trace the meaning of these, and other foreign names, is attended with some difficulty, as I have remarked upon as regards the Arabs. The names of the Mamlúk, or slave, princes in Egypt, as in India, have excited some attention, but the list of those that have been interpreted is small compared with the whole number, and some of the interpretations seem very questionable.

The attempts that have been made to trace the derivation of Mogul names are still more perplexing. The language has not been cultivated, like that of the Turks, for literature; and the interpretations that are given to us by De Guignes and

¹ I accept Mr. Thomas's rendering of the name *Aibeg* from آي 'the moon,' and *Bek* or *Beg*, the Turkish title. It has been supposed, from a passage in Ferishta, that he was so called from his broken finger. Mr. Thomas, in a note, as also Major Raverty, in a note to his translation of the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, discuss the point fully. It seems the name *Ibeg* is followed by the word *Shal*, which is rendered 'maimed,' also 'weak'; and if, as Major Raverty supposes, the word *Ibeg* means 'finger,' the sense is clear. But there are other Ibegs in history, to whom this explanation will not apply, and Kutb uddin is elsewhere called *Ibeg i lung*, analogous to Timur lung, and *lung* may apply to defects of hand or foot, as the word 'lame' is used in the double sense in Scotland.

² Major Raverty, in a note to his translation of the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* (p. 496), raises doubts as to the accuracy of the usual spelling of this name. *Yil düz*, يلدز, means 'star'; but in some works that he names the general's name is spelt *I-yal-düz* (ايل), which he considers analogous to *Iyal Arsalan* and *I-yal-timish*.

others are derived from Chinese sources, where the names assume a very different form and shape than when they are rendered in Arabic characters. As a specimen, take the various derivations of the title ILKHAN, applied to the Mogul dynasty in Persia founded by Mangu Khan.

Fræhn, in his essay on *De Il Khanorum seu Chulagudorum Numis*, gives the following. According to St. Martin, the title is the same as Padishah, according to another authority *اول* means "town," and the title implies ruler of a province. Schmidt contends that the word *Il* means "pacificator." Fræhn offers a suggestion which is put forward very modestly, that *ايل* in the dialect of Charism means "strenuus, fortis," and may be found in other combinations, as *Il Ghazi* *ايل غازی*, *Il bugha* *ايل بوجا*, *Il Arslan*, *ايل ارسلان*, and *Il kilij* *ايل قلیج*.

Fræhn, in the same essay, gives some other derivations of Mogul names, which may be taken for what they are worth. The celebrated Hulagu derives his name, according to Schmidt, from the word *Chulagucho* 'furari'!

GHAIGATAI, or JAGATAI, for the name is variously spelt, is rendered by Schmidt 'notable,' 'remarkable,' and the same meaning is attached to the name by a Persian writer.

According to De Guignes, the father of Seljuk bore the name of TAZIALIK, meaning 'strongbow' (*arc fort et dur*). KIPCHAK is rendered '*arbre creux*,' the place of birth of the infant, and HIONGNOU, the origin of the name Hun, is derived from a Chinese word meaning 'fortunate slave.'

Many of the names, as also the titles, have dropped out of use, and it would be futile to attempt to trace them to their sources. It is curious to find *Darogha*, which in British India is applied only to native officials of inferior rank, used on coins in the sense of viceroy. *Noián* or *Nouan*, a name of high authority, was used under various combinations, as in ULUGH NOIAN, 'the great Amir or Prince.' This is a translation of the name ULUGH BEG, the celebrated grandson of Timur. I meet with an ULUGH KHAN among the grantees of Akber's Court.

The great Mogul conqueror whose name appears in

western literature in various forms, JENGHIS KHAN, or CHENGIZ, or GENGHIZ, or ZINGHIS, or TCHINGHIZ, or among later writers CANGIUS, or lastly the CAMBUSCAN of Chaucer and Milton, received the title in middle age, which is interpreted by D'Herbelot, 'King of Kings.' Gibbon accepts the spelling and interpretation of Abulghazi; *zin* in Mogul means 'great,' and *ghis* is the superlative. *Zingis* is applied to the 'sea,' and it is contended that it is so called from its vastness.

COMPARISON WITH OTHER SYSTEMS.

In closing this sketch of the changes which the Mohammedan system of proper names has undergone, I will add one or two remarks on points of resemblance or of contrast which it presents to those of other nations. It has followed a course that has its analogies to what we meet with elsewhere. In primitive times men and women were content with a single name, which had its particular signification, though this cannot always be traced; but as mankind multiplied faster than their inventive powers could supply a stock of names, or as the respect for father or ancestors led to the succession of the same names in families, patronymics and nicknames came into use. Then arose names of relationship, titles of honour or dignity, and others founded on peculiarities of condition or incidents in life. Throughout these changes a certain system was developed among the Arabs, which received its principal impress from the religious fervour of the times. Nothing however was permanent, except the tribal names, wherever this usage became established. They bear some analogy to the family names of Europe, but with certain obvious contrasts, which have their explanation in the history of the rise of the two systems in the East and in the West.

The beginning of the use of surnames, that is, of names that continued hereditary in families, is clearly traceable to the feudal system. When fiefs became hereditary, and a landed aristocracy rose to power, the custom was introduced

of assuming the name of the fief which was the source of the family influence; and pride of family led the cadets to assume the same name. The custom thus adopted was found so convenient, that all classes of society followed the example of the ruling caste, and a luxuriant crop of surnames sprang up on all sides, derived from trades, professions, and personal peculiarities, in endless variety, and with which we are familiar. The period when they first came into use in England is clearly established by the researches of Camden. He failed to discover any traces of hereditary surnames before the Norman Conquest. In deeds prior to that epoch, and indeed in many of a subsequent date, the usual signatures were either single names, or these combined with the Christian names of their fathers. In Domesday Book surnames are not uncommon, either derived from places or from offices. Many of the holders of land recorded in that great work are given with their Christian names only, showing to how limited an extent the practice was then established. It soon became a reproach to a gentleman to have only a single name, as if he were one of the commonalty, or of illegitimate birth. In illustration of this, Camden tells a story of the daughter and heiress of Fitz Hamon, "a great lord," who refused the offer of Henry I. to marry her to his illegitimate son Robert; and she replied in the following couplet:—

"It seems to me a great shame
To have a lord withouten his two name."

Whereupon the King gave him the name of Fitzroy to satisfy the lady, and he afterwards became the Earl of Gloucester.

Camden considers that surnames were not fully settled among the common people till about the time of Henry II. In Wales they certainly were not established till much later. Cosmo Innes, in his essay on Scotch surnames, quotes from Camden an anecdote which marks the time when the old practice had not finally disappeared from the principality:—
"A gentleman in the time of Henry VIII. being called to serve on a jury by the name of Thomas Ap William Ap

Thomas Ap Richard Ap Hoel Ap Evan Vaghan, etc., was advised by the judge to leave that old manner, whereupon he afterwards called himself Moston, after his principal residence, and left it to his posterity." This however was exceptional, and the more common practice among the Welsh was to take one of their ancestral names with a prefix of Ap. Hence Ap Rice became Price, Ap Richard Prichard, etc.¹

The use of surnames in France and in Scotland is traced by the same writer to the beginning of the eleventh century. The same period marked the rise of surnames in Italy; but here new principles came into action, and hastened the spread of proper names. The edict of Conrad II. at Milan in 1037 is taken to mark the full maturity of the feudal system, and the last stage of its progress. But long ere feudal authority was established, the cities and republics of

¹ Surnames (surnoms), as the term implies, were originally so called from the practice of writing the individual's nickname or description over the Christian name in ancient muniments. See Ducange, under the article "Cognomen," where numerous examples are given. The practice of adding the *tee-name* (agnomen) has survived in parts of Scotland in recent times, where the old clannish practice prevails. I give the following example from a curious paper in *Blackwood's Magazine* for 1842, as quoted by Cosmo Innes in his essay "Concerning some Scotch Surnames":—

"The fishers are generally in want of surnames. . . . There are seldom more than two or three surnames in a fish-town. There are twenty-five George Cowies in Buckie (Cowie is the name of an ancient fishing village). The grocers, in 'booking' their fisher customers, invariably insert their nickname, or *tee-name*; and, in the case of married men, write down the wife's along with the husband's name. Unmarried debtors have the names of their parents inserted with their own. In the town register of Peterhead these signatures occur: Elizabeth Taylor, spouse to John Thompson, *Souples*; Agnes Farquhar, spouse to W. Findlater, *Stouttie*. . . . It is amusing enough to turn over the leaves of a grocer's ledger, and see the *tee-names* as they come up: *Buckie, Beauty, Bam, Biggelugs, Collop, Helldom, the King, the Provost, Rockie, Stouttie, Silverton, the Snack, Snipe, Snuffers, Toothie, Todlourie*. Ladies are occasionally found who are gallantly and exquisitely called *the Cutter, the Bear*, etc. Among the twenty-five George Cowies in Buckie there are George Cowie, *Doodle*, George Cowie, *Carrot*, and George Cowie, *Neep*.

"A stranger had occasion to call on a fisherman, in one of the Buchan fishing villages, of the name of Alexander White. Meeting a girl, he asked,—

" 'Could you tell me fa'r Sanny Fite lives?'

" 'Filk Sanny Fite?'

" 'Muckle Sanny Fite.'

" 'Filk Muckle Sanny Fite?'

" 'Muckle lang Sanny Fite.'

" 'Filk Muckle lang Sanny Fite?'

" 'Muckle lang gleyed Sanny Fite,' shouted the stranger.

" 'Oh! it's "*Goup-the-Lift*" ye're seeking,' cried the girl; 'and fat the deevil for, dinna ye speer for the man by his richt name at ance?'

Italy had begun to take a part in its politics, and each petty state became the field of contests and factions, akin to the great struggle between Guelphs and Ghibellines which divided Italy. Families rose to power, a clannish feeling was spread, and, as in Scotland, the retainers of a great sept or clan, or any new comers that settled among them, assumed the family name. So it was in Italy. It is to be noted, however, and the expression is significant, that the usual mode of designation was not the particular family name, as in England, but one of the family, the name being given in the plural. Thus, a person was not called TIBALDO CAPULETTI, or SALVINO ARMATI, but TIBALDO DE' CAPULETTI, SALVINO DE' ARMATI. I open the Decameron of Boccaccio at random, and I find in the third story an illustration of this in the case of one Messer Tebaldo, who according to some was DE' LAMBERTI, while others contended that he was DE' AGOLANTI. In Italy, as in other parts of Europe, names were borrowed from places and hereditary fiefs, and we find there the practice of using the name of the father as a proper name, as in the case of GALILEO GALILEI; but the collective names, as they are called by M. Salverte, to whose work¹ I am indebted for the illustration of Italian proper names, form a prominent characteristic of the system, and support the view which has been followed by other authors, that proper names are a natural outcome of the growth of family and aristocratic influences.

So also in ancient Rome, where pride of family was carried to a higher point than existed in ancient or modern times, gentile or family names were part of the social condition of the great Republic, and are traced back to the earliest times. A Roman citizen was a member of a family, and this family was contained in a *gens*, and the gentile name always received the second place, as in the case of Caius Julius Cæsar of the great Julian house. Some of the most illustrious names in Roman history are familiar to us by their gentile name, — ÆMILIUS, AURELIUS, CÆCILIUS, JUNIUS,

¹ Essai sur les noms d'hommes de peuples et des lieux.

POMPEIUS, SUTONIUS, etc. The aristocratic feeling that pervaded society survived the fall of the Republic, and many of the great names have come down through the Empire to modern times. Plebeians rarely had more than two names.¹

When we turn from Europe to Asia, we recognize at once how widely the condition of society differed from that under which hereditary family names have taken their rise in the west. The system of government which has kept the fairest regions in the East a prey to ever-recurring military revolution, has been unfavourable to the rise of families to political power, except under circumstances which enabled a powerful chief to break away from the central government, and form a dynasty of his own. In Arabia, where tribal governments and aristocratic sentiments have prevailed from the earliest times, an approach has been made to that which has long been established in Europe, but with very marked differences. Confining myself for the present to those parts of the continent which have been the seats of great empires, and which we usually associate with the idea of Oriental despotisms, comprising the provinces of Turkey in Asia, Persia and India, family names, personal and hereditary, scarcely exist. Dynasties were sometimes called after the name of the founder, as the house of Othman, or the house of Seljuk, or from the seat of government, as the houses of Ghuzni and Ghor in India. The two leading dynasties of Khalifs were called after their ancestors, the sons of Omeiah, and the sons of Abbas; in the former case after a distant relation, from whom the founder of the dynasty, Muawiah, the son of Sofyan, the rival and successor of Aly, was descended; the other from Abbas, one of the uncles of Mahomet.

On the decline of the Khalifate, the lieutenants of the Empire shook off the authority of the rulers of Bagdad, and many families rose to power, whose history illustrates

¹ "Ducis plantâ, velut ictus ab Hercule Cacus,
Et ponere foras, si quid tentaveris unquam
Hiscere, tanquam habeas tria nomina."—Juvenal, v. p. 127.

The poet warns a person not to act as if he had three names, that is, as if he were of noble blood.

the lawless character of the times. Tahir, a general of Mamún, the son of Arrashid, established himself so firmly in Khorassan, that his family held their ground for two generations. They are described in the *Tabakat-i-Násiri* as the *Táhiri* Maliks. The power of the family was swept away by a successful adventurer of the name of Yakub ben Leis or Leith, a brazier by trade, who received from his calling the soubriquet of *Es Safar*. Ibn Khallikan, who narrates at some length his history and that of his brother, winds up with the remark, "So ended the power of the *Saffarís*, that is, of the braziers." The family of Samani were more fortunate, and retained their power in Persia for four generations; they took their name from an ancestor. The *Buweihi* or *Dilemi* family, who maintained their authority in Shiraz and Ispahan for more than a century, took their name from Buyah, a fisherman, who plied his trade at *Dilem*; hence the double designation.

Besides these, a host of chiefs of greater or less power seized on cities and provinces in Western Asia or North Africa, all described from some patronymic. In these cases, as in that of the family of Saladin, which took the name of *Ayubite* (in Arabic *Ayubiat*), from the father of the hero, we find them all following the practice of the Arabs, in designating the dynasty by the name of some conspicuous member of the family. But in all these cases each individual was known by his personal name, or special title, without reference to the dynastic appellation, and so it continued in the troublous times that succeeded. The degradation of the royal authority was in no respect more marked than in the rise of so many military adventurers who were originally purchased slaves. As the armies were constantly recruited by these means the humblest persons might rise to power. The dangerous example was set by the Turkish guards of the *Khalifs* of Bagdad, who governed in the name of these princes, and reduced their power to a nullity. The system spread over Asia, and we meet in history with repeated instances of slave rulers and dynasties of slave origin, conspicuous among which is the house of *Ghuzni*, founded by *Sabuktigin*, the

father of the great Mahmud, called in Arabic works Ghuznaviah.

Without pursuing the history of these revolutions through the troublous times which succeeded, and which opened a field to every military adventurer, one may remark generally that the tendency was to constant disintegration ; and the breaking up of each successive empire led to the formation of new groups of petty states, representing the same military dominion. The condition of society was democratic and levelling, and affords the most marked contrast to that which established itself in Europe under the feudal system. Under a system so unstable, families could have no lasting influence, except so far as they were kept together by tribal influence, which supplied one of the many few checks against these military tyrants. In Affghanistan the natural difficulties of the country had supplied a further check to extreme despotism, and developed the tribal system more than in any other part of Asia. It is here, and in countries similarly placed, that we meet with the nearest approach to the family names of Europe.

But the tribal name in Affghan history is employed, like the usual names of relation (*al ansáb*), and not as a personal appellation. In Indian annals the tribal name comes into constant use. The conquerors of the Empire took pride in their Turkish, Mogul or Affghan descent, and in narratives or in lists of grandees, as in the *Ayin Akberi*, they recur constantly.

So also among the Arab tribes, where the tendency is to aristocratic rule, the tribal names are carefully cherished, but the very fact that persons descended from old families may assume more than one tribal name when he can trace his family to different stocks, shows how completely the distinction is preserved between these *descriptive* names and names used in address, as the surnames of Europe.

I observe that the present Shah of Persia, who is of Turkish origin, employs his tribal name in his ordinary signature. In the ratification of a telegraph convention in 1865, which I have been permitted to refer to at the Foreign Office, the royal will is expressed as follows: "He who

trusts in the almighty ruler and pardoner, the Sultan Naser ud deen Shah *Kajar*, الوائقا بالله الملك الغفار السلطان ناصر الدين "شاه قاجار."

The same form appears in a volume of autograph signatures belonging to Sir H. Rawlinson, in the same expression Naser deen Shah *Kadjar*, ناصر الدين قاجار. The king's half-brother also signs his name in similar form, Ezzwodaulah *Kadjar*, Abdossemed *Mirza*.

In the Ottoman Empire, on the other hand, the old form of signature is preserved. The Berlin treaty received the Imperial assent in words corresponding with those by which the royal assent is given to Acts of Parliament. It runs as follows: "It is assented," "It is ratified accordingly on our part."

Then follows the Imperial cypher as follows:

The supplicant for the divine guiding act of grace, Abdu-l-Aziz Khan, Sovereign of the Ottoman Empire.

NAMES OF WOMEN.

The proper names of Moslem women have nothing of the complexity which belongs to those of the other sex. The honorary titles, religious and political, which occupy so large a space in my former essay, were the prerogatives of men. In the rare instances in which a female rose to eminence in literature, she received some honorary appellation; and many are known by their *Kunyats*, or names of relationship. A certain number of nicknames are recorded as having been applied to women, and the proper names generally illustrate the social position occupied by the sex at different periods. Although the subject does not call for so extended a notice, this essay would be incomplete without some reference to the names of women, and this I must attempt with very slight assistance from the labours of my predecessors. The subject is altogether passed over by De Tassy's essay, and receives only a slight notice in that of Hammer-Purgstall.

My remarks on pre-Islamite names apply also to those of

women. The meaning of the oldest names is rarely traceable, and when traced they generally represent some simple idea. As regards pre-Islamite names, no such strict rule has prevailed in their use as has been the case with those of men, and fancy has been very freely exercised in the invention of new ones. This arises, no doubt, from the limited number of female names that have been consecrated by the authority of the Koran, or by Mohammedan tradition. Again, while the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament have supplied a large group of names in common use, the names of Hebrew women have not received the same honour. They are, with scarcely an exception, passed over in the Koran. On the other hand, the traditional names of the Queen of Sheba and of Potiphar's wife are mentioned in the Koran,¹ and have passed into the list of eligible names. Mary (Miriam) is spoken of with the highest honour in the Koran,² and has received due honour in after-times. Perhaps the most honoured and most common names in use are those of A'yesha, Mahomet's favourite wife, and Fathima, his daughter, and this usage has prevailed to the present day. Lane, in his work on the Modern Egyptians, says that girls are generally named after the wives or favourite daughter of the Arabian prophet, or after others of his family; or they are distinguished by a name implying that they are 'beloved,' 'precious,' etc.; or they receive the name of a flower, or other pleasing object. This fancy, it may be added, has been very commonly exercised in the invention of compound expressions, of which I will offer some examples.

I will begin with those that have the sanction of antiquity.

¹ That is, *Balkis* in the one case, and *Zuleika* in the other. I state the fact of these being in common use on the authority of Hammer-Purgstall, though I have not fallen in with a *Balkis* in modern times. The passages in the Koran where reference is made to the Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon and to Joseph's adventures do not mention either of these ladies by name. Their names rest on Arab tradition.

² In the 66th Sura of the Koran, where Mary is held up to the admiration of believers as a perfect woman, she is coupled with the wife of Pharaoh, who plays in Moslem traditions the same part as is assigned to Pharaoh's daughter in Mosaic history. Her traditional name is *Asya*, *أسمية*. Sale, in a note to this passage, mentions a Moslem traditional saying of Mahomet, that only four of the other sex had attained to perfection, viz. *Asya*, *Mary*, *Khadija* (his first wife), and *Fathima*. Ayesha is passed over.

Like those of Arab men of the same epoch, they generally represent some simple idea.

One of the most celebrated names of ancient times is that of HIND¹ or HINDA. It is the name of one of Mahomet's wives, and was borne by a daughter of the Khalif Moawia. The word means literally 'a native of India,' but there is no reason to suppose that it was applied in that sense to the persons named in Arabian history. They were generally princesses, or connected with the leading families. One of them bore the name of HIND AL HONUD 'Hind of the Hinds.' Another was a Christian, the daughter of a king of Hira. She was repudiated by her husband, the result of some political intrigue, and upon his death she retired to a convent, which was called after her *Dair Hind*, دیر هند, 'Convent of Hind.'² It is probable the name was originally applied to imported slaves, natives of India, and their beauty made the name popular.

ZAINAB, long a popular name with the Arabs, claims our interest from its connexion with the famous Zenobia. There were two sisters, ZAINAB and ZEBBA, and Hammer-Purgstall assumes from the resemblance of name that the former was the enemy of the Romans; but Caussin de Perceval concludes, from the narrative of Tabari, that the events in the life of the latter correspond so closely with some of the leading incidents in that of Zenobia, before her war with Aurelius, as to identify them.³ There is some uncertainty as to her

¹ In Freytag's Dictionary the name is spelt هند, with the explanation, "Nomen proprium mulieris. Kam. item, nomen incolarum Indiæ, plu. هندو Indi, Kam."

² Histoire des Arabes, vol. ii. p. 151. She lived to an advanced age, and died after the rise of Islam.

³ It is difficult to reconcile the two narratives. It is clear that we have in the Arab annals the same sisters that contended with the Romans. Vopiscus, in a passage quoted by Caussin de Perceval, says: "Pugnatum est contre Zenobiam et Zabam, ejus sociam." But other Latin and Greek authors represent Zaba or Zabda as the general of Zenobia. Aurelius, in a letter quoted by Gibbon, names her expressly. The Arab authorities are of a late date, and the confusion is more likely to be on their part. Caussin de Perceval describes the events of the period as "legendes." Sir W. Muir, in the introduction to his *Life of Mahomet* (p. clxix), agrees with the views of Caussin de Perceval, and contends that many particulars common to the Zebba of Arab history and to the Zenobia of the Romans, point to one and the same individual. He adds, "The Arabs mistook the enemy of Zenobia; it was not the King of Hira, but the Emperor of Rome."

proper name, as also regarding her origin. The name ZEBBA,¹ meaning, according to Caussin de Perceval, "la belle aux longs cheveux," was a nickname. Her proper name was, according to different authorities, FÁRIGHA² (فَارِغ, the modern meaning of which is 'empty'), NÁILA (which is traceable to *nīl* نِيل 'blue,' hence the Nile; there is also a town of that name), and MAISÚN.

The only other names belonging to early times regarding which Hammer-Purgstall ventures on an explanation are: SERKA 'sharp-sighted' and THARIFET 'growing plant.' The first is famous in the history of Yemen. She is said to have distinguished the enemy who were advancing to attack her tribe under the cover of boughs, which they carried, like the soldiers of Macduff, to conceal their numbers from the piercing vision of this lady. "I see trees in motion," she said, "but behind them are the Himyarites." They took no heed of her. "I see," she added, "a soldier mending his shoe." Her friends disregarded the warning, and the tribe was destroyed, and the unfortunate woman (whose name is given by Caussin de Percival ZERCA EL YEMÁNA) was deprived of her eyesight by the hostile tribe. The incident has given rise to the proverb, "More sharp-sighted than Zerka-el-Yemána³ (ابصر من زرقاء اليمانه). Her name, according to the authorities cited by Caussin de Perceval, should be properly YAMÁNA-EL-ZIRKA, the latter being a nickname for her blue eyes. Such is the meaning of the word زرقا.

HALÍMET, حَالِمَة, 'the gentle,' the daughter of a king of Ghassan and of Mahomet's nurse.

THARIFET 'a growing plant.'

If they could have blundered so grossly, may they not have erred in the name? It should be remembered that the Zenobia of Roman history lived after the triumph of Aurelius in a villa at Tivoli, and her daughters married into Roman families (Gibbon, cap. xi.).

¹ In Lane and other dictionaries أَزْب, applied to a man, and زَبَاء, applied to a woman, is rendered 'having much and long hair.'

² From the root فَرِغ "evacuavit," فَرِغ and فَارِغ in the same Dictionary are interpreted "vacuum labore." I conjecture that the word was used as a proper name in the sense of 'indolent' or 'quiet.'

³ Yemána is a native of Yemen.

LEILA, ليلي, 'night,' frequently used in after-times.

Mahomet and his son-in-law A'ly have, in their numerous wives and descendants, supplied a very long list of names as models for after-times. A'YESHA, the name of the favourite wife, claims kindred with *A'yish*, عيش, 'life.' FATIMA, فاطمة, according to Hammer-Purgstall, means 'the weaner.' That is certainly the meaning of the word, but it seems a strange concert. Still more startling is it to trace the name of his first wife, KHADIJA, خديجة, to the root *Khadija*, خدج, which is rendered in Lexicons 'abortivit,' and خديجة 'abortivus camelæ fœtus.'

Two of Mahomet's wives and one of his daughters were ZEINABS. The names of four others bear the following meanings. MAIMUNA (v. ante) 'the fortunate.' SAPIYA, سفية, 'the pure.' JUWAIIRIYA, جويرية, 'the little neighbour.' SAU'DA, سعدة, 'happy.' HAFSA, حفصة, 'a female hyæna.' She was the daughter of Omar, on whom Mahomet is said to have conferred the Kunyat of Abu Waf, see preceding essay.

RIHANA, رحانة, 'sweet basil.' She was spared by Mahomet after the slaughter of her husband and kindred, but refused to accept the position of wife, and became his concubine. The name is said by Catafago, in his Dictionary, to be a common name of men, and frequently applied to slaves.

Two of Mahomet's wives are chiefly known by their *Kunyats*. OMM SALAMA, whose real name was HIND, was, like so many of his wives, a widow, and her first husband bore a *Kunyat*, after the same son, *Abu Salama*. The other was OMM HABIBA. Aly also had a wife bearing the latter name. *Kunyats* expressive of maternity were in common use at the rise of Islam,¹ and many of the ladies whose names appear

¹ I find in Ibn Khallikan's work several places distinguished by their *Kunyats* expressing maternity. I assume they are called after certain women, as was the case with a well between Mecca and Medina, described as *Bir Omm Mabâd*. Mahomet in his flight is said to have alighted, with Abubekr, at the tent of the lady Omm Mabâd Aatika. She had no food to offer the Prophet, and he obtained a miraculous supply of milk from an old ewe. *Omm al Arab*, 'Mother of the Arabs,' is the name of a village near Cairo, the supposed birthplace of Hagar, mother of Ishmael. *Omm Abûda* is applied to a village, *Omm al Duham* to a farm, and *Omm Maudûd* to a cistern near Cairo.

in Arabian history are so designated. The form continued to be popular, but not applied so generally to women as to men. Some of them are names of compliment or fancy. Mahomet's nine widows bore the general designation of *Ommihat-el-Múminín* 'mothers of the faithful.' ZAINAB, one of them, was called, from her works of charity, *Ommat Mesakín*, ام المسكين, 'mother of the wretched.'

RAKYA, رقية, 'enchantment,' was the daughter of Mahomet; another Rakya was the daughter of Aly; and another the daughter of Omar.

RAMLA, the name of two of Aly's daughters, and of the daughter of Moawia, and of the wife of Othman. The word رمل means 'sand.' There is a species of divination in the East, called the science of sand, علم الرمل, which may have led to its use as a proper name, but it is more probable that it was taken from a place of that name. Ramlat is supposed by Caussin de Perceval to be the ancient Rama.

I add a few names in use in the early ages of Islam, some of which have become common.

ZOBEIDE, زبيدة, wife of Harun Arrashid. The word is a diminutive of Zabdi, زبدى 'cream.' She is said to have received the name on account of her plumpness. She also bore the title of AMAT AL AZÍZ, 'handmaid of the almighty.'

YAKÚTA, ياقوتة, daughter of the Khalif Al Mahdi, of whom he was so fond, that he used to dress her as a page, that she might accompany him on horseback. *Yakút* means 'jasmine.'

HASANA, 'beautiful,' a slave of the same Khalif. This is one of many names that are the feminines of those in use among men.

SALÁFA, سلافه, the mother of Zain al Abedin, one of the twelve Imams. Salúf is the juice of grapes. Ibn Khalikan says [that some called her Ghazála, 'the gazelle,' though which was the real name and which the nickname does not appear.

JAFRA, جفرة, 'the lamb,' was the slave of the Khalif Al Mahdi, and given to wife to the poet Nusaib (*vide* former Essay).

MAISÚN, wife of the Khalif Yezíd, was a poetess. The word ميسون is rendered in Freytag *somnolenta præ modestia*, 'a sleeping beauty.'

HABSHIYE, the mother of the Khalif Motawakkel Billah, that is, 'Æthiopian.'

KHALISA, خليصة, 'pure, sincere.' I meet with it as the name of a slave.

RAITA, رته, mother of Es Saffah. The word means 'tinder.' The name was in use in pre-Islamite times.

AMAT ARRAHIM, امه الرحيم, 'handmaid of the merciful,' (i.e. of God). The mother of a celebrated traditionist mentioned by Ibn Khallikan.

AMINA, امينة, mother of Mahomet. There were several of this name in pre-Islamite times. 'Security, tranquillity.'

SAFÁNA, سفانا, 'a pearl.' The daughter of the celebrated Hatim Tai, from whom he received the *Kunyat* of ABU SUFANA.

BARAKA, بركة, 'abundance.' The nurse of Mahomet.

HOREIRA, هريرة, 'kitten.' A black slave of this name is the subject of a poem by A'asha, given in De Sacy's *Chrestomathie Arabe*.

I have met with very few instances of nicknames applied to women, that is, a name descriptive of some quality or personal 'peculiarity, and conferred in after-life, such as ZERCA, mentioned above—or EL BAYDHA, البيضاء, 'the white,' applied to one of Mahomet's aunts. Her full designation was OMM HAKIM EL BAYDHA. Complimentary names or titles were not uncommon, especially in later times. Hammer-Purgstall mentions two ladies celebrated for their piety, and after whom many Moslem women were afterwards called; but the name of the first, SITTET NEFISET, 'the precious lady,' is only a complimentary way of speaking of one of the daughters of Aly. NEFISA, نفيسة, a granddaughter of Aly, was, according to Ibn Khallikan, the first among the women of her time, by birth, beauty, wit and virtue. She was known as ASSAUDA SOKAINA. The latter name was, according to her biographer, a surname, her real name being

Amína. She was celebrated for her witty sayings, and a head-dress was called after her.

Another lady who died at Bagdad in the fifth century of the Hejra, ninety years of age, and full of honour, ranked, according to the same biographer, among the first scholars of the age, wrote a beautiful hand, and instructed numbers in the Traditions. She earned the titles of FAKHR-AN-NISA, فخر النساء, 'glory of women,' and of AL KHATIBA, الكاتبة, 'the female scribe.' She also bore the *lacab* of *Al Ibari*, from the word *Ibra* 'a needle.' Therefore, says her biographer, she must have made or sold needles.

Hammer-Purgstall gives the following examples of names of compliment.

1. FAKHR-AN-NISA, mentioned above.
2. KOTHR-AN-NEDA, قطرة الندى, 'the dew-drop.'
3. SHEJR-ED-DURR, شجر الدر, 'the pearl-tree.'
4. ZEHRA, زهرا, 'the blooming.' This should properly rank as a proper name, for it appears in the same writer's list of pre-Islamite names. It is noted as the name of a town in Spain, built by Abderrahman II., in compliment to a lady.

5. The same prince gave to one of the ladies of his harem the name of NÚR-ED-DUNYA 'light of the world.' Of this the following names employed at Agra and Constantinople are regarded by this writer as imitations.

6. NÚR BANU, 'light lady,' or, as we should say, 'Mrs. Light.'

7. NÚR MEHAL, نور محل, 'light of the court.' This celebrated lady is better known by the title of NÚR JEHAN, 'light of the world,' conferred upon her by her consort Jehanghir, and under which she is associated with that sovereign on some of his coins.

8. RADHIJET, راضية, 'agreeable.' The freed slave of a man of rank, who received the additional appellation of 'the fortunate star.' The Arabic expression is not given.

9. ROXELANA, the celebrated wife of Soleiman the Magnificent, is assumed by Hammer-Purgstall to have derived her name from her supposed Russian origin. She was really a

Pole. A more probable derivation is that of the writer of her life in the *Biographie Universelle*. He traces it to the Persian word *Róshun*, روشن, 'splendour.' ROXANA, the Queen of Alexander the Great, is supposed by Vullers (*Lexicon Etymologicum*) to be derived from the same word. ROXELANA received from Suleiman the further name MIHRMAH, مهرماه, composed of two Persian words representing sun and moon. *Mihr*, according to Vullers, represents the ancient *Mithra*.

10. MAHPEIKER, ماهپیکر, 'moon face,' also formed from the Persian.

11. MAHFIRÚF, مه‌فیروف, 'blessing like the moon.'¹ These last two were Sultana Valides in Constantinople. So also was

12. SHEHSÚWERSULTÁN, the mother of Osman III. The word is rendered by the German author 'royal rider of the Sultan,' but the original Persian word,² شه‌سور, means only 'a good rider'—a strange name to be borne by a lady and a queen!

Hammer-Purgstall says that the names of the mothers of the Sultans of the house of Abbas denote for the most part their Turkish origin. This remark will apply chiefly to the later princes of this dynasty. Those that are mentioned in Tabari's history are generally connected with Arab families.

As the Arab dominion extended, it left traces of its influence in the names of places and people. The old names of the Turks and Persians continued, however, to hold their ground, and a struggle for existence ensued, resulting in a mixture of names of various origin, such as we are familiar with in Europe. I take in illustration a few specimens of the names I meet with in Baber's *Memoirs*. He was careful in giving an account of the female as well as the male relations of his own family, as of other persons who figure in his history. His own name of circumcision was, it is well known, Mohammed. *Baber* is a Turkish word, meaning

¹ "Beglückend wie der mond."—Hammer Purgstall.

² Vullers gives "eques peritissimus."

'tiger.' His mother, through whom he derives his descent from Jenghis Khan, was KÚTLAK NIGAR KHANUM. The first of these names is evidently Turkish. The second is a Persian word meaning 'painting' or 'beauty.' It was in common use. The two sisters of Kutlak Nigar were MEHER NIGAR and KHÚB NIGAR.

MEHER, مهتر, a name that appears in Hammer-Purgstall's examples, and meaning 'the sun,' appears again in Baber's family as that of one of his sisters, combined with *Banu*, 'lady.' Another sister is called SHEHER BANU, 'moon lady,' *Sheher* being the Arabic for 'month' or 'moon.' A third sister is YADGAR Begum, from a Persian word meaning 'memory.' Her mother was a concubine, by name AGHA SULTAN, each of these titles being associated usually with high rank or military command. But Sultan is applied to many of the ladies of his family, while one is called Shah Begum. Baber's eldest sister is called KHAN ZADEH BEGUM, his youngest ROKHIA SULTAN BEGUM. Her mother, SULTAN MAKDÚM BEGUM, was also called KARAGÚZ BEGUM. MAKHDÚM, مخدوم, literally 'served,' is used in Arabic in the sense of 'master'; *Karagúz* in Turkish means 'black eye.' The mother of one of his brothers, a Mogul lady, was FATIMA SULTAN. Another brother's mother, a concubine, was UMEID, in Persian 'hope' (امید). I will only add that besides a FATIMA I find an A'YESHA and a KHADIJA, more than one AK BEGUM, 'white lady,' a MAH CHUCHAK, 'moon flower' (the latter is a Turkish word, چچك), and another with the military titles of Sultan and Aghacheh, with the prefix of *Latifeh*, from an Arabic word, لطف, implying gentleness.

It will be observed that Baber's mother, who was of a Mogul family, bore the title of *Khanum*, while the Turkish ladies are usually called *Begums*. These two titles, the feminines of Khan and Beg, have made their way respectively to the palaces of Constantinople and of India. The same feminine termination is, in one case, added to Sultan. The daughter of one of his uncles is called SULTANUM BEGUM.

Another SULTANUM BEGUM figures in the reign of his successor. She was the wife of Askeri, and took charge of Akbar during one of Humayún's reverses. Mention is made during the same period of a SULTANUM KHANUM, sister of Shah Tahmasp, the King of Persia with whom Humayun sought refuge.¹

It will be observed that names derived from the Persian had their full share of those in use in Baber's Court. The readiness with which this language adapts itself to compound expressions has led to its being largely resorted to in the countries over which Baber's conquests extended. Three of his daughters had names compounded with *Gúl* 'rose,' GÚLBADAN, GÚLRANG, and GÚCHAHREH. One of his wives was DÍLDAR, 'holder of the heart.' One of Humayún's wives is HAJI BEGUM, a curious name for a woman—as she is not said to have ever performed the pilgrimage. His daughter's name in history is BUKSHI BEGUM, from the Persian word, meaning 'gift,' and probably used in a religious sense. Akbar's mother, who was descended from a celebrated saint, has a name Hamída, derived from the same root as that of Mahomet. Her full royal title, after her marriage, was HUZRUT MARÍAM-MAKÁNI, HAMÍDA BÁNU BEGUM.

Turning to Indian history, I find mention in Ferishta of the daughter of a prince in Hindustan, who fell into the hands of Feroz Toghlak in one of his raids in Hindustan, and was brought up as his child under the name of SHUKR KHATUN, شكر خاتون, 'sugar lady.' The same name translated into Hindustani becomes MISRI BEGUM مصرى بكم, that is, 'Princess Sugarcandy,' the name of a lady who treated the author of the Seir Mutakerin and his family with kindness in his adversity.

Compounds of sugar seem to have been very common. SHUKR UNNISA was the name of one of Akber's daughters, another was called ARÁM BANU, from آرام 'calm.'

Of his wives the following are mentioned in the Ayeen Akberi.

¹ I have taken these and some other facts, which are given in the next paragraph, from Erskine's History of India under Baber and Humayun.

SULTAN RAKYA BEGUM.

SULTAN SALĪMAH BEGUM, the feminine of *Selim*. She was his first cousin. She was a poetess, and bore the *takhallas* of *Makfi*, مخفی, 'concealed.' The same *takhallas* was afterwards assumed by a daughter of Aurungzib, whose proper name was ZIBUNNISSA, 'Ornament of women.'

JODH BAI, a princess of Jodhpur. She received the appellation of MIRYAM ZUMANI, 'Mary of the age,' as Akber's mother was called MARYAM MAKANI, 'Mary of the place or palace.'

BIBI DOWLAT SHAD, 'delighting the state.' There is mention of a DILSHAD, 'delighting the heart,' in Ferishta's history.

I add a few specimens of the names of ladies allied to the royal family, or to some of the leading men of rank.

JĀNAN BEGUM, that is, 'lives' in the plural. Names in the plural are not uncommon among the Arabs.

HOSHMUND BANU BEGUM, 'the intelligent or prudent lady.'

MIHR UNNISSA, 'sun of women,' afterwards Núrmaḥal.

SULTAN NISĀR BEGUM, from the Arabic root نصر 'aid,' She was a daughter of Jehanghír.

ARZĀNI BEGUM, ارزانی, 'worthy of honour or reward.'

KHARRAM BEGUM, خرم, 'pleasant,' a lady of the Kibchak tribe.

MUHTERIM KHANUN, محترم, 'honoured, venerable.'

KĀBULĪ BEGUM. The name may be derived from the city of that name, or from a plant species, myrobalani (v. Vüllers).

BAKĪ SULTAN. Baki, باقی, is permanent, or immortal.

MĀH JÚJAK BEGUM, a compound of the Persian word for moon, and the Turkish word *Jújak*, جوجق, applied to the young of any animal. The young moon?

These examples will probably be regarded as sufficient to illustrate the fashion of the times. They are with few exceptions names of flattery or compliment, and are for the most part of Persian or Arabic origin.

I close this part of my essay with some specimens of the names in the Thousand and One Nights, as they appear in the copy translated by Lane. Whatever may be the origin

of the stories in that work, I think we may assume, with the translator, and with his editor, Mr. E. Stanley Poole, that it gives a faithful picture of Arab manners during the decline of the Khalifate, and especially in Egypt. It is possible that some parts of the work are comparatively modern; but this will not detract from its value as a description of the social state of the Arabs when they became a cultivated, and at the same time socially demoralized people.

The proper names throughout are, with few exceptions, of Arab origin; and a large proportion of those of men, and some of those of women, are genuine Moslem appellations. The names of ladies, and especially of slaves, are very fanciful, and may be supposed to have been invented for the occasion. Some of these fancy names have been applied to known persons, and none are inconsistent with the style of which I have already given some specimens. I do not hesitate, therefore, to draw upon them in illustration of my subject. Some are the feminines of names in use among men, as AZIZEH, from *Azis*, عزیز, 'excellent,' and MES'OODEH, from *Mes'ood*, مسعود, 'happy.' Others are taken from flowers, as MARSEENEH, 'myrtle,' and YASIMUN, 'jasmine.' JULLANÁR, the heroine of one of the stories, derives her name, according to Lane, from the Persian *Gulnár*, 'a pomegranate flower.' A queen, who figures in the same story, is JÓHARAH, 'a jewel.' Then we have BEDEEA EL JEMÁL, بدیع الجمال, 'wonderful in beauty'; NÚR EL HUDÁ, 'light of day'; MENÁR-ES-SENÁ, 'pharos of splendour'; BEDOOR, 'full moons,' in the plural implying excess of beauty; REHMET, رحمة, 'mercy'; SHARAF-EL-BENET, 'glory of damsels.' SHUMS-EN-NAHAR is the name given to one of the mistresses of Harun-ar-Rashid. Another lady, a favourite of the same Khalif, is KOOT-EL-KULÚB, 'food of hearts.' She is drugged by Zobeide,¹ the Khalif's wife, and conveyed away. On coming to her senses, she calls out the names of the slaves whom she supposes to be in attendance—ZÁHR-EL-BOSTÁN, 'flower of the garden'; SABEEHEH, 'beautiful'; SHEJERET-

¹ Zobeide Omm Jafar is one of the three wives of the Khalif mentioned by Tabari.

ED-DURR, 'tree of pearls'; NUR-EL-HUDÁ, 'light of day'; NEJMET-ES-SUBH, 'star of the morning'; NUZHEH, 'delight'; WULWEH, 'sweet'; and ZAREEFAH, 'elegant.'

SHEJERET-ED-DURR was one of the fanciful names in Hammer-Purgstall's list, which I have quoted above. It was borne by the wife of a Sultan of Egypt. These compound names are employed again, as if they were favourites, in a later story, as the names of the daughters of a king in the story of Hasan of El-Basrah, with some others equally fanciful. There are several names expressing beauty, besides the name given above, as JEMEELEH, EL MELERCHAH; and a gazelle, GHAZALAH. DÓLET KHÁTOOM, 'fortune' or 'empire lady,' is applied to a princess of India. DUNYA, 'the world,' is the name of another princess.

ART. X.—*Supplement to the Paper on Indian Theistic Reformers, published in the January Number of this Journal.*

By PROFESSOR MONIER WILLIAMS, C.I.E., D.C.L.

SINCE the publication of my paper on Indian Theistic Reformers in the January number of this Journal, I have received the following letter from Mr. Krishna Bihari Sen, brother of Mr. Keshab Chandar Sen :—

“BRAHMO MISSIONARY CONFERENCE,
22nd December, 1880.

“DEAR SIR,—In conformity with a resolution passed at the last meeting of the Missionary conference of the Brahmo Somaj of India, held on Monday, the 20th instant, I beg to invite your attention to certain misstatements in your recent lecture on “Indian Theistic Reformers,” delivered before the Royal Asiatic Society in London, and to request you will be so good as to take an early opportunity of rectifying them, and placing the actual facts of the case before the English public.¹

“The Missionary Conference entirely repudiates the notion you seem to entertain that we members of the Brahmo Somaj of India are a narrow clique of ‘Mr. Sen’s followers,’ who revere him ‘as more than human,’ and honour him ‘as an infallible Pope over his church.’

“It is true we have always given him high honor and reverence, for we verily look upon him as not only our Minister, but our best friend and guardian, and our truest benefactor. We regard him as an inspired apostle commissioned by God to lead us. But do we not look upon ourselves too as inspired and Heaven-appointed apostles, whose mission is to bear witness, each in his own humble way, unto the ‘New Dispensation’? However profound our

¹ I omit here, as out of place, a reference to a previous lecture of mine, delivered before a private audience, and never intended for publication, though an imperfect report appeared in a local newspaper, and found its way to India.

hearts' attachment and loyalty to our minister may be, as Theists we shrink back with a shudder from the idea of idolizing him as 'more than human.' The charge of Popery is altogether out of place in a church which accords the most unqualified liberty to every individual worker in God's vineyard, and whose affairs are managed by an elected Council subject to control at annual general meetings.

"The minister too, like every other officer elected by the community, holds his office by public suffrage. If he has continued for so long a period to occupy the position of our leader, it is owing solely to his superior merit and the vast moral influence of his personal character.

"You have been pleased to remark that even 'so late as January, 1879, he (Mr. Sen) declared that he once had a vision of John the Baptist, Jesus Christ, and St. Paul, who all favoured him with personal communications!' What the minister actually said on the occasion was, 'As I was walking along the path of my life I met three stately figures.' The very expression 'walking along the path of life' clearly shows the metaphorical character of the minister's statement. No stretch of argument would warrant a literal construction of the above passage. Vision in the superstitious sense of the term has no place in our Theology.

"The same may be said of the doctrine of personal communication with departed spirits. What the minister meant was simply a vivid and living spiritual realization with the eye of faith of the life and character of the three great prophets mentioned.

"The Cooch Behar marriage has been characterized in your lecture as 'another great scandal.' How the word 'scandal' can be made to apply to either of the two unfounded and fictitious charges of 'Popery' and 'vision' noticed above, defies our comprehension. Equally unreasonable is it to charge 'the great preacher against child-marriages' with the 'scandal' of having allowed his daughter to marry while she was 'not yet fourteen.' To dispel the delusion we have only to contradict your statement, or rather your assumption that 'the wedding actually took place on March 6, 1878.' The fact is, the wedding, in the European sense of the word, actually took place in the Brahma Mandir, on the 20th October, 1880, when the Mahārājah was eighteen and the Maharanee sixteen.

"The initial ceremony of 6th March was a mere *betrothal*, and the parties did not live together as man and wife till October last, more

than two years and seven months after they were betrothed. Surely the marriage of a girl who has entered upon her seventeenth year is not child-marriage.—I beg to remain, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

KRISHNA BIHARI SEN,
for Secretary, Brahma Missionary Conference."

I proceed to make a few comments on this letter. In the first place, the writers of it will be candid enough, I hope, to admit that they have made one great mistake. They have quoted from a newspaper report, which was necessarily imperfect and abbreviated, instead of waiting till the actual words of my lecture had been communicated to them. Now that they have the published lecture in their possession, they will find that much of their letter might have been left unwritten, or at least worded in a very different manner. For example, a reference to my actual words will show that they have no grounds for asserting that I entertain the notion that the members of the Brāhma Samāj of India are a "narrow clique of Mr. Sen's followers, who revere him as more than human, and honour him as an infallible Pope over his church."

What I said was, that charges of this kind had been brought against Mr. Sen, and this the printed documents in my possession abundantly prove. But, say the writers of the letter, such a charge can only be true in so far as "we regard him as an inspired apostle commissioned by God to lead us." This seems rather a naïve way of refuting the charge, especially as they subsequently admit that their own apostleship is only "to bear witness to the New Dispensation." But the spontaneous confessions made by Mr. Sen's own friends in the editorial articles of the *Indian Mirror* seem to have furnished Mr. Sen's opponents with fair reasons for bringing against him the charge of which the writers of the letter complain. Take, for instance, the following:—

"The minister is a part, a great part, a central part of the dispensation. It is he who has given the life and tone to the entire movement, and as he is completely identified with it, his

preachings and precepts we accept as the embodiment of the dispensation itself. Thus, then, we cannot do away with this man, who is the leader, the mouth-piece, the heaven-appointed missionary of what we call the Brahmo Somāj. The *Indian Mirror* accepts in its entirety the plan and programme of his life—the plan and programme that is to give India her life and salvation.”—*Indian Mirror*, Nov. 16, 1879.

Again, we find that Paṇḍit Bijoy Kṛṣṇa Gosvami, the oldest of Mr. Sen's missionaries, and the only one who seceded on account of the Kuch Behār marriage, stated in a letter to the Dacca vernacular paper that one evening Mr. Sen addressed a number of missionaries, of whom the Paṇḍit was one, saying to them: “What am I? You should have a clear and definite notion about that. Souls are of three orders,—the liberated, the seeking, and the bound. The liberated souls are the eternal companions of the Lord, they are now and then sent down by God. Such were Christ, Chaitanya, and others. I regard myself as that Christ and Chaitanya; for that soul am I. These liberated souls have also circles of companions, as John, Peter, etc., of Christ, and Adwaita, Nityananda, Haridas, and others of Chaitanya.”—(*Brahmo Public Opinion* of May 22, 1879). I am aware that this statement rests entirely on the authority of Paṇḍit B. K. Gosvami, and that some of the opposite party declared that his memory was at fault as to the exact words employed; but it furnishes a conclusive indication of the opinion that prevailed everywhere as to Mr. Sen's own idea of his own character.

So recently as Saturday, January 22, of the present year, Mr. Sen spoke for nearly two hours on the “New Dispensation.” The *Statesman* of Monday, January 24, says in its leading article: “Certainly no one who has heard him on former occasions will say that his genius ever showed more strength and brightness than now.” It then describes the lecture from recollection, and although admitting that Keshab Chandar Sen laboured to sink his own individuality, it continues as follows:—

“To many, no doubt, the pretensions of the ‘New Dispensation’ will seem astounding and extravagant; to some they may seem impious, if not absurd. Keshab Chander Sen boldly announces that this New Dispensation is the rising of a new sun in the East, destined to dispel the darkness of ages. It is comparable with the Jewish and Christian revelations; it is, indeed, the necessary sequel and completion of these; not greater, but yet an onward step, a broader development in the spiritual growth and education of mankind. If he does not equal himself with Moses, Christ, or even Paul, whose feet he is ready to clasp and kiss, he claims them as his spiritual progenitors, and regards his church as the perfect outcome of theirs by a necessary process of evolution. Moses necessitated Christ; Christ necessitated Paul; and Paul necessitated Keshab Chander Sen.”

I am quite ready to accept the explanation that when Keshab Chander Sen declared he had had visions of John the Baptist, Jesus Christ, and St. Paul, he was only speaking figuratively, but whether the public in general will agree that all the strange things asserted in the *Mirror* as revealed during the “Pilgrimages of Saints” can be made to bear a metaphorical interpretation is doubtful.

As to the question whether Mr. Sen has been justly accused of exercising despotic authority over his followers, it is at least clear from the speeches made at the foundation of the Sādhārāṇa Brāhma Samāj in May, 1878, that a strong feeling existed among the protesting members of the Samāj that all attempts at organizing a constitution during the previous six or seven years had been rendered nugatory by the action of a particular party (see Miss Collet’s Year Book for 1878, pp. 64–70). Moreover, the official correspondence which preceded the actual schism shows that no constitutional institutions answering to the description given by the writers of the present letter then existed.

The only other point is the Kuch Behār marriage. Had the writers of the letter signed by Mr. K. B. Sen waited to ascertain my actual words, they might have avoided attributing expressions to me which I never used. I certainly stated that the marriage took place on March 6, 1878, but I

added that "after the wedding, and *before living with his child-wife*, the young Mahārāja set out for England." It is astonishing that the members of the Brāhma Missionary Conference should venture to deny the fact that the ceremony of March 6, 1878, was the legal marriage. What did the "official paper," published in the *Indian Mirror* of December 29, 1878, notify to the public?—

"The principal event of the year was the Rājah's marriage, which was celebrated on the 6th March at the Raj Bari in Kuch Behār, in the presence of a large assemblage of spectators, both Native and European. The difficulty of reconciling the Hindū and Brahmo ceremonial forms was, as may be imagined, an arduous one. It was necessary to the legality of the marriage that the rites should be Hindū in all essential features. After much deliberation and argument Babu Keshab Chander Sen was brought to see that the Rājah not being a Brahmo, and the Brahmo Marriage Act not being in force in Kuch Behār, it was absolutely essential that the marriage, if it took place at all, should be a Hindū marriage."

And again:—

"The marriage has since been formally declared legal by the Commissioner, acting under Government as the law-giving power, and his declaration to that effect has been filed among the permanent records in the archives of Kuch Behār."

There cannot be the least doubt that the ceremony of March 6, 1878, was the true legal marriage by which Mr. Sen's daughter was made Mahārāṇī of Kuch Behār, and by which title she would have been ever afterwards known, even had she never lived with her husband. Every will-wisher of the Samāj will be glad to hear that a private religious ceremony in strict accordance with theistic doctrine was performed on October 20, 1880, but this does not justify the members of the Missionary Conference in calling "the nuptial ceremony" of March, 6, 1878, a mere betrothal. They must know very well that had the young Mahārāja died before October 20, 1880, Mr. Sen's daughter would have been treated as his widow.

Surely it would be better to admit at once that the acquiescence of Mr. Sen in the performance of the marriage ceremony at so early an age, before his daughter was fourteen, was an error of judgment.

Nor can Mr. Sen's admirers shut their eyes to the unwisdom of some of the sensational novelties recently introduced into the forms of worship of his own Samāj. Witness the following notice in the *Sunday Mirror* of January 23, 1881: "The Flag of the New Dispensation will be unfurled in the Brahma Mandir this evening after Kirtan, when the Arati will be chanted."

What this Arati means is not quite clear. In its ordinary acceptation, the word denotes the act of waving lights before an idol or object of worship. If homage of any kind is directed towards the flag (which *Brahmo Public Opinion* of January 27 declares to be the case), it cannot but be matter of regret that such a proceeding should be countenanced by the leaders of the Brāhma Samāj of India.

Yet, in spite of the mistakes which Mr. Keshab Chander Sen has committed, every friend of India will admit that he has laid his country under incalculable obligations. Perhaps the exact value of the debt she owes him can scarcely be estimated aright till his career is completed. But one thing is certain, that whatever differences of opinion may arise in regard to his merits as a Reformer, even his bitterest opponents must agree that India has never produced a man of more commanding ability and conspicuous talents as an orator, or of more earnestness of character and self-sacrificing devotion as a religious leader.

His latest annual address, before referred to, attracted an immense concourse of hearers, among whom was the Reverend E. H. Bickersteth, of Christ Church, Hampstead, the author of "Yesterday, To-day, and For Ever." Mr. Bickersteth gives his impression of the address in a recent letter written from Bishop's Palace, Calcutta :—

"This afternoon (Jan. 22) Keshab Chander Sen gave his annual address to the Brahma Samāj in the Town Hall. The huge hall

was crammed, I should say 3,500 men and some six ladies; almost all were Hindūs, thoughtful, earnest-looking men. He spoke for one hour and forty minutes—a torrent of eloquence. He denies the Godhead of Christ, though, with this grave and grievous lack, nothing in parts could be more impassioned than his language of devotion to Christ. He thinks himself the prophet of a 'New Dispensation,' as he calls it, which is to affirm the Unity of the Godhead, and the unity of all earnest creeds—Hindū, Moslem, and Christian—who worship God. Of course it is a great advance upon the multi-form idolatry of this land; and again and again I said to myself 'Quoniam talis es, utinam noster esses.'"

It is to be hoped that much of the bitterness of feeling produced by the late schism has already passed away, and that the various Samājes of India may ere long forget their petty differences, and agree upon some course of combined and systematic action. Surely the little army of Reformers, however courageous, is not strong enough to bear weakening by internal divisions. A compact and serried front is urgently needed in the presence of malignant foes, who neglect no opportunity of marshalling their forces, and uniting in active co-operation for the destruction of the scattered ranks of their opponents. I hail as an augury of approaching peace and reconciliation among the divided theistic churches, the recent congratulatory letter addressed by the Prārthanā Samāj of Bombay to the Brāhma Samāj of India, in which the writers express themselves thus:—

"We trust that the devotions of the next week will be a prelude to a mutual reconciliation with all who agree with you and with us in thinking that union with reasonable differences is quite possible, if there is mutual confidence in one another and in the guidance of Providence."

In conclusion, I am happy to say that I have just received a letter from Mr. Keshab Chander Sen, written in a spirit of Christian charity and humility well worthy of imitation. The letter closes with these words: "In future I beg you will do me the favour, whenever any controversy is raised, to

seek and publish the fullest information available regarding all parties implicated. Depend upon me I have not the least wish to influence your judgment, I only wish, as you certainly wish, that the whole truth should be given out. There can be no doubt that truth will triumph at last."

NOTE.—It is not worth while to do more than refer in a note to a certain critic of the *Ahitaishā* and *C'hidrānveshī* type, who doing me the honour to notice my paper on "Indian Theistic Reformers" in the *Academy* of January 22, 1881, describes it as "a résumé of the information contained in Miss S. D. Collet's *Brahmo Year Book*, and Miss Carpenter's publications;" ignoring my own notification that the paper is "principally the result of my own researches in India." The reviewer has probably himself never been in India, and never personally associated with the Brāhmas, or he would be aware that they are better English scholars than they are Sanskrit. It was with the precise object of making this clear that in giving the English version of the creed of the Brāhmas in their own words, I occasionally inserted their own corresponding Sanskrit version. It might have been expected that the *Academy* reviewer would have had sufficient acuteness to perceive that the English version of the Sanskrit was not mine at all, and that I should have been no more justified in altering the words than he would be in altering the present English version of the Athanasian Creed. Moreover, I think the Brāhmas are right in *popularly* translating *nir-avayava* by "formless," rather than by "partless," and *mukti-kāraṇa* by "Giver of salvation," rather than by "Causer of emancipation." Nor can I agree with the reviewer in translating *Brahmīya-sabhā* by "Society of the Brāhmos or believers in Brahman," and *Tattva-bodhinī sabhā* by "Truth-teaching or Truth-rousing Society." Since he quotes Boehtlingk's Dictionary, he has only to refer to the same work to find that *bodhinī* is used for "knowing" quite as much as for "teaching," and most people, I think, will agree with me that *Tattva-bodhinī* when applied to a Society is best translated by "Truth-knowing," or "Truth-investigating." Is it to impress us with his knowledge of grammar that the reviewer informs us that Brāhma is from a base brahman? If I had been writing a scientific, instead of a popular article, I should have been careful to notify the same undoubted fact (compare my Sanskrit Grammar, published by the University of Oxford,

4th edition, p. 63), though I should have been sorry to have fallen into the error of stating that "there is no such word as brāhmā, except in composition," and that it does not therefore exist as a nominative or accusative case. What I asserted was that the word Brāhma is an adjective formed from the *name* Brāhmā. I asserted this with the simple object of guarding the general reader from confounding the name Brahmā with the name Brahṁā, which he might have done had I merely given the grammatical derivation; and I maintain that I was right. The reviewer seems quite unconscious of his own inconsistency in first approving the popular character of my paper, and then expecting its popular character to be abandoned.

JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XI.—*The Arâr Language.* By CYRIL GRAHAM.

IN the year 1873, having traversed Russia from Archangel to Astrakhan, from the White Sea to the borders of the Kaspian, my friend and I determined to pass homewards through Daghistân and Georgia, and thence by the Black Sea to Odessa.

We landed at Petrovsk, where Prince Melikoff, Commander-in-Chief of the army of the Caucasus, was at that time staying. His Excellency gave us letters which enabled us to pass through the whole of Daghistân, and, thanks to this act of courtesy on his part, and the uniform kindness, attention and hospitality which were shown to us by the commandants and officers of the various fortresses and stations through which we passed, our journey was accomplished without impediment of any kind.

As I am not writing a paper for the Royal Geographical Society, I give no details of our journey, but in the name of my companion, Mr. J. F. Campbell (of Islay), and my own, I am glad to have the present opportunity to thank all those gentlemen, military and civilian, who made difficulties easy and everything pleasant.

I now come to the point with which the Royal Asiatic Society is concerned, the publication of the Treatise which follows this Introduction.

To all the important posts in the Caucasus are attached interpreters of high education. Besides, of course, perfect

knowledge of the Russian, they must be possessed of several other languages, primarily of the Tatar or Turkumân,—an expression which I use in contrast to the ornate Othmanli,—Persian, and two or three more which are current in their districts. I may here remind the reader that so diverse are the tribes of the Caucasus in origin and in speech, that the traveller may in one day pass through three or four communities who—but for the jargon of a rude interpreter, who is in fact the ordinary tajar or carrier, a retailer of little luxuries and of gossip—would be unintelligible to one another.

There may be many theories as to the accidents out of which this Babel came to pass, but the simplest explanation seems to be that century after century, races and vanquished peoples have been driven by those persistent revolutions which in Central Asia have occurred on a scale without parallel in the history of other parts of the earth, to seek refuge in places inaccessible to their persecutors, and in which once lodged they remained and multiplied.

The contests, too, which raged amongst the great nations in the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates and on the lower shores of the Kaspian, no doubt contributed immigrants to the mountains whose descendants now interest and puzzle us. The phenomenon, however, is before us, that in the long range of the Caucasus such a variety of races of independent extraction and diversity of speech are to be found, that the Caucasus may well be called a museum of ethnology and philology.

At Gunîb, once an almost impregnable, now an impregnable fortress, in which Shamyl, having been driven from mountain top to mountain top, kept the whole force of the Russians at bay, until after months of pressure that last stronghold had to be surrendered, I found the most intelligent of the interpreters whom it was my good fortune to meet in the course of my expedition. He, like most of the highest class of those gentlemen, came from Azar-beijân. European languages are known to very few of the officers serving in those parts, so most of my conversation was carried on in the Tatar language through the medium of a Median Terjimân. He first called my

attention to the peculiarities of the Lesghian or Avâr language. He said he had not yet been able to master it on account of the interminable intricacies of its construction, and the difficulties in its pronunciation. He, however, was able to quote to me the numerals, which, loaded as they are with "clicks," excited my curiosity. During the next few days my ride took me through the Avâr-speaking country, and I lost no opportunity, especially when we halted for the night, to take from the mouth of the most clear-spoken and intelligent men I could find, such leading words as usually enable us to come to some conclusion as to the basis of a language. These memoranda I have by me, and meagre as they are they have greatly helped me in the punctuation of the words contained in the vocabulary and the grammar. But my journey was necessarily too rapid for me to effect more, and I consoled myself with the reflection that at Tiflis I should be sure to find some one who had given attention to the curious languages of the Caucasus.

If I were to say that my hopes were not disappointed, I should be expressing in the coldest terms the delight with which I welcomed the MS. which was unreservedly placed in my hands by one of the most eminent of Russian philologists.

Adolphe Bergé, whose official duties called him to the higher regions of the Caucasus, and who is known to all who devote themselves to Oriental studies, was then, as I believe he still is, in high authority, presiding over the Archives of Georgia. His leisure hours were devoted to the study of the people and the languages in the midst of which he was placed, and I understood him to say that the compilation of the materials from which I am now drawing so largely, amused and occupied seven years of his life. In his labours he was greatly assisted by the Sheikh Laçinalav Ben Hițanav Mohámmad, Shamyľ's tutor and adviser. The MS. thus presented to me owes its origin therefore to two hands. It is written by the one in Avâr, by the other in Russian, and both texts are so clear that it is impossible to give too much praise to the manipulators, without whose joint care it would have been all but impossible for any editor to deal with it.

I am merely in the position of that editor. My business—a laborious one no doubt—has been to effect the translation of the Russian into the English, to re-arrange the vocabulary into English-Avâr, so that the former should come first alphabetically, and to throw certain lights upon the Grammar, which is unfortunately given without note or comment whatsoever.

I had pretty well completed my labours before the valuable treatise by the late Professor Schiefner came to my hands. He, like myself, was indebted for his materials chiefly to Adolphe Bergé. His treatise is arranged in a different form from mine, the Avâr being printed, not in its own character, but solely with the *Latin equivalents* first presented to view. I think that in rendering an obscure or little known language, by far the most convenient form of giving a vocabulary is to place the *European* words alphabetically foremost, so that the student who wishes to make a comparison between a variety of dialects can at once turn to the words, whether the names of objects or subjects, which most excite his curiosity.

After a careful comparison of that which Professor Schiefner has left us with the MS. now before me, I am surprised at the number of cases in which notable differences occur between the two works. I can only account for this on the supposition that, limited as is the number of people—about 160,000—by whom the Avâr is spoken, words belonging to neighbouring tribes have crept into one MS. or the other; or, which is perhaps more probable, that as every hill and valley has some difference of speech, the contributions which have reached us may represent more than one dialect.

But, perhaps, that which most surprises is the paucity of words taken from absolutely foreign tongues, such as the Persian, the Georgian and the Tatar with which the Avârs cannot fail to be brought in contact. The few Arabic words of course have found their way into the language through the Kurân.

We now come to the question, who are these Avâr? By the Persians and the Russians they are called Lesghians, but they themselves repudiate this name. Their legends are few, history, properly so called, they have none. Their

poems and stories only tell us of quarrels—for which, by-the-bye, they have three words—and raids on the part of the Russians and Persians. That they should be offshoots of that great Avâr confederation which swept over Western Asia and Eastern Europe, penetrating as far as Presburg, in the sixth and seventh centuries, as some people think, is very doubtful. That their language differs in its vocabulary from anything else far and near is scarcely less incontestable than that its grammatical formation comes within that wide field of linguistic research to which it has been found convenient to apply the term "Turanian." Their physiognomy, I am bound to say, led me to take them for men of Aryan descent, but this would not, of course, be incompatible with the fact that their speech might have been borrowed from another source.

When I come to the alphabet and grammar I shall say a few more words with regard to a certain peculiarity which at once strikes the stranger; the extraordinary "click" found in the beginning, the middle and the end of words, and resembling nothing in our continent, but reminding us of the terminal sound so exuberant in the Aztek language. Whence it came—for as far as I can gather it is not to be found amongst the neighbouring tribes—I cannot imagine. Except to those who have heard it uttered, it is impossible to explain it. It differs entirely from the many South African "clicks," and used as it is by a race who are in possession of a highly developed language, offers itself as a phenomenon which requires careful investigation.

With these prefatory notes I place my MS. in the hands of our printers, in the hope that when it is published, skeletons as are the vocabulary and the grammar, they may one day be developed and given life by some of those enquiring men in the Imperial Russian service who may happen to be employed in Daghistân and the Caucasus.

THE ALPHABET.

The Avâr possessing no written character of its own, the Muslim Sheikhs, who were the first to place this language

on record, naturally had recourse to the Arabic character and to those additional symbols which represent sounds unknown to the Arabs, but which the Persians subsequently invented. Even the Persian alphabet taken over bodily was insufficient, three other symbols had to be devised, representing sounds which are pronounced neither in Arabic, Persian, nor Turkish.

The alphabet thus engrossed, which I may call the Avâr alphabet, is given below, together with the equivalents in a modified Latin character.

ا	Alef.
ب	B.
پ	P.
ت	T.
ث	Th= θ in Greek=to the English th as in <i>thick</i> .
ج	J, the English j.
چ	Č, the English ch, German tsch.
ح	H, aspirated h.
خ	Kh, guttural. Hawking sound.
د	D.
ذ	Dh, as in <i>this</i> English= the δ of the Romaic.
ر	R.
ز	Z.
ژ	Ž, Zh properly, but pronounced as <i>sion</i> in the English word persuasion, or the French j in <i>jeu</i> .
س	S.
ش	Š, in English sh, in German sch.
ص	Š, the intensified or double hissing S.
ض	D, the intensified or explosive D.
ط	T " " T.
ظ	Dh " " Dh.
ع	'Ain, the bleating sound found especially in the Semitic languages.
غ	Gh, the guttural gurgling sound in the same.
ف	F.
ق	K, the deep guttural K.
ک	K, the ordinary K.
گ	G, the hard G.

ل	L.
م	M.
ن	N.
و	W or V or U.
ه	H.
ی	Y.
ض	Tz.
پ	Tl, the click sound to which I refer in the Introduction.
ق	K, which my Sheikh tells me, so far as he knows, is to be found only in three or four words, the most notable of which is <u>kwerk</u> , <i>frog</i> , but he says, "I have never been able to frame my mouth to pronounce this word," and he adds naively, "to the best of my belief no creature in the world can properly pronounce the frog's name but the frog himself."

Of these 37, no less than 33 are pure consonants, and of the remaining four the و and the ی, it may be said that they as often play the part of a consonant as of a vowel.

NOTE.—I prefer the č, ž, š to other notations, because they have been used ever since the old Slavonic alphabet was transferred by the *Western* Slavonic races to a Latin form. The signs will be known to all literary Russians, and are simpler to the stranger than those which have to be learned from the writer of every book whose genius inspires him to invent a character of his own.

CONSONANTS.

Many of these were introduced to express foreign sounds.

In several cases they may be grouped in pairs, or even triplets, for the Avâr pronunciation makes little distinction between them. These I give as follows :

ت ط	T, T.	س ص	S. and Š.
د ض	D, D.	گ ق خ	G, K and Gh.
ز ذ ظ	Z, Dh and Dḥ.		

I have, however, as I thought I was in duty bound, preserved them in the text, and they are so far interesting that they may remind the inquisitive descendants of the present Avârs of the words, comparatively few though they be, which they owe to other languages.

VOWELS.

The vowels are represented according to the Semitic system by marks placed either above or below the consonant to which they belong. In well-known languages they are only useful to beginners; in the transcription of an almost unknown language they become so essential, that without them it would be impossible to guess at what should be supplied to fill the gaps between the governing letters.

The fundamental vowel sounds in the Avâr are our old familiar friends a, e, i, o, u; not articulated, of course, after the English fashion, but that which prevails amongst almost all other nations of the globe.

The *e* and the *i*, and the *o* and the *u* are so nearly allied, however, that the most practised scholar might be unable in most cases to detect the difference between them, and I believe I am not wrong if I say that in adjacent districts the inclination may be either in favour of one sound or the other.

The numerous diphthongs may easily account for this versatility of expression. For instance:

ai

au German *au*, English *ow*.

ei

oi

ui

and these without imparting to the Avâr the softness which characterises the Othmanli and the Persian, save it from the crudeness of the Turkumân.

Taking the Alef as the block letter :

the a is represented {

the e and i }

the o and u }

The ˆ over a consonant tells you that it has no vowel belonging to it. The ˆ *Tashdid*—that it is doubled.

The terminal , or ى, should the preceding vowel be an ˆ or an ˆ, an *a* or an *e* or *i*, become *au*, and *î*.

In the beginning, or in the intermediate syllables, in similar circumstances, the , is usually a *v*, and the ى a *y*.

PART I.—VOCABULARY OF THE AVÂR LANGUAGE ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY ENGLISH-AVÂR.

- Able (to be), *v.a.* gûwi, گُو.
- About, *prep.* concerning, tîlîl تِلِل.
- Acquaintance, tîlîvci, تِلِلْوچ.
- Afar, rigad, bugu, بُگُو, رِگَد.
- Afterwards, tzingi, شَكِک.
- Again, nakhigi, نَخِکِش.
- Age (old), *s.* khertli, خِرْتَلِ.
- Agree, *v.a.* kabul habizi, قَبُلْ هَبِزِ.
- Agreeable, *adj.* lazat bugib, لَزَت بُگِیْب.
- Air, hawa, هَوُو.
- Along (at the rate of), daşşan, دَŞŞَن.
- Always, kidago, کِیْدَگُو.
- Ambler, *s.* yorgha, یِوَرِغَ.
- And, gi, گِ.
- Angel, malîk, مَلِیک.
- Angry, in a rage, *v.a.* tzen bakhizi, تِŞَن بَخِزِ.
- Animal (in general), *s.* haivan, حَايَوَن.
- Animal, *s.m.* biginau, بِگِنَاو.
- Animal, *s.f.* žoyau, ژُیَو.
- Annually, kinabgo sonatî, کِیْنَبْگُو سُونَاتِلِ.
- Anoint, grease, *v.* bakhinzi, بَخِئِزِ.
- Ant, *s.* žunžra, ژُونْژَر.
- Anxiety, urghil, اُرْغِل.
- Apple, 'ië, عِیَّ.
- Apricot, kurak, کُرَک.
- Army, bo, بُو.
- Armour, breastplate, k̆valden, قَوَلْدِن.
- Around, şverun, şirun, Şُورُون Şِرُون.
- Arrest, *v.a.* tuşnakh habizi, تُŞَنَخْ هَبِزِ.
- Arrive (in an equipage, in state), *v.a.* vaçinizi, وَچِئِزِ.
- Arrow, čor, چُر.
- Art, makhşil, مَخِشِل.
- Ashamed, *v.a.* (to be ashamed of), nečezi, نِچِزِ.
- Ashes, cinders, rakhu, رَخْ.
- Ask, *v.a.* (beg), herizi, هِرِزِ.
- Ass, *s.m.* ħama, حَم.
- Ass, *s.f.* žoyab ħama, ژُیَبْ حَم.
- At, with (*e.g.* at his father's), oşgov, اُŞْگُو.
- Aunt, mother's sister, ibi latîlul yatz, اِبِلِلْ یِŞ.
- Autumn, khasil, خَŞِل.
- Average, khundiril ulka, خُنْدِرِل اُلْک.
- Avidity, greediness, bakhiltîli, بَخِئِلِ.
- Axe, aştî, أَŞْطِ.
- Back, spine, *s.* mogh, مَغ.

Backward, *adv.* khadob, خَدَبَ.
 Badly, *adv.* ḥalak, حَلَكَ.
 Bag, sack, tandatlu, targa, تَنْدَلْ طَرْكَ.
 Balcony, raghi, رَغ.
 Bald, *adj.* tiḥavēi, طَحْوَجْ.
 Bale, *v.a.* (to ladle), žizi, ژِزِ.
 Bank, shore, raāk, رَاكَ.
 Bark, *v.* ḥapdizi, حَپْدِزِ.
 Barley, forčina, فُرْجَن.
 Barrel, ḥinki, حَنْقِ.
 Bastard, kva tūtla, قُوطْلِ.
 Bat, unḵ henč (mouse bird), اُنْخْ هِنْچِ.
 Bathe, *v.a.* čuvirdizi, چُوِرْدِزِ.
 Be, *v.n.* bukizi, بُکِزِ.
 Beak (of bird), gozo, گَزِ.
 Bean, holo, هُلْ.
 Bear, tzii, تْصِي.
 Beard, megej, مِگْجِ.
 Beat, *v.a.* tlabizi, تَلَبِزِ.
 Because, guruni, šei guruni, شَيْ گُرُنِ.
 Bee, nai, نَيْ.
 Beetle, doz, دُزِ.
 Before, sebe, tsebe, صِبْ, تْصِبْ.
 Beg (ask), *v.a.* herizi, هِرِزِ.
 Beggar, hardukhan, هَرْدُخَنْ.
 Behead, *v.a.* (khovezi-habezi), خُوَزِ.

 Bell (small), žumur, ژُمْرْ.
 Belly, ček, چَکْ.

Berry, kari, قَرِ.
 Belt, račel, رَاچَلْ.
 Benefit (profit), khair, habuna, خَيْرِ, هَبُنْ.
 Bequeath, *v.a.* vašiyat habizi, وَصِيَّتْ هَبِزِ.
 Betray, *v.a.* lamartli habizi, لَمَرْتَلِ هَبِزِ.
 Between, hortlo, هُورْلِ.
 Big, large, gudiya, گُدِيَوِ.
 Bigness, gudiyaṭli, گُدِيَوِطْلِ.
 Bird, ḥinč, حِنْچِ.
 Birth, *s.* habi, هَبِ.
 Birth, to give, *v.a.* kentlizi, كَنْتَلِزِ.
 Bitterly, tluib, تْلُيَبْ.
 Bitumen, pič, پِچْ.
 Black, *adj.* čairab, چَيْرَبْ.
 Blacksmith, makhul uštar, مَخْلْ أَشْتَرْ.
 Blade (of sword or knife), bal, بَلْ.
 Blanket, coverlet, vivghan, وَوَنْغَنْ.
 Blind, *s.* blind man, bičau (a man in darkness), بِيچَوِ.
 Blood, bi, بِ.
 Blow, puff, *v.* puizi, پُيِزِ; It blows, *v.a.* hori foli bogo, هِرِ فِلْ بُگْ.
 Blue, kaḥelab, قَاḤَلَبْ.
 Blunt, dull, regunarib, رِگُنَرْبْ.
 Boat (small), gama, گَمْ.
 Board, kharši, خَرْشِ.

Bodkin, sasu, سَسُ.

Boil, *v.a.* betlezi, بِلَزِ.

Boiler, cauldron, gag, گَت.

Boiling (to be), *v.a.* haldezi, هَلْدَزِ.

Bone, ratla, رَلْ.

Book, tig, طِگ.

Boot, čakma, چَكَم.

Bottle, šiša, شِش.

Bottom, tinu, طِن.

Boundary, (*see* frontier).

Bow, salute, *v.a.* beter čavazi, بَطِرْ
چَوَزِ.

Bow, *s.* (for arrows), bot, بُط.

Box, ghamaş, غَمَاص.

Brains, adalnakh, اَدَلْنَخ.

Branch, twig, žolbol ghayu, arlāl,
زُولْبُلْ غَيِ آرِلَال.

Brandy, araki, اَرَكِ.

Bread, čed, چَد.

Break, *v.a.* bekizi ghorizi, بَكِزِ غُورِزِ.

Breast, keren, كِرِن.

Breathe, *v.a.* hug bakhizi, هُغْ بَاخِزِ.

Bribe, present, kvelti, كُولِطِي.

Bride, aburai yas, اَبُرَايْ يَاص.

Bridegroom, aburau vas, اَبُرَاوْ وَص.

Bridge, tlo, tlotl, تُلْ تُلْ.

Broad, ibau, اِبَاو.

Broom, želiž, زِيلِž.

Brother, vas, وَص.

Brother-in-law, vatlad vas, وَلَدْ وَص.

Husband's, wife's brother, čujyatlul
vas, چُجُيَاتْلُلْ وَص.

Brown, *adj.* tutlalterab, تُتْلَاتْلَرَب.

Bruise, *v.a.* čintizi, چِئْتِزِ.

Buckle, ig, maž, عِگْ مَž.

Bud, ubač, أُبَچ.

Bug, junjura, جُنْجُرَا.

Build, *v.a.* habizi, razi, هَبِزِ رَزِ.

Bullet, gulla, گُلْ.

Bullock, Buffalo, gamuš, گَمُش.

Burn, *v.a.* žaghizi, ž_ž_.

Bush, zaz, زَز.

Business, halti, حَلْطِ.

But, huv, هُو.

Butter, nakh, نَخ.

Butterfly, tatalatluč, طَطَلْ لُچ.

Button, ig, عِگ.

Buy, *v.a.* bičun bisizi, بِيچُنْ بِيْسِزِ.

Cage, čif, چِف.

Calf, beči, بِيچِ.

Call, *v.* ahiži, أَحِزِ.

Camel, varani, وَرَنِ.

Camp, čadral, چَدْرَل.

Campaign, bog khuvan, بَغْ خُوْوَ.

Candle, Candlestick, čirakh, چِرَخ.

Cannon, arada, اَرَادَا.

Care, urghel, اُرْغَل.

Careful, žadorav, ژَدَرَو.
 Caress, *v.a.* huntlizi, هُنْطِلِيزِ.
 Carpet, taṇṣa, palaş, طَنْصْ پَلَصْ.
 Cart (eastern), hoko, هُكْ.
 Cartridge, rortsin, رُورْتِشِنْ.
 Cartridge-hook, čurtu bakh, چُرْتُتْ بَخْ.
 Cask, čerma, چِرْمَ.
 Cat, keto, كِتْ.
 Catch, *v.a.* kuvizi, كُوزِ.
 Cauldron, gag, گَغْ.
 Cave, nokkhkho, نَخْ.
 Ceiling, moghrotl, مُغْرُوتْلِ.
 Cellar, qor, قُرْ.
 Cemetery, khobal, خُبَلْ.
 Centre, batlul, بَطْلُلْ.
 Chalk, kirač, كِرَچْ.
 Charcoal, torsi, طَرْشِ.
 Charge (of gun), *vide* Cartridge.
 Cheap, harzauyab, učuzau, هَرَزَاوْیَبْ اُچُزَو.
 Cheese, han, neşu, حَنْ نِشْ.
 Cherry (small black), årşin pikh, اَرَشِنْ پِخْ.
 (red), jaga, جَغْ.
 Chick, tenč, طَنْچْ.
 Chicken, čakhma, چَخْمَ.
 Chief, *s.* tađtarauči, طَدْتَرَوُچْ.
 Child, *s.* tlimir, لِیْمِرْ.
 Child, with, *adj.* kinai, قِنَئِ.

Chill, *s.* kuvačai, کُوجَیْ.
 Choice, selection, taşsa, bişsi, طَصْصْ بِشْ.
 Choose, *v.a.* bişizi, بِشِيزِ.
 Cinders, rakhkhu, رَخْ.
 City, goro, žir, گُرُورْ.
 Clay, haţ, حَطْ.
 Clean, pure, bažadau, بَدَدَوْ.
 Clock, watch, şaät, شَعَتْ.
 Cloud, *s.* nagg, نَغْ.
 Glove, mikhig, مِخِغْ.
 Coach house, botl, بَطْلْ.
 Cock, ħiliko, حِلِکْ.
 Coffin, laħdu, لَحْدْ.
 Cold, *s.* roħil, رُحِلْ; *s.* in head, maär ħin, مَاعَرْ حِنْ; *v.* to feel chilly, kvačazi, کُوجَزِ.
 Comb, portlo, پُرْطْلْ.
 Commencement, şebişa, صِبِشْ.
 Communicate, khaber habizi, خَبَرْ هَبِيزِ.
 Complaint (legal), årđ, عَرْدْ.
 Comrade, hodol, هَدَلْ.
 Concubine, yatlina, یَطْلِنْ.
 Condition, koti, قُطْ.
 Conduit, pipe, rooro, رُورُورْ.
 Conjecture, *v.* (to plan, tell fortunes), yałtamizi, یَاْطَمِيزِ.
 Consult, *v.* maşlaħat habizi, مَصْلَحَتْ هَبِيزِ.

Contest, strife, kasan, قَسَنَ.
 Converse, *v.* bitšarizi, بِصَرَزِ.
 Cook, *v.* betlizi, بِلَزِ.
 Cook, man cook, kvan habulviči, كُونْ
 هَبْلُوچِ.
 Copper, fag, pah, فَتْدَ بَحْ.
 Cord, Rope, kvar, كُورْ.
 Corn (Indian), maize, žoro, šarotl,
 زُرْ, صُرْلْ.
 Corn (on the foot), khasi, خَسِ.
 Correct, *v.a.* kaçazi, قَچَزِ.
 Cough, *v.a.* khaazi, خَعَزِ.
 Counsel, *s.* mašlahat, مَصْلَحَتْ.
 Cousin, vašaàl, yašaàl, وَصَعْلْ يَصَعْلْ.
 Coverlet, vaughan, وَوَعْنْ.
 Cow, àka, عَكْ.
 Cradle, holak, هُلَاكْ.
 Crane (bird), konkra, كُنْكَرْ.
 Cream, torag, طَرَاغْ.
 Creditor, natlulau, نَطْلُكُو.
 Crest, ifef, اِفَفْ.
 Cross, *s.* khanj, خَنْجْ.
 Crow, *s.* žobai, ghidu, زَبَيَّ غِدْ.
 Crow, *v.* iuzi, عِوزْ.
 Crush, bruise, *v.a.* čentizi, چِئَطَزِ.
 Cry, *v.a.* scream, àridezi, عِرْءِدَزِ.
 Cry, *s.* ahi, أَحْ.
 Cucumber, okhtzir, أَوْخْصِرْ.

Cupboard, tzaghur, ضَغُرْ.
 Curious, inquisitive, tlaži, botlolev,
 لَزِ بِلِيلُو.
 Custom, àdat, عَدَتْ.
 Cut, *v.a.* kočizi, قَطَزِ.
 Dagger, Poniard, khanjar, خَنْجَزْ.
 Daily, kenabko kuvatl, كَنْبَكْ قُوتْلْ.
 Dance, *v.a.* tlordizi, لُورْدِزِ.
 Dark, *adj.* bež, بَژْ.
 Darkness, bežtli, بَژْتْلِ.
 Daughter, Girl, yas, يَسْ.
 Dawn, *s.* rohatli mikh, رُهَلْتْلِ مَخْ.
 Day (also one), ko, كُو.
 Day, by, or during the, *adv.* kad, قَدْ.
 Day, to-day, žaka, زَاكَ.
 Dead, khovarau, خُورَوُ.
 Deaf, closed, ankau, عَنَقَيَّ وَ.
 Death, ajal, عَجَلْ.
 Debate, *v.a.* (dispute, quarrel), maš-
 lahat habizi, مَصْلَحَتْ حَبَزِ.
 Debt, natla, نَطْلْ.
 Deceit, Deception, gulli, گُلْ.
 Decrepitude, khortli, خُورْتْلِ.
 Deep, ghovaridau, غُورِدَيَّ وَ.
 Deer, račoč, رَطْچْ.
 Defend, *v.a.* àdlu habizi, عَدْلْ هَبَزِ.
 Defile, *s.* kuvaritli gal, قُورِلْ گَلْ.

Desert, merit, *s.* kholukh, خُلُوح.
 Devil, šaitan, شَيْطَان.
 Dew, šob, شُب.
 Die, *v.a.* khuvizi, خُوز.
 Difficulty (with), *adv.* zaḥamtab, زَحَمَتَب.
 Dig, *v.a.* bikhizi, بِيخِز.
 Dirt, ḥarš, حَرَش.
 Dinner, kaḍiken, كَدِيكِن.
 Disappear, *v.a.* bilizi, بِلِيز.
 Dish, ṭabag, طَبَغ.
 Dislocation, borči, بُرْجِي.
 Dismiss, *v.* vačakhizi, وَچَ خِز.
 Ditch, trench, khandek, خَنْدِک.
 Divide, *v.a.* bitlizi, بِلِيز.
 Divide, *v.a.* baṭatlizi, بَطَطِلِيز.
 Divine, *adj.* bečašul, بِيچَ شُل.
 Do, *v.* habizi, هَبِيز.
 Doctor, mester, rotlnal, ḥakim, مِصْطَر, حَكِيم, رُولْتَل.
 Dog, *m.* hawi, هَو; *f.* ghuvazi, غُوز.
 Down, *s.* (bird's), ḥoli, حُل.
 Downwards, ghor, غَرُغ.
 Drawer, ṭala, طَل.
 Dress, *s.* reṭel, رِطَل.
 Drink, *v.a.* hiḳizi, هِيْكِز.
 Drop (of water), ṭing, طِنْغ.
 Drum, ḳali, قَل.

Drunkard, mikhtulauci, مِيخْتُولُوح.
 Drunkenness, mikhitil, مِيخِطِل.
 Duck, *s.* ordek, اُرْدِک.
 Dull, rekunarib, رِکُنَرِيب.
 Dumb, maž ṭalarev, مَژْ طَلَرِو.
 Dusk, *s.* bežtli, بِيژْطِل.
 Dusk, to grow —, *v.a.* bežtłizi, بِيژْطِلِيز.
 Dust, ḥur, حُر.
 Each, sebaḥ, سَبَب.
 Eagle, kegab žun, كَغَبْ ژُن.
 Ear, in, عِن.
 Earring, gilig, گِلِگ.
 Early, šodongo radal, مُدَنْگ رَدَل.
 Earth, ratl, رَطَل.
 Earth hut, kvand-ṭolrok, کُوندْ طُولُروک.
 Earthquake, roṭl baghari, رَطَلْ بَغَرِي.
 East, baḳ bakuda, بَقْ بَکُدَا.
 Echo, dandi riji, دَنْدِ رِج.
 Eclipse (of moon), mož kuvai, مَژْ کُوَي.
 (of sun) baḳ kuvai, بَقْ کُوَي.
 Egg, khono, خُون.
 Elbow, khongrotl, خُونْگِرُطَل.
 Elect, *v.a.* bagarizi, بَاگَرِيز.
 Elephant, fil, فِيل.
 Embrace, *v.* kocezi, کُوجِيز.
 Embroider, *v.* buḳizi, بُکِيز.
 Enamel, *s.* besarab, بَسَرَب.

End, s. nakhaṣṣa, نَخَصَّ.

Enemy, tušman, تُشْمَن.

Enough (sufficiently), ila, عِل.

Enquire, v. haḳkizi, هَقَز.

Escort, s. holmagh, هُلْ مَع.

Evening, bogotl, بُوْگُل.

Ever, šinakhi, شِنَاخِي.

Everywhere, kibgo, كِيْبُوْ.

Example, haghadin, هَاغَدِيْن.

Executioner (public), āṣṭiçi jalat,

عَشِيْطِيْ جَلَا.

Expenses, Expenditure, kharj, خَرْج.

Expressly, urghungo, عُرْغُوْغُو.

Extinguished, v. (to be done), šovenizi,

صُوْوِيْز.

Eye, bir, بِر.

Eyebrow, tlenšer, لِئِنْشِر.

Face, homer, هُوْمِر.

Faith, din, دِيْن.

Faithfully, biṭarau, بِطَرِيْ وَ.

Fancy (reverie), orghi, اُرْغِي.

Far away, ritlada, رِيْدَا.

Fast, s. gal guvi, گُلْ گُو.

Fat, s. ṭaṭi, طَطَا.

Fate, lot, moĵoro, مُجْرُو.

Father, imen, اِيْمَن.

Fault, ghalatṭli, غَلَاْطَلِي.

Fear, v. hinkizi, هِنْكِيْزِي.

Fever, siri, سِيْرِي.

Fight, v. raghizi, رَاغِيْزِي.

Fill, v. ṭlazi, طَلَزِي.

Find, v. batizi, بَاتِيْزِي.

Finger, kiliš, كِلِيْش.

Finish, v. ṭluizi, طَلُوْزِي.

Fire, ža, ژَا.

Firewood, žol, ژُل.

Fish, šua, شُوَا.

Fisherman, šua bakhulevči, شُوَا بَاخُولِيْ.

Fist, zar, زَر.

Flame, žadol nur, ژَاْدُلْ نُور.

Flatter, v. huentlizi, هُوْنْتَلِيْزِي.

Flea, čet, ČETA.

Flint, maču, مَاْČU.

Flock, reked, رِيْكَد.

Floor, čabar, ČABAْر.

Flour, kharab, خَرْاب.

Flower, tih, طِيْه.

Flower-bud, ubač, اُوْبَاْČ.

Fly, s. ṭuṭ, طَطُ.

Fly, v. borjini, بُوْرْجِيْنِي.

Flute, šantikh, شَنْتِيْخ.

Foal, s. tai, تَائِي.

Food, kven, كُوْن.

Fool, ābadal, آْبَادَال.

Foot, *s.* hiṭi, حِطِ .
 Foot, on, ṯilau, تِلَوُ .
 For, òlon ṯlii, عِلْنِ لِئِ .
 For instance, mathalan, مَثَل .
 Fore-arm, hand, ghenj, kver, غَنْجِ, كُور .
 Forest, rog, رُش .
 Forge, *s.* kebeṯlul rok, قِبِلْ رُك .
 Forge, *v.* (metals), kvarta ṯlabizi, كُورْطَا, تَلَبِزِ .
 Forget, *v.* kučuntizi, كُچُنتِزِ .
 Forehead, nodo, نُد .
 Fork, ghuč, غُشْ .
 Fortress, strength, khala, خَل .
 Forward, šibi, صِب .
 Fox, tser, تْسِر .
 Freeze, *v.a.* žerozi, ژِرُز .
 Freshness, hohan, هَهَن .
 Friday, rozman ko, رُزْمَنْ ق .
 Friend, hodol, هُدَل .
 Friendship, hodolṯli, هُدَلْ .
 Fright, *s.* hinḵi, حِنْق .
 Frighten, *v.* hinḵizi, habizi, حِنْقِزِ, هَبِزِ .
 Frog, *s.* ḵwerḵ, قُورْ .¹
 From, *prep.* ša, ص .
 From above, taššan, طَشْشَنْ .
 From below, ghorṯlan, غُورْطَلَنْ .
 From the left, kviab, كُويَاب .

From the right, kvaranab, كُورَنْب .
 Frontier, oṟkhi, hoṟkubag, عُرْخِ, هُورْكُوبَغ .
 Frost, kuvačai, كُوجِئِ .
 Fruit, fikh, فِخ .
 Future, *s.* bačunib, بَچُنِب .
 Gain, *v.* beṟšinizi, بَرُشِنِزِ .
 Game, *s.* rasindi, رَسِنْدِ .
 Garden, akh, آخ .
 Gardener, akh gigilevč̱i, آخِ, گِگِيلِوْچ .
 Garlick, rajifer, رَجِفِر .
 Gate, rah, رَا .
 Gather, heap, *v.* Bagarizi, بَگَرِزِ .
 Gelding, anta, آنت .
 Giant, naṟt, نَرُط .
 Gift, šapeghat, شَپَغَات .
 Gilding, mesidil, مَسِيدِل .
 Gimlet, borau, rotzokhin, بَرَوُ, رُشْچِنْ .
 Give, *v.* ṯlazi, تِلَزِ .
 Glass, žar, ژَر .
 Glove, kv̱ert khelal, كُورْطَا, خَلَل .
 Go, walk, *v.* viṯlinzi, وِلِشِنِزِ .
 Goat, *s.m.* ži, ژ ; *s.f.* diin, دِئِنْ .
 God, Bečed, بَچَد .
 Gold, mesed, مَسِيد .
 Good, *s.* ṯligiṯli, تِلِگِطَلِ .
 Good, kind, *adj.* ṯliyab, تِلِیَاب .

¹ Vide note, at the beginning, on the alphabet.

Goose, khaz, kaz, گَز, گَز.

Goshawk, hergho, حِرْغ.

Grain, moh, مَه.

Granddaughter, vaşaşul yas, وَصَّصُلْ يَس.

Grandmother, guribi ibel bazar, گُرِبِي اِبَل بَزَار.

اِبَل بَزَر.

Grandson, vaşaşul vas, وَصَّصُلْ وَس.

Grape, žebil, ژِبِل.

Grass, örtzinau khir, عُرْشِنَو خِر.

Grasshopper, locust, girž, گِرْژ.

Great-Grandmother, korian ibelatılul

ibel, گُرِيَن اِبَلْاِیل اِبَل.

Green, örşini, عُرْشِنِي.

Grief, sorrow, urghel, اُرْغَل.

Grind (corn), v. kvazi, kinizi, گَوَز کِنِزِي.

Grip, ürtl, اُرْتَل.

Grind (steel), v. tlukizi, پُکِزِي.

Ground (on the), ödu, ödob, عُدْ عُدْب.

Guest, hobol, هُؤَل.

Guide, tuviţolviči, طُوْطُلُوْچ.

Guilty, garčamau, گُرْچَمَو.

Gums (the), s. dab, dabal, دَبْ دَبْل.

Gun, tufeng, تُفَنْت.

Gunpowder, tufengul khir, تُفَنْتُلْ خِر.

Gun-stock, khondagh, خُنْدَغ.

Gutter, gomotl, كَمْطَل.

Habit, amal taḥlit, عَمَلْ طَحْلِيْت.

Hair, ras, رَس.

Half, başdab, بِشْدَب.

Halter (horse-gear), ėulur ėu, چُلُرْ ėu.

Hammer, kuvarta, كُوْرَت.

Hand, nej kver, نِجْ كُوْر.

Handkerchief, kverbaž gaz, كُوْرَبَزْ كَز.

Handle (hilt), tağhi, طَغ.

Happiness, tall, تَلِي.

Happy, taligh, bugivci, تَلِغْ بُوْغُوْچ.

Hare, ank, اَنْق.

Harvest, tilitlari, لِيْکِر.

Have, v. bogitli, بُوْگِیْل.

Hay, kher, خِر.

He, She, It, du, di, dub, دُبْ دُبْ.

Head, beţer, âda, بَطِرْ عَد.

Healthy, untičib, اُنْتِيْچَب.

Heap, v. bagarizi, بَاْگِرِزِي.

Hear, v. raizi, رِزِي.

Heart, rag, رَغ.

Heat, khantli, خَنْتَلِي.

Heaven, žob, ژَب.

Heavy, bagab, بَاْگَب.

Heir, ratatılilau, رَاتَاتِلِيلَو.

Hell, jojah, جُوْجَ.

Hen, āngo, عَنْگ.

Hence, hanaşsa, هَنْسَس.

Herb, grass, örşinai, khir, عُرْشِنِي خِر.

Herd, rekhed, رِخْد.

Here, hanab, هَنَبْ .
 Hiccough, hagdi, هَكْدِ .
 Hide, s. kəkh, قَخ .
 Hide, v. bekhačizi, بَخَجَزِ .
 High, borkhatau, بَرْخَتَو .
 His, dasul, دَسُل .
 Hither, hanab, هَنَبْ .
 Hive, tayal, tal, طَل, تَيْل .
 Hole, karaṭ, كَرَط .
 Holiday, gal bišai, گَل بِشَي .
 Honey, hožo, هُژَو .
 Hoof, šengal, شَنْگَل .
 Hook (small), bak ghanza, بَکْ غَنْزَر .
 Hope, s. gol, گُل .
 Hope, v.a. gol t̄lizi, گُل تِلِزِ .
 Horn (of an animal), t̄lar, تَلَر .
 Horse, ču, چُ .
 Horseback (on), rigun, رِگُن .
 Horseman, rigarau, رِگَرَو .
 Horseshoe, toḡbi, طُغْبِ .
 Hospitable, hobol t̄likau, هُبُل لِکَو .
 Hostage, mitli, مِطْلِ .
 Hot, buḥarrau, بَحْرَو .
 Hour, šaāt, شَعَت .
 House, rok, رُک .
 How, kin, کِن .
 Hump, kuli, قُل .
 Hump-backed, kularau, کُلَرَو .

Hunger, vakki, وَکْکِ .
 Husband, roṣ, رُص .
 Husband's father, vatlad, وَطْلَد .
 I, pers. pron. dun, دُن .
 Ice, žer, ژَر .
 If, nadir, nakah, نَدِر, نَکَه .
 Ill (to be), v. untizi, اُنْتِزِ .
 In, prep. Bi, ب .
 Incursion, čabkhin, چَابَخِن .
 Inform, v. khaber habizi, خَبَر هَبِزِ .
 Inhabitant, roṣdalči, رُصْدَلِچ .
 Inheritance, umumunul baterab, اُمُمُنُل بَتَرَب .
 Ink, thaki, ثَقِ .
 Instrument (musical), žagana, ŽAGAN .
 Intelligence, news, khaber, خَبَر .
 Interpreter, dolmač, termač, دَوْلَمَچ, تِرْمَچ .
 Iron, s. makh, مَخ .
 —, adj. makhul, مَخُل .
 Ivory, mahi, مَهِي .
 Jar (big), raā, رَا .
 Jar (small), gabi, گَب .
 Jealousy, šaktli, شَكْلِ .
 Jealous (to be), v. šaktlizi, شَكْلِزِ .
 Joy, rohel, رُهَل .
 Jump, v. kañčizi, قَانْجِزِ; s. kañči, قَانْچِ .

Kettle, khag, كَحَد.

Key, kol, كَل.

Kidney, tahol kuvača, طَهْلُ قَوَّحَ.

Kill, v. čuvazi, چَوَز.

Kind, *adj.*, tliyah, لَيْسَب.

Kiss, s. ubač, أُبَچ.

Kitchen, kvanerut, كَوْنِرُت.

Knee, nako, نَكُت.

Knife, nos, نُس.

Knot, karaž, كَرَز.

Know, v. tlaži, لِز.

Kurgân (a mound or tumulus), kol, كُح.

Labourer, vitlaru khan, وَلِيَرُ خَن.

Ladle, v. žizi, زَز.

Lake, ħor, حُر.

Lamb, tler, لِز.

Large, big, gudiyyuv, كُدِيَر.

Late, nakhkha, kvatun, مَحْ كَوْن.

Laugh, v. vitlizi, وَلِز.

Lazy, antau, عَنَسَو.

Lead (metal), s. togi, طَب.

Leaf (of tree), tamagh, طَمَغ.

Learn, v. zaldizi, زَلْدِز.

Leather, nakai, نَقِي.

Leather strap, arš, عَرَش.

Leech, gviring, užruk, أُرُك.

Left—to the, kaabrakh, kvababrakh,

كَعَب رَن, كَوَّيَب رَن.

Less, kamurab, كَمُرَب.

Letter, alphabet, ħarfa, حَرْف.

Letter, epistle, kakat, كَقَت.

Lick, v. čigizi, چِغَز.

Lip, guvin, گُون.

Lie, s. hereši, هِرِص.

Lie (to tell a —), v. hereši bitzizi,

هِرِص بِغَز.

Lie (to lie down), v. vegezi, وِغَز.

Life, ūrmi, عُرْم.

Light, *adj.*, tadahab, tuṭab, طَدَهَب,

طُطَب.

Light, v. zaghizi, زَغَز.

Light, s. kantli, كَنْتَل.

Lightens (it), v. piripirikhi, پِرِپِرِکِی.

Lightning, s. piri, پِر.

Lime, gag, گَد.

Lime tree, ħad, حَد.

Limp, v. rektlizi, رِکْتَلِز.

Linen, hebet, حِبَت.

Lion, ghalbaž, غَلْبَاز.

Lioness, aridah, اَرِدَه.

Lip, guvet, گَوَت.

Liquid, tlamayab, لَمَیَب.

Listen, v. anikizi, اَنِکِز.

Little(a), s. dahab, hitin, دَهَب, هِتِن.

Little, *adj.* hitinau, هِتِنَاوُ.

Live, *v.* khizi, خِزِ.

Lizard, čarghedu, čutuk, چَرُغْدُ چُشُقُ.

Load, *s.* her, هِرْ.

Load, *v.* (an animal), hertlizi, هِرْتِزِ; (a gun), žezi, زِزِ.

Lock (of door), gual, گُلْ.

Locksmith, maḥul kibid, مَحْلُ قِيدِ.

Long, khalatau, خَلَتَاوُ.

Long ago, šebego, شِبَغِ.

Long time (a), *s.* āmer mikh, اَمِرْ مِخْ.

Loop, noose, lasso, gilgilč, گِلْگِلْچِ.

Lord, master, beṭer khan (head khan), بَیْطَرْحَنْ.

Lose, *v.* bilizi, bortizi, بِلِزِ بَرْتِزِ.

Lot (destiny), moĵoro, مُجُرُ.

Love, *s.* rotli, botli, رَتْلِ بَلْ.

Love, *v.* botlizi, بِلِزِ.

Love (to fall in love), vitlizi, وِزِ.

Louse, naz, نَزْ.

Low, ukhab, اُخَبْ.

Lûka (peak of a Tatar saddle, fore or aft), tlulul beṭer, پُلُلْ بَیْطَرْ.

Lung, huver, هُوَرْ.

Malediction, gandulev, گَنْدُلُو.

Man (in general), čai, adamal, چَاعِ اَدَمَلْ.

Man, ros, رُسْ.

Man (a), bikinči, بَکِنْچِ.

Mane, žal, ژَلْ.

Many, how many, kañ, كَعَنْ.

Mare, āla, اَلْ.

Marriage, berten, بَرْتَنْ.

Marsh, gož bogi bal, گُژ بَغِ بَلْ.

Masticate, *v.* čamizi, چَمِزِ.

Means, čara, چَرَا.

Meat (butcher's, full grown), usul han, اُسُلْ حَنْ.

Medicine, daru, دَرُ.

Meet, *v.* danditlizi, دَنْدِزِ.

Meeting, *s.* dandi, دَنْدِ.

Melon, paṭikh, پَطِخْ.

Merchant, bazar gan, بَزَرْ گَنْ.

Merely, hadintlu, هَدِئَلْ.

Middle, centre, batlotl, بَطْلُ.

Milk, *s.* rag, رَاغْ.

Milk, *v.* bečezi, بَچِزِ.

Mill, hobo, هُبْ.

Miller, hobohon, هُبْهُونْ.

Millet, moč, مُچْ.

Mine, *p. pron.* der, deri, دِرْ دَرِیْ.

Mine, *s.* maadin, مَعَدِنْ.

Minute (of time), *s.* daḳiḳa, دَقِیقْ.

Mirror, maṭu, مَطْ.

Misfortune, balah, بَلَهْ.

Mix, *v.* jubizi, جُبِيزِ.

Monday, Itniko, Itniko, اِتْنِيكُ, اِتْنِيكُ.

Money, âratz, عَرَضُ.

Monkey, mai malak, مَيِّ مَلَكُ.

Month, } mož, مَوْژُ.

Moon, } مَوْژُ.

More, nakhagi, țarigi, țogab, مَخْدِ, مَخْدِ, طَرِجِ, طَلَبُ.

Morning, radaliși, رَدَالِصِ; (in the —), raħatı, رَحَلِ.

Morrow (to-morrow), meter, مِيَتَرِ.

Mosk, mejket, مَسْكِتِ.

Moth, is, اِسِ.

Mother, ibel, اِبِلِ.

Motley, speckled, ċarab, چَرَبِ.

Mound (rampart), řangar, řانْگَرِ.

Mountain, miir, مِيِرِ.

Mountainous, maârul (baku), مَعْرَلِ, مَعْرَلِ, بَكُ.

Mouse, ònk, عُنْكَ.

Mouth, gal, گَلِ.

Mow, *v.* veğizi, وَجِيزِ.

Much (as much as), imer, اِمِرِ.

Much (how), kaàn, كَعَنْ.

Much (not), rahab, رَهَبِ.

Much (so), hadiàn, هَدِئَنْ.

Much (very), řak àmiri, řاكْ اَمِيرِ.

Mucous, khančrul, خَانْچَرُولِ.

Mud, ĥars, ĥَرَسِ.

Mule, určen, عُرْچِنِ.

Murder, ċuvi, چُوِيِ.

Muzzle (of gun), tufenkutıgal, تُفَنْكُتِلْ, گَلِ.

Mystery, botılagu, بُولِگُ.

Nail (of finger), motı, مُولِ.

Nail (iron), maà, مَاعِ.

Naked, izau, اِزَاوِ.

Name, řar, رَرِ.

Nape (of neck), gavińsa, gargas, گَوِیْنْسَا, گَرْگَسِ.

Naphtha, nap, nart, نَپْ, نَرْتِ.

Narrow, kvaridau, قَوَرِدَاوِ.

Navel, řan, رَنِ.

Near (in the presence of), řibi, رِيبِ.

Near (in the neighbourhood), āgar, اَغَرِ, اَغَرِ.

Nearly, bali, بَالِيِ.

Neck, gabor, گَبَرِ.

Needle, rogen, رَوِگِنِ.

Neigh, *v.* ĥiħidizi, ĥيْحِيْدِيزِ.

Neighbour, madohol, مَدُوْلِ.

Nest, bosin, ĥenčel, بُوْسِنِ, چَنْچَلِ.

Never, řimikhatılogo kidago, řِيْمِكْهَاتِلُوْگُو كِيْدَاگُو, كِيْدُگُ.

New born, tılimir, تِلِمِرِ.

New, ič, اِچ.

News, žiyau, ژِیَو.

Night, s. sordo, سُرْد.

Night (by, or during the), *adv.* kašši, قَص.

Nightingale, bulbul, بُلْبُل.

No, goro, hečo, گُر, هِچ.

Nobody, goro, viču, گُر, وِچ.

Nod, doze, *v.* ghaghulutlun, vuguzi, tatli kubizi, تَل قُبِيز, وُگُر, غَعْلُ پُن.

North, kilba, قِلْب.

Noose, èk, عِک.

Nose, mair, مِیر.

Nostrils, mairzo kalal, مِیرزُ قَلَل.

Now, hanj, ašti, هَانِج, عَشْطِ.

Nurse, rakkan ibel, رَاکَن اِبَل.

Nut, žolatlu, ژَلَطَل.

Nutshell, àbul, عَبَل.

Nut tree, žolatlu ghoveč, ژَلَطَل غَوَط.

Oak, mikk, مِک.

Oat, nekha, نَخ.

Oath, hedi, هِد.

Obstacle, khotana, خُطَن.

Occiput (nape), gavinša gargas, گَوِشَس, گَوِشَس.

Of, about, concerning, šotl, شُطَل.

Offend, *v.* basra habizi, بَسَر هَبِيز.

Often, kheko kheko, خِک خِک.

Oh! eh! li, لِ.

Oil, butter, nakh, نَخ.

Old age, khertli, خِرْتَلِ.

Old man, khirau, خِرَو.

Old woman, khirai, خِرِی.

On, upon, ɬa, ɬ.

Onion, fer, فِر.

Only, hadintlu, هَدِئَل.

Open, *v.* rahazi, رَاهَز.

Opinion, khiyal, خِیَل.

Or, š, ش.

Orphan, beşdalau, بَŞدَلَو.

Osier, moži, مِژ.

Our, nijir, نِجِر.

Out of, khan, tlan, خَن, پَن.

Over, through, across, daşşan, دَŞŞَن.

Owl, roz, رَز.

Ox, oth, اُث.

Paint, dye, *v.* bakhizi, بَاخِز.

Palm of hand, ughu khat, اُغ خَت.

Paradise, aljan, اَلجَن.

Pass (to walk past), *v.* gvadizi, گَوَدِز.

Patience, şaburtli, شَابُرْتَلِ.

Paw, kvač, کَوَچ.

Pay, *v.* mog tliži, مَغ تَلِز.

Pay (settle), *v.* bižizi, بِژِز.

Peace, rekël, رِکَل.

Peach, mitlir, مِیْلِر.

Pear, gibi, گِبِ.

Pearl, margal, مَرگَل.

Pelisse, timogh, khabarča, طِمَغ,

خَبَرِچ.

Pen, feather, kalam, mitler, قَلَم, مِیْلِر.

People (a), s. amirauči, khalk, عَمِرَوِچ, خَلک.

خَلک.

Pepper, filâl, فِلَال.

Perhaps, bigini batila, بَگِنِ بَاتِل.

Perspire, it bazi, عِطَ بَز.

Petition, arş, عَرَض.

Petitioner, arş habulevçi, عَرَضْ هَبِيلَوِچ.

Pewter, ghali, غَلِ.

Pheasant (hen of the forests), rogol

ango, رُگُلِ عَنگ.

Picture, şurat, صُرَت.

Pig, botlîlon, بِلِن.

Pigeon, mekki, مِکِ.

Pillow, kandaţlu kadanibcu, قَنَدَل,

قَدَنِیج.

Pipe, conduit, rooro, رُورُ.

Pistol, tamanča, تَمَنِچ.

Pity, s. oh âib gurĥi, اَهْ عِیْبْ گُرَح.

Pity, v. gurĥizi, گُرَحِز.

Plain, bag baudan gal, بَگْ بَوَدَن گَل.

Plank, kharşi, خَرَشِ.

Play, v. vasandizi, وَسَنَدِز.

Play (a musical instrument), kerizi, قَرِز.

Plough, s. puruş, پُورُش.

Plum, kulan, کُلَن.

Plunder, v. tala habizi, تَلْ هَبِز.

Pocket, čuvanta, چَوَنت.

Poem, rizab, رِزَب.

Poison, kholib kher, خَلِیْبْ کِر.

Poor, meşkinu, مِشکِنُو.

Pot, or bag for grease, nakh ṯolibju,

نَخْ تَلِیْبِج.

Pour, v. ŧezi, طِز.

Powder horn, khariruk, خَرِرُک.

Pray, v. kak bazi, کَکْ بَز.

Prayer (a prayer), s. ruâ, رُع.

Present (to make a), v. čubugu ṯlizi,

چُْبُگْ تَلِز.

Preserve, v. gitlizi, گِیْلِز.

Press, v. to crush, mirgizi, مِرگِز.

چِنَطِز.

Pretext, behama, بَهَم.

Pretty, bertzinab, بَرْتِزِنَب.

Prisoner, tuşnahk, تُشَنَک.

Profit, gain, ṯigtli, تِگْتَلِ.

Promise, s. koŧi habi, قُطْ هَبِ.

Promise, v. koŧi habizi, قُطْ هَبِز.

Property, bozi, بَزِ.

Prophet, avarag, اَوَرِگ.

Punish, *v.* tamih habizi, تَمِيحْ هَبِيزِ.
 Punishment, timih, تَمِيحْ.
 Puppy, cub, koò, كُوْ.
 Purity, cleanliness, bažatli, بَژَاتْلِي.
 Purse, kisa, كِسْ.
 Put (to put down), *v.* tliži, تَلِيزِ.
 Quarrel, *s.* kitzin, قِزْنِ.
 Quarrel, *v.* katzandizi, قَظْزَنْدِيزِ.
 Quickly, hekko, خِکْکْ.
 Race (species), tokhon, تُخْنِ.
 Rain, žad, ژَد.
 Rainbow, nur, نُرْ.
 Rains (it), *v.* zadbali bugu, زَدْبَالِ بُگْ.
 Raisin, žebil, kišmiši, قِشْمِشِ.
 Ramrod, tufengil čor, تُفَنْگِلْ چُرْ.
 Raven, ghidu, غِدْ.
 Ravine, tloro, تَلُرْ.
 Razor, kvalib, nos, کَوْلِبْ, نُسْ.
 Read, *v.* žalizi, ژَالِيزِ.
 Receive, *v.* busizi, šovizi, بُسِيزِ, شُوْزِ.
 Recently, dahab šibi, دَاهَبْ شِيبِ.
 Recompense, *s.* šapaghat, شَپَاغَهَتْ.
 Reconcile, *v.* rekezi habizi, رَکِيزِ هَبِيزِ.
 Red, ba'arab, بَعْرَبْ.
 Reed, rush, *s.* moži, مُژِ.
 Related (akin to), āgarau, عَگَرَوْ.

Relative, *s.m.* tokhumatlıul či, تُخْمَاتْلُولْ čİ.
 Relative, *s.f.* āgarai čuju, عَگَرَايِ چُجُ.
 Repose, rest, hallkhotli, هَلْکْخَوْتْلِي.
 Request (demand), haribugu, هَرِیْبُگْ.
 Rib, golbo uj, گَوْلْبْ أُجْ.
 Ribbon, hallu, galun, گَلْنِ.
 Riches, bečetli, بَچَٹْلِي.
 Rich, *s.* (a rich man), bečedau, بَچَدَوْ.
 Right (to the), karanabrakh, کَرَانَبْرَاخْ.
 Ring (for women), *s.* barghač, بَرْغَاچْ.
 Ring (for men), bortin, بُرْتِینْ.
 Ring (for ear), gilig, گِلِگْ.
 Ring (for finger), barghač, بَرْغَاچْ.
 Rinse, *v.* kholizi, خُولِيزِ.
 Rise, *v.* vakhini, وَخْنِ.
 River, stream, tlar, تَلَرْ.
 River, great (the Volga, *e.g.*), òr, ÒR.
 Roast, *v.* bajizi, بَاجِيزِ.
 Robbery, zoh biki, زُهْ بِيکِ.
 Rock, tloro, تَلُرْ.
 Roof, tokh, طَخْ.
 Roomy, spacious, 'ațida, عَطِیْدَهْ.
 Root, tlebil, تَلِیْلْ.
 Rosary, čumal, چُمَلْ.
 Rose, tih, طَهْ.
 Rot, *v.* turizi, تُرِيزِ.
 Round, gorginab, گَرْگِیْنَبْ.

Rub, *v.* tlotlazi, رُبَلَزِي.

Ruin, *s.* čontarab, چَنْتَرْاب.

Ruin, *v.* bikhizi, بِيخِزِي.

Run, *v.* vikirizi, وِيكِزِي.

Rust, *v.* tlav, تَلَو.

Sack, bag, tandatlo, targa, تَنْدَاتْلَو, تَرْغَا, طَرْش.

Sacrifice, *s.* victim, korman, قَرْمَنْ.

Saddle, *s.* tili, تِيل.

Saddle, *v.* ču tluuzi, چُو تِلُوْزِي.

Saliva, gal bezi, گَل بِزِي.

Salt, *adj.* žan ālau, زَنْ آلاو.

Salt, *s.* žan, žam, زَنْ, زَمْ.

Salutation, šalam, شَلَمْ.

Sand, sali, سَل.

Satisfied, satiated (to be), ūrsizi, عُرسِزِي.

Saturday, šamat ko, شَمَاتُ قُ.

Saw, *s.* khokhadru, خُخْدَرُ.

Saw, *v.* khokhazi, خُخَزِي.

Scabbard, tlił, تِلِل.

Scales (of fish), tantlāl, طَنْطَل.

Scimeter, khvalōin, خَوْلَيْن.

Scorpion, ič gal, اِچ گَل.

Scream, *v.* iri iridizi, عِرْعِرْدِزِي.

Sea, ratlad, رَاتْلَد.

Seal, impression, mohdo, مَهْدُ.

Seam, bukarai bag, بُقَرَي بَغ.

Seated, to be, òduvu ginizi, عُدُوْغِينِزِي.

Secret, batlu, بَاتْل.

See, *v.* bigizi, بِيْغِزِي.

Seed, pip, gon, گَنْ.

Seldom, tīdarib, تِيدَرَب.

Senility, khortli, خُورْتَلِي.

Sermon, khaber bitzin, خَبَرْ بِيْزَنْ.

Serpent, borog, بُرُغ.

Servant, *m.* khuluč či, خُلُچ چِي.

Servant, *f.* khuluč habilai, خُلُچ هَبِيلَاي.

Severe, strict, žakaŋ, زَقَو.

Sew, *v.* buķizi, بُقِزِي.

Shade, shadow, raad, رَاعَد.

Shame, to feel shame, *v.* ničizi, نِيچِزِي.

Shave, *v.* gvazi, گَوَزِي.

Shed, *s.* toko, طُكُو.

Sheep (a), i, ع.

Sheep (collectively), limag, لِيْمَك.

Shell, žamoherš, زَمْوَحَرْش.

Shepherd, vitl, vekh, وِيْطَل, وَخ.

ukhbi, عُخْبِي.

Shirt, gudi, گُرْدِي.

Shiver (tremble), *v.* sorozi, سُرُزِي.

Shoes (native), mačuyal, مَچُيَل.

Shoot, *v.* tluva hizi, تَلُوْوَ هِزِي.

Shop, *s.* tukan, تُكَنْ.

Short, kuķab, قُكَب.

Shot for gun (small shot), čačima,

چچیم.

Shoulder, gighij, گِغِجِ.

Shudder, s. soroï, سُرُئِ.

Shut, v. tađtlizi, rakhizi, رَخَزِ, رَخَزِ.

Skull, āda, عَد.

Sick (a sick man), s. untarau, اُنْتَرَو.

Sick (to be sick), v. untizi, اُنْتِزِ.

Sickness, unti, اُنْتِ.

Sieve, s. žalgo, ژَالْژ.

Sigh, v. khagizi, خَاگِزِ.

Sight, berkal, بَرْکَال.

Silent, to be, v. vužun vigizi, وُژُن وُگِزِ.

Silk, čillah, چِلْه.

Silly (a silly man), s. hagau, هَاگَو.

Silver, s. āratz, عَرَض.

Silver (of silver), *adj.* āratzul, عَرَضُل.

Sin, s. monah, مَنَه.

Sing, v. keč akhizi, کِچَ آخِزِ.

Sister, yat, یَش.

Sit, v. āduvugizi, عَدُوگِزِ.

Skin, tun, طُن.

Sky, zob, žob, ژَب, ژَب.

Slave, lagh, لَغ.

Sleep, s. matlu, مَل.

Sleep, v. tlibizi, tlijizi, تَلِیْزِ, تَلِیْزِ.

Sleeve, s. kval, قُول.

Small, fine, pretty, āsinaï, عَصَنِی.

Small, little, heṭini, هِطِنِ.

Smell, v. hongizi, هَنْگِزِ.

Smithy, kebetli, قَبِلِ.

Smoke, s. kvai, کُوتِ.

Smoke, v. žazi, ژَزِ.

Snare, trap, hen, هِن.

Sneeze, v. āgadizi, عَاگَدِزِ.

Snow, āzu, عَز.

Snowstorm, tlikhin, تَلِرخِن.

Snuff, šunt, صُنْط.

So, thus, hadin, هَدِن.

Soap, šapun, صَپُن.

Soft, tamakhau, تَمَخَو.

Sometimes, tzotzomihāl, ضَمَحَل.

Son, child, vas, وَس.

Son-in-law, durtz, دُرْض.

Song, keč, کِچ.

Soul, ruḥ, رُح.

Sour, žagab, ژَاگَب.

Source, iṣṣ, اِص.

South, kiluba moghrab rakh, کَلْب.

مُعَرَب رَح.

Sow (*vide* to cook), v. bitlizi, بِلِزِ.

Space, area, also threshing-floor, hoči,

هَچِ.

Spark, žuva, ژَو.

Sparrow, kadako, قَدَاک.

Speak, v. gatłazi, گَاتَلِزِ.

Spectacles, žorobiral, زُورَبِرَل.
 Spend, the night, v. tokliyažibiži, تَكْلِيَاžIBIži.
 Spider, korola, قُرَل.
 Spit, v. tuizi, تُئِيز.
 Spoil, v. khuvazi habizi, خُونِ هَبِيز.
 Spoon, ghud, غُد.
 Sport, chase, čiri, čan, چِر, چَن.
 Sprain, borči, بُرچِر.
 Spring (of water), ij, اِيَج.
 Spring (of the year), iž, اِيژ.
 Sprinkle, v. toršizi, تُرَشِرِيز.
 Squint, v. kinkizi, قِنْكِيز.
 Staircase, mali, مَلِ.
 Stallion, barti, بَرْتِ.
 Stammerer, mož tīkau, مَوژ طَقَو.
 Standard, bairakh, بَيْرَخ.
 Star, žabi, žabatlul, زَب, زَبَلَل.
 Steal, v. bīkizi, žohodizi, žohidizi, بِيكِيز, زُهِدِيز, زُهِدِيز.
 Steel, s. žail, زَیَل; a steel for flint, čaran, چَرَن.
 Stem of pipe, mašu, مَش.
 Stepmother, bešdal ibel, بَیْشَدَل اِبَل.
 Stick, til, طِل.
 Stingy, s. (a stingy man), barakh šarau, بَرَخْ شَرَو.
 Stirrup, hočo, čuyal, حَطْ جُیَل.

Stock of gun, khondagh, خُونْدَاغ.
 Stocking, šuvat, شُوت.
 Stone, hežo, tlačač, هِژ, لَمَچ.
 Stony, tlačač bukibag, لَمَچ بُکِیْبَاغ.
 Stoppage (in a mountain pass from débris), nokh kōti, نُخْ قُوتِ.
 Storm, thunder, etc., žoi ghaghalibu yogo, زُي غَغَالِبْ یُغ.
 Straw, bačca, gut, بَلْچ, گُط.
 Street, kuvač, قُوت.
 Strife (*vide* Contest).
 Strong, kutag, begev, کُتَاغ, بَغِغ.
 Strength, hal, هَل.
 Suck, v. khakhizi, خَخِيز.
 Suddenly, farčun, tlačogo, فَرُطُن, لَمَچُو.
 Sufficient, ila, اِل.
 Sugar, čakar, چَاکَر.
 Summer, ri-i, رِی.
 Sun, bak, بَق.
 Sunday, Fačai ko, فَطَی کُو.
 Sunset, bak tēgi, بَقْ طَرِغِ.
 Sup, v. kašši kvanizi, قَاصْ کُونِيز.
 Supper, kašši kuvani, قَاصْ کُونِی.
 Surface (plane), baidan, بَیْدَن.
 Swallow (bird), s. čorolo, جُرُل, چُورُول.
 Swallow, v. kulčizi, قُلْچِيز.
 Swear, v. hedizi, هِدِيز.

Swearing, s. hedi, هِدِي.

Sweetly, hoñab, هُونَاب.

Swelling, horoi, هُورِي.

Swim, v. čuvirdizi, چُوِرْدِزِي.

Switch, žal, زَال.

Table, tepši, تِپْشِي.

Tail, rač, رَچ.

Tailor, partial, biñilivči, بِیْنِلِیْوَچِ, پَرْتَل.

Take out, v. bakhkhizi, بَخْخِزِي.

Tallow, nakh, نَخ.

Taste, s. řaam, طَعْم.

Teacher, ustar, أُسْتَر.

Tear, s. maä, مَع.

Tell, v. bitzizi, abizi, أَبِزِي, بِیْزِي.

Tent, čadir, چَدِر.

Thank, v. rađitlizi, رَځِیْزِي.

Thaw, v. šobizi, شَبِزِي.

Theft, žoh biñi, زُوه بِنِي.

Then, domikhkhatl, دَوْمِخْخَاتْل.

Thence, duvařan, دُوْوَصَن.

There, thither, dova, دُوْوَ.

Thief, žohor, زُوحَر.

Thick, biñuyab, buřřatab, بِیْنُیْیَاب, بُرْřَاتَاب, بُرْřَاتَب.

Thin, řalak, řَالَق.

Thing, jo, ju, جُ; žo, ژُ.

This, that, m. hau, هَو.

This, that, f. hai, هَي, n. هَب.

Think, v. urghizi, اُرْغِزِي.

Thirst, v. kečizi, كَچِزِي.

Thou, mon, مَن.

Thought, care, urghi, اُرْغِ.

Thread, kon, كُن.

Throat, řekir, řِکِیْر.

Throw, v. rikhizi, رِخِزِي.

Thunder, s. řhaghai, řَغْغِي.

Thunders (it), žoi řhaghadul, زُئِ řَغْغَادُل, řَغْغَادُل.

Thursday, řhamiz ko, řَحْمِزُ كُو.

Tickle, v. gidizi, گِیْدِزِي.

Tidings, řhaber, řَحْبِیْر.

Time, mij, مِیْچ.

Tinder, řatl, řَاتْل.

To, as far as, towards, until, ařgur, اَصْغُر.

Tobacco, tamako, تَمَك.

To-day, řaka, řَقَق.

Together, řadakh, řَاْدَخ.

Tomb, řhobo, řَحْب.

Tombstone (monument), aras, اَرَس.

To-morrow, metr, مِیْتر; day after to-morrow, misdi, مِیْسِدِي.

Tongue, řaž, řَاْژ.

Tooth, řzaï, řَضِی.

Torment, torture, v. řakubatlizi, řَاْكُوبَاتْلِیْزِي.

Tortoise, žilikwerk, ژِلِکْوَکْ.

Touch-hole, rasa, رَس.

Towards, asgur, أَصْغُرْ.

Tower, thi, ت.

Town, šaher, شَهَر.

Trade, v. daran habizi, دَرَن هَبِزِ.

Trap (see Snare).

Traitor, lamartavei, لَمَرْتَوِی.

Treason, lamartli, لَمَرْتَلِ.

Treat, cure, v. daru habizi, دَرُ هَبِزِ.

Tree, ghoveit, غُوِط.

Tremble, v. sorozı, سُرُز.

Tresses of hair, šagal, شَكَل.

Tribe, tokhon, تُخُن.

Tribute, tax, āga, عَک.

Trousers (Eastern), šarbal, شَرَبَل.

Tuesday, Thalāt ko, ثَلَاث كُو.

Turkey (bird), gurgur āngo, گُرْگُرْ عَنُگْ.

Twin, gigo harural, گِگْ هَرُرَال.

Undress, v. partial bakhizi, پَرْتَل بَکْهِزِ.

Universe, dunyal, دُنِیَل.

Unripe, barsičib, بَرَشِیچ.

Untie, v. bečizi, بَیچِزِ.

Vain (in), adada, آدَد.

Vein, bidurik, بِدُرِکْ.

Very, žak, ژَک.

Vexation, kvaritli, šankhan, قُورِلِ, صَاخَن.

Victim, korman, قُورْمَن.

Victory, bir hentli, بَرِهَنْتَلِ.

Village, rotho, رُتْ.

Vinegar, kanza, کَنْز.

Voice, haratl, هَرَاتَل.

Vulture, itarku, اِطَرُکْ.

Wait, v. balahizi, بَلَهِزِ.

Wake, v. varčizi, havizi, وَرْچِزِ, هَوِزِ.

Walk, v. kvadizi, گُودِزِ.

Wall, kīd, کِید.

War, ragh, رَغ.

Warm, khandli, خَنْدَلِ.

Wart, žinkiru, ژِنْکِرُ.

Wash (oneself), v. a. čurizi, چُرِزِ.

Water, tlin, تَلِن.

Waterfall, čakholib tlin, چَاکْهَلِیْب تَلِن.

Wave, s. čili, چِلِ.

Wax, hi, ح.

Way, road, nokh, نُخ.

We, nij, نِیچ.

Weak, adj. āntau, عَنَتَو.

Weary, to be (s'ennuyer), v. čalizi,

چَالِزِ.

Weasel, undotl, اُنْدَتَل.

Weave, v. bišizi, بِیْشِزِ.

Wound, *s.* roghan, رُغْن.Wound, *v.* ṯḻkizi, تَلَكِز.Wrinkle, *s.* bugirau, بُغِرَو.Write, *v.* khuvazi, خُوَز.Yawn, *v.* haggazi, حَكَز.

Year, ṯlail, تَلِيل.

Yellow, ubab, ṯolilau, أَبَب, طَلِيلَو.

Yes, on, un, اُن.

Yesterday, *s.* son, سَن; of yesterday,

sonṯlul, سَنْطَل.

Yet, still, tzogizi, تَزَغِز.

You, noj, نُج.

Young, bahar, بَهَر.

Yours, nojor, نُجَر.

NOTE.—Refer to Grammar, Part II. for the Pronouns *in extenso*. The numerals, will all be found there also.

PART II.—GRAMMAR OF THE AVÂR LANGUAGE.

The Article.

There is no article in the Avâr language. In certain cases, however, the Demonstrative Pronouns Hau or Hav, Hai, Hab, هَو, هَي, هَب, *this (m. f. and n.)* may be said to supply the place of the Definite Article.

As هَوِچ Hav čï, the man (in question).

هَيْغَد Hai 'ango, the hen (in question).

هَب تَلَوَل Hab ṯloṯl, the bridge (in question).

The Numerals.

One, tzo, go, or ҡo,

Two, gigo,

Three, ṯlabgo,

Four, onko,

Five, šago,

قُ, ڭ, قُ.

ڭد.

ڭد.

اُن.

شد.

Six,	antlgo,	اَنَلْتُو.
Seven,	antltlgo,	اَنَلْتَلُو.
Eight,	mitlgo,	مِلْتُو.
Nine,	ičgo,	اِچْتُو.
Ten,	anžgo,	اَنَزْتُو.
Eleven,	anžila-tzo,	اَنَزِلَا.
Twelve,	anzila gigoï,	اَنَزِلَا كِغِي.
Twenty,	ķogo,	قُد.
Twenty-one,	ķolo tzo	قُلُص.
Twenty-two,	ķolo gigo,	قُل كِل.
Thirty,	tlibirgo,	لِيرِش.
Thirty-one,	tlibiralda, tzo,	لِيرَلَا ض.
Thirty-two,	tlibiralda gigo,	لِيرَلَا كِش.
Forty,	giķogo,	كِفَد.
Forty-one,	giķoyalda tzo,	كِفِيلَا ض.
Fifty,	giķoyalda anžgo,	كِفِيلَا اَنَزِش.
Fifty-one,	giķoyalda anžilatzo,	كِفِيلَا اَنَزِلَا ض.
Sixty,	tľab ķogo,	لَب قُد.
Sixty-one,	tľab ķoyalda tzo,	لَب قِيلَا ض.
Seventy,	tľab ķoyalda anžgo,	لَب قِيلَا اَنَزِش.
Seventy-one,	tľab ķoyalda anžila tzo,	لَب قِيلَا اَنَزِلَا ض.
Eighty,	onķogo,	اَنَقُد.
Eighty-one,	onķoyalda tzo,	اَنَقِيلَا ض.
Ninety,	onķoyalda anžgo,	اَنَقِيلَا اَنَزِش.
Ninety-one,	onķoyalda anži latzo,	اَنَقِيلَا اَنَزِلَا ض.
A hundred,	nosgo,	نُسَد.

Hundred and one, nosiyalda tzo,	نُسَيْكَدُ ضُ.
Hundred and fifty, nosiyalda giḡoyalda anžgo,	نُسَيْكَدُ كُغَيْكَدُ اَنَزْگُ.
Two hundred, ginogso,	گِنَسْگُ.
Three hundred, tlab nosgo,	تَلَبْ نُسْگُ.
Four hundred, onḡ nosgo,	اَنَزْ نُسْگُ.
Five hundred, šua nosgo,	شَا نُسْگُ.
Six hundred, antl nosgo,	اَنَلْ نُسْگُ.
Seven hundred, antltl nosgo,	اَنَلْ نُسْگُ.
Eight hundred, mitl nosgo,	مِلْ نُسْگُ.
Nine hundred, ič nosgo,	اِچْ نُسْگُ.
Thousand, azargo,	اَزَرْگُ.

Numerals B.

One-half, baršadab,	بَرْشَدَبْ.
One-third, tlabil buṭa,	تَلَبِلْ بُوْطَا.
One-fourth, onḡili buṭa,	اَنَزْگِلْ بُوْطَا.
One-fifth, šuyal buṭa,	شُيَلْ بُوْطَا.
One-sixth, antliyal buṭa,	اَنَلِيلْ بُوْطَا.
One-seventh, antltliyal buṭa,	اَنَلِيلِيلْ بُوْطَا.
One-eighth, mitliyal buṭa,	مِلِيلْ بُوْطَا.
One-ninth, ičyal buṭa,	اِچِيلْ بُوْطَا.
One-tenth, anžil buṭa,	اَنَزِيلْ بُوْطَا.
One-twentieth, ḡobil buṭa,	قُبِلْ بُوْطَا.
One-thirtieth, tlibiril buṭa,	لِبِيرِلْ بُوْطَا.
One-hundredth, nosil buṭa,	نُسِيلْ بُوْطَا.
One-thousandth, azaril buṭa,	اَزَرِيلْ بُوْطَا.

Numerals C.

First,	tzoa bilib,	شَا بِلِبْ.
Second,	gia bilib,	گَا بِلِبْ.
Third,	tlaba bilib,	اِبْ بِلِبْ.
Fourth,	onka bilib,	اُنْكَ بِلِبْ.
Fifth,	šua bilib,	شَا بِلِبْ.
Sixth,	antla bilib,	اَنْلْ بِلِبْ.
Seventh,	anttla bilib,	اَنْتْلْ بِلِبْ.
Eighth,	mitla bilib,	مِلْ بِلِبْ.
Ninth,	iča bilib,	اِچْ بِلِبْ.
Tenth,	anža bilib,	اَنْژْ بِلِبْ.
Twentieth,	koa bilib,	قَا بِلِبْ.
Thirtieth,	tlibira bilib,	لِیْرْ بِلِبْ.
Fortieth,	giķoa bilib,	گِکَا بِلِبْ.
Fiftieth,	giķoyalda anžo bilib,	گِکِیْلْدَ اَنْژْ بِلِبْ.
Sixtieth,	tlabko abilib,	بِیْکْ اَبِلِبْ.
Seventieth,	tlabķoyalda anžo abilib,	بِیْکِیْلْدَ اَنْژْ اَبِلِبْ.
Eightieth,	onko abilib,	اُنْکْ اَبِلِبْ.
Ninetieth,	onķoyalda abilib,	اُنْکِیْلْدَ اَبِلِبْ.
Hundredth,	nos abilib,	نُسْ اَبِلِبْ.
Two hundredth,	ginos abilib,	گِنُسْ اَبِلِبْ.
Thousandth,	azar abilib,	اَزَرْ اَبِلِبْ.

The form for twenty seems a mere reduplication of the *ko* قُو, or *go* گُو. The second syllable in *ķogo* in combination with another numeral being softened into *lo*, لُو.

The teens are formed by the insertion of *ila* اِلْ between the *anž* اَنْژ ten and the unit.

Tlibirgo ^{تَلْبِيرْغُو} is equivalent to thrice ten. Gikogo ^{گِکُوگُو} forty = two twenty. In forming the numerals between 30 and 40 the ^{گُو} go is dropped, and ^{اَلْدَا} alda is inserted between the place of the tens and units; between 40 and 50 in like manner, the combining expression being ^{يَلْدَا} yalda. Fifty is represented by forty-ten. Tlab kogo, sixty, is thrice twenty. The formation of seventy, with its combinations thrice twenty-ten is more cumbrous, becoming unwieldy in the extreme in such an expression as ^{تَلَبْ كَوَالْدَا اَنْزِيلَا اَنْتِلْغُو} tlab koyalda anžila antlīlgo, seventy-seven!

Lastly, onkogo, eighty = four twenty.

The numerals alone, it will be admitted, establish a claim to originality on the part of the Avâr language, which will be further asserted in the course of this work. With the exception of azargo, or hazargo, ^{اَزَرْغُو} or ^{هَزَرْغُو} a thousand, which undoubtedly is taken from the Persian, not one of them, as far as I can find, shows affinity with those of any other language.

The numerals once, twice, thrice, etc., ^{زُلْ}, ^{گِزُلْ}, ^{لِزُلْ}, žol, gižol, tlibžol, etc., are formed after the first, by the substitution of žol ^{زُلْ} for the final syllable of the primary.

Thus ^{اَنْزَرْغُو} anžgo, ten, becomes ^{اَنْزُلْ} anžol, ten times.

kogo, ^{كُوگُو} twenty, ,, ^{كوْزُلْ} kožol, twenty times,

and so on. The intermediate numerals between the decades, if perfect multiples, may be expressed by resolved numbers, as three times four, ^{گِزْبَزُلْ اَنْتُو} gibžol onko, for twelve times.

The Substantive.

There are three Genders, masculine, feminine, and neuter; the last being *strictly* confined to inanimate things, whilst the two

former are applied to man and animals, and in poetry may even be extended to any spiritual or organic thing, from the soul to a seed.

The neuter form, however, may be and is frequently used in reference to animals.

The Genders are determinable as follows :

, at the commencement or at the end of a word shows that it is masculine ; **ى** that it is feminine ; **ب** that it is neuter.

The same letters in the middle or at the end of a *Verbal-substantive* denote the gender of the supplementary or controlling noun.

For instance, the verbal-substantive "a despatch," is **فِيْطِىْطِ** *f. m.*, **فِيْطِ** *n.*, **فِيْطِ**, **فِيْطِ**, **فِيْطِ**, from the verb **فِيْطِزِ** *bitizi*, to despatch, and is applied according to the gender of the preceding words as in the following examples :

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|---------------|-------------------|------------|------------------|
| (1) | فِيْطِ | وِطِ | عَمَرِ | صَّ | مُحَمَّدِ |
| | <i>tlig</i> | <i>veṭi</i> | <i>'Omar</i> | <i>şa</i> | <i>Mohammad.</i> |
| (2) | فِيْطِ | فِيْطِ | فَطِيْمَتِ | صَّ | مُحَمَّدِ |
| | <i>tlig</i> | <i>yeṭi</i> | <i>Faṭimat</i> | <i>şa</i> | <i>Mohammad.</i> |
| (3) | فِيْطِ | فِيْطِ | حُ | صَّ | مُحَمَّدِ |
| | <i>tlig</i> | <i>beṭi</i> | <i>ču</i> | <i>şa</i> | <i>Mohammad.</i> |

Literally, (1) Mohammad to 'Omar despatch good.

(2) „ Faṭima „

(3) „ Horse „

which is to be rendered freely by, "It is well that Mohammad has sent to 'Omar, to Faṭimah, to the Horse" (to give notice of his approach), in each case the verbal-substantive varying its gender with that of the person or thing with which it is brought in contact, and taking the place of what in most languages would be the verb.

Take again the word *vači* وَجَّ "arrival" from *vačizi* وَجِّزِي, to arrive.

1. Moḥammad *vači* tleg مُحَمَّدٌ وَجَّ تَلِغْ.
2. Faṭimat *yači* tleg فَاطِمَتٌ يَجَّ تَلِغْ.
3. Ču *bači* tleg چُ بَجَّ تَلِغْ.

"Moḥammad's (Faṭima's, the horse's) arrival is good or fortunate."

Then, another form in which in a trisyllabic word the *middle* syllable changes the و, to the ی or ب as in *giyig* كَوَّيْ, from *giyig* كَوَّيْ, according to the gender of the ruling substantive,

Moḥammad *giyig* tleg مُحَمَّدٌ كَوَّيْ تَلِغْ.

Faṭimat *giyig* tleg فَاطِمَتٌ كَوَّيْ تَلِغْ.

Ču *gibig* tleg چُ كَوَّيْ تَلِغْ.

The Formation of the Plural.

The termination $\text{ل}^2 = \text{ل} = \text{ل}$ is the most general form, although in a variety of cases, especially if the noun ends in a vowel or a liquid, ب is used instead.

I can, however, give no general rule, and I suspect that practice will be found the only certain guide to these declensions. Thus :

SINGULAR	PLURAL	PLURAL	SINGULAR
ṭaṭalatluč, butterfly,	ṭaṭalatluč-al, butterflies,	طَطَلِیْلُ	طَطَلِیْچَ.
ragh, war,	raghal, wars,	رَغَلْ	رَغَ.
ṭino, bottom,	ṭinabi, depths,	طِنَبْ	طِنَ.
maṭo, mirror,	maṭibi, mirrors,	مَطِیْبْ	مَطِ.
roggen, needle,	roggibi, needles,	رَغْغِیْبْ	رَغْغِ.

The vowel also accompanying the penultimate radical of the singular, as in the 'Othmanli, is almost certain to suffer some modification in the plural, and in combination with another word.

There are likewise many exceptional plurals which can only be learned by committing them to memory. Take the following as a sample, but more are to be found :

SINGULAR	PLURAL	PLURAL	SINGULAR
žohor, thief,	žohorzab, thieves,	ژُھُرَزَبْ	ژُھُرْ
keren, breast,	kurmul, breasts,	کُرْمُلْ	کِرِنْ
ghovet, tree,	ghotobi, trees,	غُطْبْ	غُوطْ
tlimir, child,	tlimal, children,	لِمْلْ	لِمْزْ
àbdal, fool,	àbdalzab, fools,	عَبْدَلَزَبْ	عَبْدَلْ
tingi, a drop,	tingina, drops,	طِنْگِنْ	طِنْدْ
in, ear,	indol, ears,	عِنْدَلْ	عِنْ

Verbal substantives have no plural, *e.g.* هَبْ habi, an act, an action, from هَبِزْ habizi, to do ; كُبُلْتْلِي kobultli, consent, from كُبُلْتْلِيزْ kobultlizi, to consent ; as is the case with some others, for what reason I cannot say ; as مِکْکْ mikk, “the oak ;” قُلْ koli, “a hump ;” زَبِلْ žebil, “grape ;” whilst words of collective meaning such as بِيْئِيتْلِي biçitli, “riches,” have, as is natural, no singular.

Declension of the Substantive.

This is very complicated, inasmuch as each of the derivative cases comprises two or more forms, which, by inflection of the primitive noun, are made to express various shades of meaning : *e.g.* “the eye of the father,” or “the father’s house,” is one genitive ; “the father’s letter”—that is to say, the letter written by him—another genitive ; whilst a third torture of the word has been devised to convey the idea of removal or taking from “the father’s house.”

The dative possesses likewise three forms ; *to, towards,* conveying

the idea of motion; belonging to, of possession; whilst a third form is used to denote *verbal* communication.

So that to speak or write Avâr with precision, you must use a totally different expression if you wish to say, "I am *going* to my father," or "I am *speaking* to my father."

Of the instrumental case there are two forms, (1) representing *with* in the sense of *combination*, as in "I will do it with that man," the man being my servant or passive companion; (2) "*through* or thanks to that man I accomplished this," the man in the latter case being the acknowledged benefactor.

The Vocative case, as in all languages in the world, is represented by the original substantive with an interjection either preceding, as in most instances, or affixed to it. In Avâr the interjection لِي li seems the only regular form of the Vocative, as in لِي اَمِيْن li Imen, O father; but fear, or humility may change the لِي li into a final بِ bi, as in بِدَشَهَب Padishahabi, "O my Sovereign."

The prepositional case is the richest of all, it boasts of four forms.

- (1) *At*, as "*at* my house."
- (2) *On*, as "I have a debt *on* my father's estate."
- (3) *In*, as "I find a fault *in* my letter."
- (4) *For the sake of*, as "I took a long ride over the mountains *for my father's sake*, who wanted exercise."

It will be at once perceived that we are dealing with an inflectional language, but as it was never its fortune to fall into the hands of such doctors as those who raised the Tshagatai grammar to the rank of a mathematical treatise, the arrangement is neither as concise nor as uniform as a student of the present critical age might desire.

Tables of the Declensions of the Substantive.

SINGULAR.

Nom.	imen,	إِمْئَن father.
Gen. 1.	inşol.	إِنْصَل of the father.
2.	inşodaşsa,	إِنْصَدَص of the father, in the sense of "coming from him voluntarily," <i>i.e.</i> he sent me a present.
3.	inşukha,	إِنْصَح of the father, in the sense of "abstraction," <i>i.e.</i> he gave me a present which I carried away with me.
Dat. 1.	inşukhi,	إِنْصَح to the father (towards).
2.	inşuyi,	إِنْصِي to, belonging to the father.
3.	inşuda,	إِنْصَد to the father, in the sense of verbal communication.
Instr. 1.	imen gon,	إِمْئَن كُنْ with the father.
2.	inşo datlon,	إِنْص دَاتْلَن thanks to the father.
Prep. 1.	inşukh,	إِنْصَح at the father's (house).
2.	inşuṭa,	إِنْصَط on the father's property (a debt or mortgage).
3.	inşatıl,	إِنْصَل in the father some one may find a fault.
4.	inşui òlo,	إِنْصِي عُلْ for the sake of the father.
Voc.	li imen,	لِ إِمْئَن O father!

PLURAL.

N.	umumol,	أُمُمُل.	I. 1. umumol gon,	أُمُمُل كُنْ.
G. 1.	indol,	إِنْصَل.	2. indo datlon,	إِنْص دَاتْلَن.
2.	indosaşsa,	إِنْصَصَص.	P. 1. indakhhk,	إِنْصَح.
3.	indokkhkha,	إِنْصَح.	2. indoṭa,	إِنْصَط.
D. 1.	indokkhkhi,	إِنْصَح.	3. indatılıl,	إِنْصَل.
2.	indoyi,	إِنْصِي.	4. indoyi òlo òlon,	إِنْصِي عُلْن عُلْ.
3.	indoda,	إِنْصَد.	Voc. li umumol,	لِ أُمُمُل.

čü, چ a horse.

SINGULAR.

PLURAL.

Nom.	čü,	چ	čüyal,	چیل
Gen. 1.	čul,	چل	čüyazal,	چیزل
	2. čudaşsa,	چدص	čuyadşsa,	چیدص
	3. čukhkha,	چخ	čuyazukhkha,	چیزخ
Dat. 1.	čukhkhi,	چخ	čuyazukhkhi,	چیزخ
	2. čuyi,	چی	čuyazi,	چیز
	3. čuda,	چد	čuyazda,	چیزد
Instr. 1.	čü gon,	چ گن	čüyal gon,	چیل گن
	2. čuda tlon,	چد پن	čuyazda tlon,	چیزد پن
Prep. 1.	čukh,	چخ	čuyazukh,	چیزخ
	2. čuṭa,	چط	čuyazṭa,	چیزط
	3. čutltl,	چل	čuyaztltl,	چیزل
	4. čuyi òlon,	چی غلن	čuyazi òlon,	چیز غلن
	čuyi òlo,	چی غل	čuyazi òlo,	چیز غل

habulev, هبیلو a workman.

N.	habulev,	هبیلو	habulil,	هیلل
G. 1.	habulişol,	هیلصل	habulizol,	هیلزل
	2. habulişdaşsa,	هیلصدص	habulişdaşsa,	هیلصدص
	3. habulişokhkha,	هیلصخ	habulişdukhkha,	هیلصخ
D. 1.	habulişokhkhi,	هیلصخ	habulişdukhkhi,	هیلصخ
	2. habulişi,	هیلص	habulişi,	هیلص
	3. habulişda,	هیلصد	habulişda,	هیلصد
Instr. 1.	habulev gon,	هبیلو گن	habulil gon,	هیلل گن
	2. habulişdatlon,	هیلصد پن	habulişdatlon,	هیلصد پن

SINGULAR.

PLURAL.

Prep. 1. habulişokh,	هَبُلِشُكْ	habuliðukh,	هَبُلِشُكْ.
2. habulişta,	هَبُلِشْطَا	habuliðta,	هَبُلِشْطَا.
3. habulişotltl,	هَبُلِشْطَلْ	habuliðotltl,	هَبُلِشْطَلْ.
4. habulişşi òlo,	هَبُلِشْشِ عُلْ	habulið tlon,	هَبُلِشْشِ لُنْ.

vas, وَسْ brother.

Nom.	vas,	وَسْ	vasal,	وَسَلْ.
Gen. 1.	vasaşul,	وَسْأُولْ	vasađol,	وَسْأُولْ.
	2. vasaşadaşsa,	وَسْأَدَاشْ	vasađdaşsa,	وَسْأَدَاشْ.
	3. vasaşukhkha,	وَسْأُكْخَا	vasađukhkha,	وَسْأُكْخَا.
Dat. 1.	vasaşukhkhi,	وَسْأُكْخَا	vasađukhkhi,	وَسْأُكْخَا.
	2. vasaşi,	وَسْأِشْ	vasađi,	وَسْأِشْ.
	3. vasaşda,	وَسْأَدَا	vasađda,	وَسْأَدَا.
Instr. 1.	vas gon,	وَسْ كُنْ	vasal gon,	وَسَلْ كُنْ.
	2. vasaşda tlon,	وَسْأَدَا لُنْ	vasađdatlon,	وَسْأَدَا لُنْ.
Prep. 1.	vasaşukh,	وَسْأُكْ	vasađukh,	وَسْأُكْ.
	2. vasaşta,	وَسْأُشْطَا	vasađta,	وَسْأُشْطَا.
	3. vasaşotltl,	وَسْأُشْطَلْ	vasađotltl,	وَسْأُشْطَلْ.
	4. vasaşi òlo,	وَسْأِشْ عُلْ	vasađi òlo,	وَسْأِشْ عُلْ.

tig, تِگْ book.

Nom.	tig,	تِگْ	togdol,	تِگْدُولْ.
Gen. 1.	togol,	تِگْلْ	togdozol,	تِگْدُزُلْ.
	2. togoldaşsa,	تِگْدَاشْ	togdoz daşsa,	تِگْدُزْدَاشْ.
	3. tigatlokhkha,	تِگْطَلْخَا	togdozokhkha,	تِگْدُزْطَلْخَا.

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Dat. 1.	ṭigatlokhkhi, طِگَتْلَوکْکْه	togdozokkhkhi, طُگْدُزُکْکْه.
2.	ṭigatli, طِگَتْلِ	togdozi, طُگْدُزِ.
3.	ṭigalda, طِگَتْلَد	togdozdi, طُگْدُزْدِ.
Instr. 1.	ṭig gon, طِگْ گُنْ	togdol gon, طُگْدُلْ گُنْ.
2.	ṭigalda tlon, طِگَتْلَد پُنْ	togdozda tlon, طُگْدُزْدَا پُنْ.
Prep. 1.	ṭigalokh, طِگَتْلَوکْ	togdozokkhkhi, طُگْدُزُکْکْه.
2.	ṭigalta, طِگَتْلَط	togdozota, طُگْدُزُطَا.
3.	ṭigatlotltl, طِگَتْلَوْتْلِ	togdo zotltl, طُگْدُزُتْلِ.
4.	ṭigatli ɔlo, طِگَتْلِ ɔلْ	togdozi ɔlo, طُگْدُزِ ɔلْ.

To repeat in English all the variations in the cases after the full explanation which I have given in the declension of *imen* اِمن, father, seems unnecessary. Any one who cares to study this grammar, taking *imen* اِمن as the type, can easily adapt to the other nouns the different meanings they are intended to convey in their long passage from the nominative to the fourth prepositional form.

The Adjective.

The Adjective when it accompanies a Substantive invariably *precedes* it, and does not change. But when alone, or in other words it becomes the representative of a Substantive, it is declined in all Genders.

In European languages instances are not common of adjectives thus standing by themselves, yet *we* have them in "a Black," meaning a Black man, a "Red," an Ultra-Republican, and the *French* in "Un Vieux," and so on. But it must be admitted

that in all these cases the use of the adjective as a substantive is irregular. In Avâr, however, you may say, "a Good," which according to the gender, may be a good man, a good woman, a good dog, or a good fig-tree.

The following table gives the form of declension which is similar to that of the substantive.

GENERAL TABLE.

Terminations.

MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTER	PLURAL
N. v, w,	و i, y,	ئ b, ب	ل, ل.
G. 1. şol,	صَل ṭḷol,	پَل In all the other	dol, ضَل.
2. şodaşsa,	صَدَص ḷdaşan,	لَدَص cases the neuter	
3. şokhkha,	صَح ṭlokhkha,	لَح is the same as	
D. 1. şokhkhi,	صَح ṭlokhkhi,	لَح the feminine. dokhkhi,	ضَح.
2. şi,	ص ṭli,	ل	
3. şda,	صَ ḷda,	لَ	
Instr. 1. v, w gon,	وَن i, y gon,	ئَن	لَن gon, لَن.
2. şdatlon,	صَدپَن ḷdatlon,	لَدپَن	
Prep. 1. şokh,	صَح ṭlokh	لَح	
2. şta,	صَط ḷta,	لَط	
3. şotl,	صَل ṭlotl,	پَل	
4. şi ôlo,	ص عِل ṭli ôlo,	ل عِل	

A perusal of this Table, which is applicable to all declinable adjectives, will show that whilst the forms of the feminine gender differ from those of the masculine, the neuter, except in

the nominative case, is identical with the feminine, and that the form of the plural is common to the three genders.

It varies moreover only in the nominative and 1st instrumental from the singular masculine, and in the genitive and the dative cases, in the addition to the former of the *l* and in the substitution in the latter of the *ḍ* ض for the *s* ص, a mere imitation of that which occurs in the declension of the substantive.

Personal Pronouns.

I, Don دُنْ; *thou*, mon مُنْ; *he, she, it*, do دُ;
we, niž or nitl, نِژْ نِٹْلْ; *you*, nož, نُژْ; *they*, dol دُلْ.

DECLENSION.

<i>I</i> ,	singular.	<i>We</i>	plural.
Nom.	don, دُنْ	niž, nitl̄tl̄,	niž, n̄iṭl̄.
Gen.	1. dir, دِرْ	nežer, nitl̄ur,	nežer, n̄iṭl̄ur.
	2. diye, دِيْ	nežeye, nitl̄iyi,	nežeye, n̄iṭl̄iyi.
	3. dide, دِْدِ	nežede, nitl̄idi,	nežede, n̄iṭl̄idi.
Dat.	1. dida, دِْدَا	nežeda, nitl̄da,	nežeda, n̄iṭl̄da.
	2. dikhkh, دِخْخْ	nežekh, nitl̄ukh,	nežekh, n̄iṭl̄ukh.
	3. dikhkh̄i, دِخْخِ̄يْ	nežekhe, nitl̄ukhi,	nežekhe, n̄iṭl̄ukhi.
Instr.	1. dikhkha, دِخْخَا	nežekha, nitl̄ukha,	nežekha, n̄iṭl̄ukha.
	2. ditl̄, دِٹْلْ	nežetl̄, nitl̄otl̄,	nežetl̄, n̄iṭl̄otl̄.
Prep.	1. didaṣṣa, دِْدَاصْصَا	neždaṣa, nitl̄ daṣa,	neždaṣa, n̄iṭl̄ daṣa.
	2. diča, دِچَا	nežeča, nitl̄,	nežeča, n̄iṭl̄.
	3. diṭa, دِطَا	nezeta, nitl̄oṭa,	nezeta, n̄iṭl̄oṭa.
	4. dongon, دُونْگُونْ	nižgon, nitl̄iṭl̄gon,	nižgon, n̄iṭl̄iṭl̄gon.

<i>Thou,</i>	singular.	<i>You,</i>	plural.
Nom.	mon, مَن	nož, نُر	.
Gen.	1. dur, دُر	nožor, نُرُر	.
	2. duye, دِي	nožiye, نُرِي	.
	3. dude, دِد	nožede, نُرِد	.
Dat.	1. duda, دَد	nožeda, نُرِد	.
	2. dukh, دُخ	nožokh, نُرُخ	.
	3. dukhe, دُخ	nožokhe, نُرُخ	.
Instr.	1. duxa, دُخ	nožokha, نُرُخ	.
	2. dotl̄tl̄, دُل̄	nožotl̄tl̄, نُرُل̄	.
Prep.	1. dudaša, دَدَص	nožedaša, نُرِدَص	.
	2. duča, دُچ	nožeca, نُرُچ	.
	3. duṭa, دُط	nožoṭa, نُرُط	.
	4. mongon, مَنگَن	nožgon, نُرگَن	.

	<i>He, She, It,</i>	singular.	<i>They,</i>	plural.
Nom.	do,	د	dol, دُل	.
Gen.	1. doşul, dotl̄tl̄ul,	دُصُل, دُل̄ل̄	dozol, دُرُل	.
	2. doşiye, dotliye,	دُصِي, دُلِي	doziye, دُرِي	.
	3. doşde, dolde,	دُصِد, دُلِد	dozde, دُرِد	.
Dat.	1. doşda, dolda,	دُصَد, دُلَد	dozda, دُرَد	.
	2. doşukh, dotlukh,	دُصُخ, دُلُخ	dozukh, دُرُخ	.
	3. doşukhe, dotlukhe,	دُصُخ, دُلُخ	dozukhe, دُرُخ	.

Instr. 1. doşukha, dotlukha,	دُشُكْ, دُتْلُكْ	dozukha, دُزُكْ.
2. doşotl̥tl̥, dotlotl̥tl̥,	دُشُوتْل̥, دُتْلُوتْل̥	dozotl̥tl̥, دُزُوتْل̥.
Prep. 1. doşdaşa, doldaşa,	دُشُدَاصْ, دُلدَاصْ	dozdaşa, دُزُدَاصْ.
2. doş, dotl̥tl̥,	دُشْ, دُتْل̥	doz, دُزْ.
3. doşta, dolta,	دُشْطَا, دُلْطَا	dozta, دُزْطَا.
4. dogon,	دُگُونْ	dolgon, دُلْگُونْ.

II.—*Demonstrative Pronouns.*

hau, hav, هَ this (*m.*); hii, هِي this (*fem.*); hab, هَب this (*neuter*).

hal, هَلْ these (for the three genders).

ghau, هَوْ that, *m.*; ghai, هِي *f.*; ghab, هَب *n.*

ghol, هَلْ those (common).

are declined like adjectives, by the suppression of the final letter, and the substitution in its place of the terminals given in the table.

III.—*Determinative Pronouns.*

jivgo, جِوْگْ *m.*, jiigo, جِيْگْ *f.*, jibgo, جِبْگْ *n.*, self, myself, or itself, jalgo, جَلْگْ themselves, plural (common).

In the same manner, for the sake of illustration, I give the Declension of these in full. The final گْ is dropped except when emphatically used in the nominative, but it may be appended if vehemence requires it to all the other cases. Except in the nominative and first instrumental cases, where it takes the form of jib جِب and جِبْگْ, the neuter singular is the same as the feminine.

MASCULINE.

PLURAL (common to all).

N.	jiv,	جَوِ jii,	جَى jal,	جَلْ.
G. 1.	jinşol,	جِنْصَلْ { jindir, jindil,	جِنْصِرْ { jodir,	جُدِرْ.
2.	jindaşan,	جِنْدَصَنْ jindaşan,	جِنْدَصَنْ jodidaşan,	جُدِصَنْ.
3.	jinşukkhkha,	جِنْصُخْ jindikkhka,	جِنْصُخْ jodikkhkha,	جُدِخْ.
D. 1.	junşukkhkhi,	جِنْصُخْ jindikkhki,	جِنْصُخْ jodikkhkhi,	جُدِخْ.
2.	junşiyi,	جِنْصِیْ jindiyi,	جِنْصِیْ jodiyi,	جُدِیْ.
3.	jinşda,	جِنْصَدَ jindda,	جِنْصَدَ jodida,	جُدِدَ.
I. 1.	jiv gon,	جَوِ گَنْ jii gon,	جَى گَنْ jal gon,	جَلْ گَنْ.
2.	jinşda tlon,	جِنْصَدَ پُنْ jindda tlon,	جِنْصَدَ پُنْ jodida tlon,	جُدِدَ پُنْ.
P. 1.	jinşukh,	جِنْصُخْ jindik,	جِنْصُخْ jodikkh,	جُدِخْ.
2.	jinşta,	جِنْصَطَ jindta,	جِنْصَطَ jodita,	جُدِطَ.
3.	jinşotl̄tl̄,	جِنْصَلْ jinditl̄tl̄,	جِنْصَلْ joditl̄tl̄,	جُدِلْ.
4.	jinşiyi 'olo,	جِنْصِیْ عُلْ jindiyi ôlo,	جِنْصِیْ عُلْ jodiyi ôlo,	جُدِیْ عُلْ.

*** The neuter jib, جب except in the nominative and the first instrumental, where it becomes جِبْ گَنْ jib gon, is declined like the feminine.

IV.—Possessive Pronouns.

Dir, دِر mine; dur, دُر thine; doşul, دُشُل his; do not change case or number even when in conjunction with a Substantive. In fact they are the genitives of the personal pronouns دُنْ, مُنْ, دُ, don, mon, do, and as such are naturally capable of declension.

V.—Indefinite Pronouns—

such as žoči, ژوچ whoever (literally one or which, man, from tzo, ژ—turned in combination into žo ژ—one—and čī چ man); šunigi, شَنِگ somebody *m.*; šinigi, شَنِگ *f.*; šibnigi, شِبَنِگ something (*n.*) are declined like substantives.

I give the declension of the last, that of the first is very easy, the remaining immutable, whilst the accompanying چ passes through the phases to which it is accustomed when it stands alone.

šunigi شُنِیْگِ, šinigi شِنِیْگِ, šibnigi شِبْنِیْگِ, šalnigi شَلْنِیْگِ, some one, *m.* and *f.*, some thing, *n.*, some people or things, *pl.*

	MASCULINE.		FEMININE.		PLURAL (common).
N.	šunigi, شُنِیْگِ	šinigi, شِنِیْگِ	šalnigi, شَلْنِیْگِ		
G. 1.	yaşol, یَاشُلْ	yatlol, یَاتْلُلْ	yađotl, یَاĐُتْلْ		یُصِّلْ.
	2. yaşdaşan, یَاشْدَاصَنْ	yaldaşsa, یَالْدَاصَّ	yađdađan, یَاĐْداĐَنْ		یُصْدَصَنْ.
	3. yaşakhkha, یَاشَکْکْخَا	yatlokhkha, یَاتْلُکْکْخَا	yađakhkha, یَاĐَکْکْخَا		یُصْخْ.
D. 1.	yaşakhkhi, یَاشَکْکْخِی	yatlokhkhi, یَاتْلُکْکْخِی	yađakhkhi, یَاĐَکْکْخِی		یُصْخْ.
	2. yaşsi, یَاشِّصْ	yatli, یَاتْلِی	yadđi, یَاĐْدِی		یُصِّصْ.
	3. yaşda, یَاشْدَا	yalda, یَالْدَا	yadđa, یَاĐْدا		یُصْدَا.
I. 1.	šivnigon, شِوْنِیْگَنْ	šinigon, شِنِیْگَنْ	šalnigon, شَلْنِیْگَنْ		
	2. yaşda tlon, یَاشْدَا تْلُونْ	yalda tlon, یَالْدَا تْلُونْ	yadđa tlon, یَاĐْدا تْلُونْ		یُصْدَا تْلُونْ.
P. 1.	yaşukh, یَاشُکْخْ	yatlokh, یَاتْلُکْخْ	yađokh, یَاĐُکْخْ		یُصْخْ.
	2. yaşta, یَاشْطَا	yalta, یَالْطَا	yadta, یَاĐْطَا		یُخْطَا.
	3. yasotltl, یَاشُتْلْتْلْ	yatlotltl, یَاتْلُتْلْتْلْ	yađotltl, یَاĐُتْلْتْلْ		یُصْلْ.
	4. yaşsi òlo, یَاشِّصْ عُلْ	yali òlo, یَالِیْ عُلْ	yađi òlo, یَاĐِیْ عُلْ		یُصِّصْ عُلْ.

* * The neuter šibnigi شِبْنِیْگِ and šibnigon شِبْنِیْگَنْ only differ from the feminine in the nominative and first instrumental cases.

VI.—Interrogative Pronouns.

šū šu, si شُوْ, si شِيْ, sib شِبْ, šall شَلْ.

<i>who</i> , masculine and feminine.		<i>which</i> , <i>what</i> , neuter and plural.	
Nom.	su, شُوْ	ši, شِيْ	šal, plural (common). شَلْ.
Gen.	1. t̄ilil, يَلْ	t̄ilil, يَلْ	{ šalazol, شَلَزُلْ. t̄ililazol, تِلِلَزُلْ.
	2. t̄ilalašdašša, يَلْصَدَصْ	šiyaldāšša, شِيْأَلْدَصْ	{ šaladāšša, شَلَادَصْ. t̄ililadāšša, تِلِلَادَصْ.
	3. t̄ililašokhkha, يَلْصُحْ	šiyat̄lokhā, شِيْأَتْلُوحْ	{ šaladokhkha, شَلَادُوحْ. t̄ililadokhkha, تِلِلَادُوحْ.
Dat.	1. t̄ililašokhkhi, يَلْصُحْ	šiyat̄lokhī, شِيْأَتْلُوحِيْ	{ šaladokhkhi, شَلَادُوحِيْ. t̄ililadokhkhi, تِلِلَادُوحِيْ.
	2. t̄ililaši, يَلْصِيْ	šiyat̄lī, شِيْأَتْلِيْ	{ šalazi, شَلَزِيْ. t̄ililadi, تِلِلَادِيْ.
	3. t̄ililašda, يَلْصَدْ	šiyalda, شِيْأَلْدْ	{ šalazda, شَلَزَدْ. t̄ililadda, تِلِلَادَدْ.

Instr. 1. šiv gon,	شَو گون	ši gon,	شی گون	šal gon,	شَل گون
2. t̃ilaṣṭa tlon, or t̃ida tlon,	{ لَصْطَ لِدَ پَن }	siyalda tlon,	شِيلَدَ پَن	{ šilazda tlon, t̃ilad̃da tlon,	{ شِلَزْدَا تَلون, تِلَادْدَا تَلون,
Prep. 1. t̃ilaṣokh, or t̃likkhko,	{ لَصْطَ لِشَخ }	siyalokh,	شِيلَاخ	{ šalazokh, t̃ilad̃okh,	{ شَلَزَاخ تِلَادَاخ
2. t̃ilaṣṭa, or t̃liṭa,	{ لَصْطَ لِطَا }	siyalṭa,	شِيلَاط	{ šalazṭa, t̃ilad̃ṭa,	{ شَلَزَاط تِلَادْطَا
3. šiv čiyaṣotl,	شَو چِيَصَل	šičučayatl̃otl,	شِيچُچِيَا تِلَل	šalčaiyaṣotl,	شَلچِيَا تِلَل
4. t̃ilaṣṣi òlo, t̃ili òlo,	{ لَصْطَ لِيلِ }	siyatli òlo,	شِيَا تِلِ òlo	{ t̃ilad̃i òlo, šalazi òlo,	{ تِلَادِ òlo, شَلَزَا òlo

Dongo, دُونْت I myself.

N.B. I do not give the whole declension of the neuter form šib شِب, it only differs from that of the feminine in the substitution in every case of b ب for i or y ی.

Notes.—All pronouns, except the definite and interrogative pronouns, are capable of receiving the final go ^{شْ}, in combination with a verb. As in ^{دِژْ} ^{هَوْن} havuna dižago, I did it myself—of my own accord. When the interrogative pronoun precedes an *active* verb it takes the form of tliša, ^{لِصْ} as in tliša hobuna, ^{لِصْ} ^{هَبْن} who made it?

There are other verbs that govern the first pronoun don, ^{دُن} I, which in the case of verbs that rule datives (2) and (3), changes its form as does the verb also; thus you say, dida vigana, ^{دِك} ^{وَكْن} I saw, and not don vašana, ^{دُن} ^{وَشْن}. Ditza vigona, ^{دِشْ} ^{وَكْن} and not ^{دِژْ} ^{وَكْن} diža vigana. But these are delicacies of grammar to which few pay attention.

Indeed my MS. says that the verb ^{وَلِز} votlizi, to love, is perhaps the only one which rules dative (2).

The Verbs.

After the extraordinary inflections to which the previous parts of speech have been subjected, one might well look with dread to what may happen to the verbs. Curiously enough these, except in the migration from tense to tense, remain perfectly quiet. Even our inveterate enemy the auxiliary verb *to be*, who in almost every cultivated language gives us so much trouble, assumes a stolidity which is surprising.

Thus to conjugate him you have only to leave him alone, and after altering his key with each new tense, to say *I am, thou am, he am, we am, you am, they am. I was, thou was, he was, we was, you was, they was*, and so on. On the other hand, whilst the verb remains so steady the pronoun bends to such an extent that we fail

to recognize at first sight the *I, thou, he, we, you, they*, which have been declined on another page.

I shall only give in full English and Avâr the verb *to be*; it will be sufficient in the remaining cases to represent the inflexion of the personal pronoun.

The names of the principal tenses are—

هَنج	hanji,	the <i>Present tense</i> .
نِڭد	nigo,	the <i>Preterite</i> .
شِڭد	tsingo,	the <i>Future</i> .
مَل	matlî,	the <i>Imperative</i> .
بُڭن	bogon,	the <i>Gerund</i> .

The Verb Bogizi بُڭيز *to be*.

	MASC.		FEM.
I am,	don vogo,	دُن وَڭ	yago, يَڭد Present Tense.
Thou art,	mon vogo,	مُن وَڭ	
He is,	duv vogo,	دُو وَڭ	
We are,	nij vogo,	نِڭ وَڭ	
You are,	noj vogo,	نُڭ وَڭ	
They are,	dol vogo,	دُل وَڭ	
I was,	don vogana, etc. etc.	دُن وَڭن	yigana, يِڭن Preterite.
I shall be,	don vogina, etc. etc.	دُن وَڭن	yigina, يِڭن Future.
Be,	voga,	وَڭ	yiga, يَڭد Imperative.
Being,	bogon,	بُڭن	yigin, يِڭن Gerund.

Participles.

	MASC.	SINGULAR.	FEM.	PLURAL (Common).
Present.	vogiv,	وَوِغِوْ	yigiz,	يِغِزْ rogil, رَوِغِلْ.
Past.	vogazau,	وَوِغَزَوْ	yigarai,	يِغَرَايْ rogiral, رَوِغِرَالْ.
Future.	voginev,	وَوِغِنَوْ	yigani,	يِغَنِئِيْ roginil, رَوِغِنِلْ.

Vasandizi, وَسَنْدِزْ to play.

	MASCULINE.	FEMININE.
Present.	vasandula, وَسَنْدُلْ	yasandula, يَسَنْدُلْ
Perfect.	vasandan, وَسَنْدَنْ	yasandan, يَسَنْدَنْ
Imperfect.	vasandilev, وَسَنْدِلَوْ	yasandiliî, يَسَنْدِلِيْ
	vagana, وَغَنْ	yagana, يَغَنْ
Future I.	vasandila, وَسَنْدِلْ	yasandila, يَسَنْدِلْ
Future II.	vasandilov, وَسَنْدِلَوْ	yasandili, يَسَنْدِلْ
	vagina, وَغِنْ	yagina, يَغِنْ
Imperative.	vasandi, وَسَنْدِ	yasandi, يَسَنْدِ
Gerund.	vasandon, وَسَنْدَنْ	yasandon, يَسَنْدَنْ

Participles.

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Pr.	vasandolev, وَسَنْدِلَوْ	vasandoli, يَسَنْدِلْ
P.	vasandau, وَسَنْدَوْ	vasandarai, يَسَنْدَرَايْ
Fut.	vasandilev, وَسَنْدِلَوْ	vasandili, يَسَنْدِلْ

Tlazi, تَلِزْ to know.

In this case the whole play is upon the pronoun, which, instead of don, mon, dav, nij, noj, dol, assumes the forms of

Dida, دِدْ	doda, دَدْ	doḍda, دُودْ.
Nijida, نِجِدْ	nojoda, نُجِدْ	dozda, دُودْ.

Having premised this, I give the various tenses of the Verb :

Fem. only varies from M. in the third person throughout, as

Present.	tlalib bogo, ^{پَلِب بُڭ}	dolda tlalib bogo, ^{دُلْد پَلِب بُڭ}
Perfect.	tlana, ^{پَن}	dolda tlana, ^{دُلْد پَن}
Imperfect.	tlan bogo, ^{پَن بُڭ}	etc., etc.
Imper.	tlai, ^{پَي}	
Fut. I.	tlala, ^{پَل}	
Fut. II.	tlin bogo, ^{پَن بُڭ}	
Gerund.	tlan, ^{پَن}	

Participles.

	MASC.		FEM.		PLURAL.
Present.	tlalev, پَلَو	tlali, پَلِي	tlalil, پَلِل		
Past.	tlarav, پَرَو	tlarai, پَرِي	tlaral, پَرِل		
Future.	tlazikhin, پَزِيخِن	tlazikhin, پَزِيخِن	tlazikhin, پَزِيخِن		
	vogev, وُكُو	yagi, يَكِي	vogil, وُكِل		

şin bakhizi, ^{صِن بُخِز}, to be angry.

Present.	dir şin bakhon bogo, ^{دِر صِن بُخَن بُڭ}
	dur şin bakhon bogo, ^{دُر صِن بُخَن بُڭ}
	*doşul şin bakhon bogo, ^{دُشُل صِن بُخَن بُڭ}
	nijir şin bakhon bogo, ^{نَجِر صِن بُخَن بُڭ}
	nojor şin bakhon bogo, ^{نُجِر صِن بُخَن بُڭ}
	dozul şin bakhon bogo, ^{دُزُل صِن بُخَن بُڭ}
Past I.	dir şin bakhana, ^{دِر صِن بُخَن}
	etc., etc.
Past II.	dir şin bakhon bogana, ^{دِر صِن بُخَن بُڭَن}
	etc., etc.

* Doşul or doşlul ^{دُشُل} or ^{دُپُل}, both forms are in use.

Future I.	dir şin bakhina,	دِرِ شِن بَاكِينَا.
Future II.	dir şin bakhon bogiya,	دِرِ شِن بَاكِئِن بُوْغِيَا.
Imperative.	dir şin bakhkha,	دِرِ شِن بَاكِخَا.
Gerund.	şin bakhon,	شِن بَاكِئِن.

Participles.

	MASC.	FEM.
Present.	şin bakhkhon vogev, وَغِیْ,	şin bakhkhon vogev, یِگِ.
Past.	şin bakhkhon vogarav, وَگَرِو,	şin bakhkhon vogarav, یِگَرِی.
Future.	şin bakhinev, وَخِنِو,	şin bakhinev, یِخِنِی.

PLURAL.

Present.	şin nakhon rogil, رُوْگِل,	şin nakhon rogil, رُوْگِل.
Past.	şin nakhon rogaral, رُوْگَرِو,	şin nakhon rogaral, رُوْگَرِو.
Future.	şin nakhinzi rogil, رُوْگِل,	şin nakhinzi rogil, رُوْگِل.

* * In the feminine singular I do not think it necessary to repeat the şin bakhon.

Abizi أَیِرِ to tell.

Present.	dişşa abula bogo, دِشْشَا اَبُلَا بُوْغُو.
	doşşa abula bogo, دُوْشْشَا اَبُلَا بُوْغُو.
	doş, or dotl, abula bogo, دُوْشْ دُتْلِ اَبُلَا بُوْغُو.
	nijşşa abula bogo, نِجْشْشَا اَبُلَا بُوْغُو.
	nojoşşa abula bogo, نُوْجُوْشْشَا اَبُلَا بُوْغُو.
	doz abula bogo, دُوْز اَبُلَا بُوْغُو.
Past I.	dişşa abuna, دِشْشَا اَبُنَا.
Past II.	dişşa abun bogana, دِشْشَا اَبُن بُوْغَانَا.

Future I.	dişsa abila,	دِشْ اَبِلَ.
Future II.	dişsa abun bogina,	دِشْ اَبُنْ بُوْگِنَ.
Imperative.	dişsa abi,	دِشْ اَبَ.
Gerund.	abun,	اَبُنْ.

<i>Participles.</i>	MASC.	FEM.	PLURAL.
Present.	abulev, اَبُلُوْ	abulii, اَبِلِيْ	abulal, اَبَلَلْ.
Past.	aburav, اَبُرُوْ	aburai, اَبُرِيْ	abural, اَبُرَلْ.
Future.	abilev, اَبِلُوْ	abilii, اَبِلِيْ	abilil, اَبِلِلْ.

Botlizi, بُوْلِيْزِ to love.

Present.	diyi botlola,	دِي بُوْلَلْ.
	duyi botlola,	دُي بُوْلَلْ.
	doşsiyi botlola,	دُوْشِيْ بُوْلَلْ.
	nijiyi botlola,	نِيْجِيْ بُوْلَلْ.
	nojoyi botlola,	نُوْجِيْ بُوْلَلْ.
	doziyi botlola,	دُوْزِيْ بُوْلَلْ.
Past I.	diyi botlana,	دِي بُوْلَنَ.
Past II.	diyi botlon bogona,	دِي بُوْلَنْ بُوْگُوْ.
Future I.	diyi botlila,	دِي بُوْلِلَ.
Future II.	diyi botlon bogina,	دِي بُوْلَنْ بُوْگِنَ.
Imperative.	diyi botltli,	دِي بُوْلْ.
Gerund.	botlon,	بُوْلَنْ.

<i>Participles.</i>	MASC.	FEM.	PLURAL.
Present.	botlolev, بُوْلُوْ	botloli, بُوْلِيْ	botlolil, بُوْلِلْ.
Past.	botlarav, بُوْلَرُوْ	botlirai, بُوْلِرِيْ	botloral, بُوْلُرَلْ.
Future.	botlilev, بُوْلُوْ	botlali, بُوْلِلِيْ	botlil, بُوْلِلْ.

Negative Verbs.

Certain forms are used, to denote the inverse meaning of the word.

Higo, هِڭ final.

and Ro, رُ „

and in certain cases ل is introduced before the last syllable.

But my MS. is not clear enough on this point to enable me to give a table. The theory is, however, similar to that which is carried out in Turkish, where the introduction of *m* into the body of a verb negatives its meaning.

Adverbs.

These will all be found in the Vocabulary. I have no special remarks to make about them.

Prepositions.

or rather Post-positions, for, with the exception of the first one given, they are invariably placed at the end of the word to which they belong.

About, concerning, تِل, tîl.

Example :—tîl ghoṣ businiba, تِلْ غُصْ بُسِينِبَا.

About whom he is speaking.

Along, داṣṣan, دَصْن.

Ex. :—don inév vogo nokh daṣṣan, دَنْ اِنَو وَڭ نُخْ دَصْن.

I am going along the road.

Before, ṣivi khon, صَوِخْن.

Ex. :—Mohammad čon vogo âridah ṣivi khon,

مَحْمَدْ چُونْ وَڭ عَرِدَهْ صَوِخْن.

Mohammad is standing before (or face to face with) a lioness.

Behind (1), tlokh, تَلِخْ.

Ex. :—imenu tlokh, اِمْنُ تَلِخْ.

Behind the father.

(2) This preposition is also used as “for” in the sense of a purchase.

Ex. :—šib doşsa tlorab hadaba tiġgatlokh,

شِب دُصْ يُرَبْ هَدَبْ طِثْلِيْ

How much didst thou give for this book?

Below, under, ghortltl, غُرْلْ.

Ex. :—nij rogana ghoṭada ghortltl, نِيْجْ رُكْنْ غُطْدَ غُرْلْ.

We sat under the tree.

For, òlon, عُْلُنْ.

Ex. :—duyi òlon dişsa bičun bosana t̄lilab ču,

دُيْ عُْلُنْ دِصْ بِچُنْ بُسَنْ لِيْلَبْ چُ

I bought for thee a good horse.

From, sa, صْ.

Ex. :—Tifişsa gunibaşgur, طِفْلِيْصْ كُنِيْبَاشْغُرْ.

From Tiflis to Gunib.

In, bi, بْ. Ex. :—Rokbi, رُكْبِ, In the house.

Near, in the presence of, şibi, صِبْ.

Ex. :—dida şibi ghologh hobolev vogo,

دِدْ صِبْ عُْلُغْ هَبْلُوْ وَگْ

He serves near me (He is my fellow-servant).

Of, about, concerning, şotltl, صُلْ.

Ex. :—dişsa harana doşsul vasaşotltl, دِصْ هَرَنْ دُشْلْ وَصْشُلْ.

I asked in favour of his son.

On, upon, ʔa, طْ.

Ex. :—kalam bogo tepsiyaltʔa, قَلَمْ بُشْدْ تَيْصِيْطْ.

The pen is lying on the table.

Out of, khan, tlan, ʔən ʔin.

Ex. :—duv vačan khonza khan, دُوْ وَچَنْ خُنْزَرْ خَنْ.

He came out of Khonz (a village in Daghistān).

Over, through, across, daşşan, دَصْشَنْ.

Ex. :—don ganžana khor čudaşşan, دَنْ كَنْزَنْ خُرْ چُدَصْشَنْ.

I jumped across the horse (I vaulted into my saddle),

To, towards, aşgur, أَصْغُرْ.

Ex. :—nijana mijgitalda aşgur, نِيْجَنْ مِيْجَيْتَالْدَ أَصْغُرْ.

We went towards the Mosk.

Through, bortlana, بُرْلَانِ.

Ex. :—kidu bortlana, كِدُ بُرْلَانِ.

Through the wall.

With, sadakh, سَدَاخْ.

Ex. :—don vasgon sadakh, دُنْ وَسْكَوْنُ سَدَاخْ.

I am with my son.

With, at, oşgov, اُشْكَوْ.

Ex. :—don vogo insoda oşgov, دُنْ وَشْ اِنْصَدَا اُشْكَوْ.

I am living with my father, or, at my father's, in the sense of the French chez mon père.

Without, hočigo, هُچْدِ.

Ex. :—čed žan hočigo, چَدَ ژَانْ هُچْدِ.

Bread without salt.

Conjunctions.

These, like the Prepositions, are annexed to the final syllable of the word, and are sometimes repeated.

And, gi, گِ.

Ex. :—dongi mongi, دُونْگِ مُونْگِ, *I and he (I and he and).*

Again, nakhigi, نَاخِگِ.

Because, šai guruni, شَايْ گُرُنِ.

But, huv, هُوْ.

Only, kalto, قَلْطُ.

Or, š, شْ.

Ex. :—haviš ketoviš, هَویْشْ کِتُویْشْ *A dog or a cat.*

Yet, still, tsugiz, تُسْگِزْ.

Interjections.

Eh! Oh! O! li, لِ, or occasionally as a final, bi, بِ.

Ex. :—liču, لِچُ, O horse.

Padishabi, پَادِشَهَبِ, O sovereign.

Ji, جِ (means alarm).

Hi! Oyi! هِیْ اُیْ, a war cry calling for an attack on the enemy.

Ekh, khkhe, ṯḻle, اَکْ خَکْ خَکْ, denotes surprise.

We are now come to the end of the Grammar, and practically to the end of this Article. I have by me a long string of sentences such as would be useful to the student as illustrations of the language, and a popular song or ballad, also of considerable length. But these, with translations and transcriptions, would trespass too far on the limits of our present number; I may hope, however, to give them on a future occasion.

My remaining remarks are a sort of review of that which we have before us. In the Introduction (page 297) I stated that certain sounds were so nearly similar to each other that the symbols representing them might be grouped, and that probably some of them were only interesting inasmuch as they might be the representatives of foreign words; Persian, Turkish, Arabic and others which had fallen into the language. I think I said too much, for in words undoubtedly Avâr, my Sheikh has taken pains to make a definite distinction between the ط and the ت, the ص and the س, the ض and the د. In any case the غ should take the place of the خ, which is a misprint.

I also promised to dwell more upon the phenomenon of the famous "click." But I can only repeat that it is peculiar as far as I believe to the Avâr, and even amongst the multifarious languages of the Caucasus, I cannot find it either in the Tshetshentsh—how much easier to write Čečenč—the Kasikumuk, the Abkhasian, the Tush, or the Kurinian languages.

Prolific as it is in consonants and "clicks," the Avâr on the other hand is deficient in the nasal añ, iñ, oñ, uñ, found amongst some of its neighbours, notably in the Circassian.

If I am asked what principle guided me in dealing with the vowels in my choice between the e and the i, the o and the u, and in the employment of the final u versus the v, I reply that I have everywhere adhered to the Russian transcription of M. Bergé, which was made on the spot, under the eye of the learned old Sheikh, to whom reference was made in the Introduction, and where his ear was kept in continual practice. I believe therefore that I am giving with the nearest possible approach to accuracy the pronunciation most generally accepted, at all events by those Avârs who read and

write,—in fact the “scholars” of Daghistân. As I have mentioned, even in villages divided by a mere ravine varieties of dialect may occur, so that two officers quartered a few miles apart may easily be able to furnish us with a couple of vocabularies differing from each other more or less, especially in the accentuation. No one must therefore be surprised, if the notation employed in this work should not exactly suit all localities where Avâr is spoken.

Thanks to the great care of our printers, few errors I think will be found either in the Oriental text or in its transcription. But where we have to deal with such delicate points and accents the utmost diligence on the part of the printer and the author can hardly save even the last correction, from the danger of some slight typographical inaccuracies.

The arrangement of the grammar is the part which will least please English readers. My first impulse, I own, was to put it into another shape. Some of the prepositional cases, for instance, might have been rolled, I imagined, into an ablative, and the two instrumental cases between them might have furnished one accusative. But then I find a special note in the margin of the manuscript which declares distinctly that there is “*no accusative in Avâr.*”

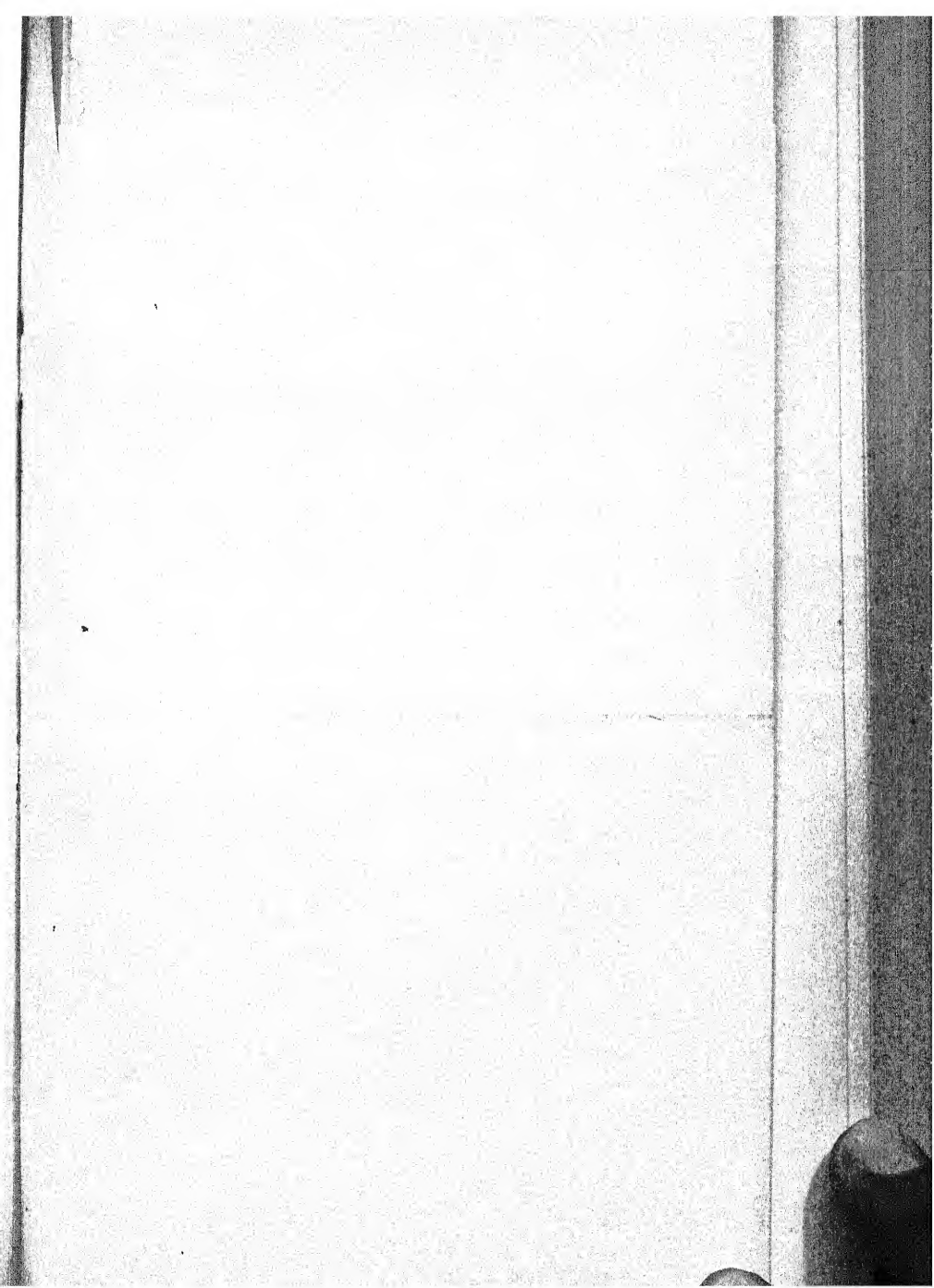
I may therefore be forgiven if I leave M. Bergé’s method alone, and present my pages in a form which at all events will not be novel to Russian grammarians.

I omitted, likewise, in the Introduction to explain the long delay which has occurred in the publication of this article.

During several years official and other duties carried me not only out of England, but to places beyond the range of access to books of reference such as a man requires for the task I had before me. It was only during the quiet of the last winter that I was able thus far to complete it.

In the translation of the Russian I owe much to the assistance given me by M. Riola, Professor of the Russian Language in London.

I have only to add that I am sending copies of this article to my friends at St. Petersburg, and to M. Adolphe Bergé at Tiflis, inviting in return their criticisms, which could not fail to contribute further to our knowledge of this remarkable language.



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ART. XII.—*Caucasian Nationalities*. By M. A. MORRISON.

PROFESSOR SCHIEFNER, of St. Petersburg, whom I met at the Fourth Oriental Congress at Florence, 1878, was good enough to prepare for me a *résumé* of the languages spoken in the Caucasus, with which he was familiar: fortunately he did not delay in complying with my request, as he died before his essay was translated and published in the Proceedings of the Philological Society of London for 1879.

Last year I met Mr. Morrison, the Agent for the British and Foreign Bible Society at Tiflis, and I asked him to prepare a schedule of the Caucasian Nationalities, with their approximate population. This year I received the following letter and the desired schedule.

I have not ventured to alter his terminology of the Caucasian tribes; they are printed as he states them. It is clear that he gives an ethnic, and not a linguistic table; and it yet remains, after due inquiry, to collate Professor Schiefner's linguistic sketch with this schedule of Nationalities. I have asked Mr. Morrison to do this at his leisure, and then to tabulate the population linguistically, as it is as important to the Society, of which he is the Agent, to ascertain the extent of the requirements of each language, into which the Bible is translated, as it is interesting to the Philologist and Ethnologist to be informed accurately of the fissures in the population, who have been driven in past ages to the skirts

of the Caucasus, and have now passed into the one all absorbing Empire of Russia.

ROBERT CUST,

22, Albemarle Street,

Hon. Sec. to the Royal Asiatic Society.

June 9, 1881.

TIFLIS, *24th January, 1881.*

DEAR SIR,—I have had some little time lately at my disposal, and I utilized it in fulfilling my long-standing promise to you.

I have now the pleasure to send you on the enclosed sheet a statement of Caucasian Nationalities, which is in great measure self-explanatory. I hope you may find it useful. I shall be most happy to supplement it in any way you require.

If you wish I can let you have a tabulated statement of Religions corresponding to this of Races.

I remain, dear Sir,

yours faithfully,

M. A. MORRISON.

R. N. Cust, Esq., London.

ART. XIII.—*Translation of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.* Books

VII. VIII. By the Rev. B. HALE WORTHAM.

BOOK VII.

ONCE upon earth there lived a saintly king
 Named Hariśchandra ; pure in heart and mind,
 In virtue eminent, he ruled the world,
 Guarding mankind from evil. While he reigned
 No famine raged, nor pain ; untimely death
 Ne'er cut men off ; nor were the citizens
 Of his fair city lawless. All their wealth,
 And power, and works of righteousness, ne'er filled
 Their hearts with pride ; in everlasting youth
 And loveliness the women passed their days.

It so fell out, that while this mighty king
 Was hunting in the forest, that he heard
 The sound of female voices raised in cry
 Of supplication. Then he turned and said,
 Leaving the deer to fly unheeded : " Stop !
 Who art thou, full of tyranny and hate,
 That darest thus oppress the earth ; while I,
 The tamer of all evil, live and rule ?"
 Then, too, the fierce Ganeśa,—he who blinds
 The eyes, and foils the wills of men,—he heard
 The cry, and thus within himself he thought :
 " This surely is the great ascetic's work,
 The mighty Viśvāmitra ; he whose acts
 Display the fruits of penance hard and sore.
 Upon the sciences he shows his power,
 While they, in patience, discipline of mind,
 And silence perfected, cry out with fear,
 ' What shall we do ? The illustrious Kauśika
 Is powerful ; and we, compared with him,

Are feeble.' Thus they cry. What shall I do?
 My mind is filled with doubt. Yet stay; a thought
 Has come across me: Lo! this king who cries
 Unceasingly, 'Fear not!' meeting with him,
 And entering his heart, I will fulfil
 All my desire." Then filled with Rudra's son—
 Inspired with rage by Vigna Raj—the king
 Spake up and said: "What evil doer is here,
 Binding the fire on his garment's hem,
 While I, his king, in power and arms renowned,
 Resplendent in my glory, pass for nought?
 Surely the never-ending sleep of death
 Shall overtake him, and his limbs shall fail,
 Smitten with darts from my far-reaching bow,
 Whose fame this lower world may scarce contain."
 Hearing the prince's words, the saint was filled
 With wrath o'erpow'ring, and the sciences
 Fell blasted in a moment at his glance.

But when the king beheld the pious sage
 All-powerful, he quaked exceedingly,
 And trembled like the sacred fig-tree's leaves.
 Then Viśvâmitra cried: "Stop, miscreant!"
 And Hariśchandra, humbly falling down
 Before the saint, in accents low and meek:
 "O Lord! most holy! most adorable!
 Oh, blame me not! This is no fault of mine!
 My duty calls," he said, "I must obey."

"Is it not written in the Holy Law,
 'Alms must be given by a virtuous king;
 His people must be fought for, and be kept
 From every ill'?" Then Viśvâmitra spoke
 And said: "To whom, O king, should'st thou give alms?
 For whom in battle should'st thou fight? and whom
 Should'st thou protect? Oh, tell me, nor delay,
 But quickly answer, if thou fearest sin."

"Alms should be given to Brâhmans," said the king:
 "Those who are weak should be protected: foes
 In battle should be met and overcome."

Then Viśvâmitra spoke and said : " O king !
 If thus indeed thou rightly dost perceive
 Thy royal duty, give thine alms to me ;
 I am a holy Brâhman, and I seek
 A dwelling-place ; moreover I would gain
 A wife : therefore bestow on me thine alms."
 The king, his heart filled with exceeding joy,
 Felt, as it were, his youth return, and said :
 " Fear not ! but tell me, son of Kauśika,
 Thy heart's desire ; and be it hard to gain,
 Or be it easy, it shall still be thine.
 Say, shall I give thee gold, or wealth, or life ?
 Or shall I give thee wife, or child, or land ?
 Or my prosperity itself ? " " O king ! "
 The sage replied, " thy present I accept ;
 But let thine alms, I pray, be granted first,—
 The offering for the kingly sacrifice."
 " O Brâhman ! " said the king, " the alms are thine ;
 Further than this, whatever be the gift
 Thou mayest desire, freely I give it thee.
 Ask what thou wilt." Then Viśvâmitra spake :
 " Give me the earth, its mountains, seas, and towns,
 With all its kingdoms, chariots, horses, men ;
 Its elephants, its treasure-houses too ;
 Its treasures vast, and all whate'er beside
 Is recognized as thine : oh ! give me all,
 I pray, except thyself, thy wife, thy son,
 And this thy righteousness, that follows close
 Beside thee. Sinless one ! oh thou who art
 Perfect in righteousness ! oh give me all—
 All beside these. What need of further words."

The king, with heart rejoicing, and unchanged
 In countenance, hearing the sage's words,
 Said, humbly bowing down before the saint,
 " So be thy wish fulfilled." " O saintly king,"
 Said Viśvâmitra, " if the world is mine,
 And power, and wealth, I pray you who shall reign,
 Since in this kingdom as a devotee

I dwell?" Then Hariśchandra said: "'Ere this,
Before the world was thine by my free gift,
Thou wast the lord of all; how much more now?
Thy right is doubly sure." Then said the sage:
"If this indeed be so,—if the whole world
Be truly mine, and all its sovereignty,
Then should'st thou not remain, nor leave thyself
Aught of that kingdom which thou hast renounced,
But, casting off thy royal ornaments,
Thou should'st depart, clothed in a dress of bark."
The king, obedient to the sage's word,
Stripped off his royal dress, and, with his wife
And son, made haste to go. Then said the saint:
"Stop, Hariśchandra! Hast thou then forgot
The offering for the kingly sacrifice
That thou hast promised us?" Replied the king:
"O mighty saint! the kingdom now is *thine*;
All have I given to *thee*: and as for me,
What have I left?—nought! save myself,
My wife, my son!" "Thou sayest the truth, indeed,"
Answered the sage; "but yet there still remains
The offering for the kingly sacrifice.
And this know well: A vow to Brāhmans made,
If unfulfilled, works special woe to him
Who made the vow. For in this sacrifice
Must offerings of worth be freely made
To Brāhmans;—offerings until they cry
Hold! that suffices for us! Therefore pay
Thy promised vow, nor longer hesitate.
'Alms are for Brāhmans,' thou thyself hast said,
'Those who are weak must be protected: foes
In battle must be met and overcome.'"
"O saintly priest!" answered the king, "my wealth
Is all departed: nothing now remains
For me to give: yet grant me time I pray,
And I will pay the offering!" "Noble king,"
Said Viśvāmītra, "speak I pray thee! Say
What time dost thou appoint that I should wait?"

Speak ! no delay ! or else my curse of fire
Shall burn thee up." Then Hariśchandra said :
"Most holy Brāhman ! when a month has past
The money for the offering shall be thine.
Now I have nothing. Oh ! be pleased to grant
Remission for the present." Said the sage,
"Go ! go ! most noble prince ! maintain thy faith !
And may'st thou prosper ! may no enemies
Harass thy road." Commanded thus, the king
Departed as an outcast ;—he, the king
Of all the earth, an exile with his wife
Unused to go afoot, and with his son
Went forth : while cries and lamentations rose
On every side : "Our hearts are filled with pain,
Why dost thou leave us thus ? O virtuous king !
Show mercy to thy subjects. Righteousness
Indeed shines forth in thee ; if thou art full
Of mercy, may it overflow on us.
Stay ! Mighty Prince ! one moment, while we gaze
With lover's eyes upon thy beauteous form.
Alas ! our Prince ! Shall we ne'er see thee more ?
How changed thy princely state ! Thou, who did'st once
Go forth, surrounded by attendant kings,
Who marched on foot ; while stately elephants
Bore e'en thy ministers. Now, Lord of Kings !
Thyself art driven forth on foot. Yet, stay !
Think, Hariśchandra ! how wilt thou endure
The dust, the heat, the toil ? Stay, mighty prince,
Nor cast thy duty off. Oh, show to us
Some mercy, for herein thy duty lies.
Behold, we cast off all for thee ! Our wives,
Our wealth, our children, our possessions, all
Have we relinquished ; like thy shadow,
We would follow thee. Oh leave us not !
For wheresoe'er thou art is happiness,
And heaven itself would be no heaven to us
Without our prince." Then, overwhelmed with grief
At these laments, the king stayed on his course,

In pity for his loving citizens.

Then Viśvāmitra, filled with rage, his eyes
Rolling with wrath, exclaimed: "Shame on thee! shame!
O full of falsehood, and of wickedness.

How! would'st thou, then, speaker of lies!
Resume the gifts that thou hast freely made,
And reinstate thee in thy kingdom?" "Sir!
I go!" replied the king to these rude words,
And trembling crept away in haste, his wife
Holding him by the hand. And, as she went,
Her fragile form o'ercome with weariness,
The Brāhman smote her fiercely with his stick.
Then Hariśchandra, pained with inmost grief,
Seeing the stroke, said meekly, "Sir! I go!"
Nor further spoke. Filled with compassion then,
The Viśvadevas said: "What sin is this?
What torments shall indeed suffice for him
By whom this pious king—the offerer
Of prayer, and sacrifice, has been cast forth.
Who now will sanctify the Soma-juice
With prayers and hymns, at the great sacrifice,
That we may drink it with rejoicing hearts?"

Then, having heard these words, the Brāhman turned
Upon the Viśvedevās; and, in wrath
Exceeding hot, he spake a fearful curse:

"You shall be cast down from the height of heaven,
And live as men." The curse had hardly passed
His lips, when filled with pity for their fate,
The sage yet further added: "You shall live
Indeed as men, but yet, there shall be born
To you no son, nor shall you know the state
Of marriage. Envy, love, and wrath shall ne'er
Hold sway o'er you: and when the appointed time
Has past, you shall re-enter once again
The courts of heaven, and wear again the form
Which you had lost." The Viśvedevās then
Came down from heaven, and, clothed in human form,
Were born as men, the sons of Pritha, wife

Of Paṇḍu. Therefore those five Pāṇḍavas—
 Mighty in war—by Viśvāmitra cursed,
 Knew not the state of marriage. Thou hast heard
 The tale of Paṇḍu's sons ; thy question, too,
 Of fourfold import has been answered.
 I pray thee, say, what further would'st thou hear ?

Book VIII.

Said Jaimini : An answer ye have found
 To all my questions ; and indeed have filled
 Me full of deepest interest. Oh ! I long
 To hear yet more ! Alas ! that saintly king !
 What grief he suffered ! Did he e'er attain
 To any comfort answering to his woe ?
 Noblest of Birds ! Oh tell me this, I pray.

The Holy Birds continued : Then the king,
 O'ercome with grief and pain, hearing the words
 Of Viśvāmitra, with his wife and son
 Journeyed along, dragging his weary steps.
 At length the holy place appeared in view—
 The shrine of Śiva ; thus within himself,
 He said : “ Benares, sacred to the god,
 Lies now before me ; there shall I find rest,
 For there man has no power.” The king approached
 The gates on foot : lo ! at the entry stood
 The Brāhman Viśvāmitra. Mighty Saint !
 The king, his hands in supplication joined,
 With humble reverence, said : “ Here is my life,
 My wife, my son, I offer all to thee ;
 Accept, I pray, the offering ! or choose
 Whatever else thou wouldst !” But the sage
 Replied : “ The month is past ! most saintly king !
 Give me the present for the sacrifice—

The offering thou hast promised." "One half-day
As yet remains before the month be past,
Oh Brâhman of surpassing piety,
And penances unfading. Wait, I pray,
A few short hours." Then Viśvâmitra said :
"So be it, king ! once more I will return,
But if the offering be not duly paid,
Before the sinking of this evening's sun,
My curse shall smite thee." And the priest
Departed, while the king, in anxious thought,
Debated thus : "How shall I make the gift ?
The promised gift ? where are my friends ? my wealth ?
I may not beg for alms ; how can I then
Fulfil my vow ? Nor even in the world
Beyond shall I find rest. Destruction waits,
If with my promise unfulfilled, I pass
From hence. A robber of the holy saints ;
I shall become the lowest of the low.
Nay, I will sell myself ! and, as a slave,
Redeem my promise." Then the queen, in tears
Bewildered, and afflicted, lost in thought,
With face cast down, "Maintain thy truth," she said,
"Most mighty prince ! Oh ! let not doubt prevail !
The man devoid of truth is to be shunned
Like contact with the dead. The highest law
Declares, that inward truth and faithfulness
Must be maintained. Burnt sacrifices, alms,
The study of the scriptures, penances,
Are counted not for righteousness to him
Whose word is faithless. Listen ! noble prince !
Is it not written in the sacred law :
'The wise attain Salvation through the truth,
While lies and falsehood are destruction's way
To men of low and evil minds.' There lived,
'Tis said, a king upon the earth, by whom
The kingly sacrifice—burnt offerings too,
Were offered in abundance. That same king
Fell *once* from truthfulness, and by that fall,

He lost his righteousness, and forfeited
His place in heaven. Prince ! I have borne a son"—
Her utterance failed her, issuing forth in nought
But sighs and lamentations. Then the king,
With eyes o'erflowing, said, "Behold thy son !
He stands beside thee ! cast away thy grief !
Tell me what presses on thee." Said the queen,
"Prince, I have borne a son ; and sons are born
To none but worthy women. This my son
Shall take me—he shall offer me for sale—
Then with the money gained, pay thou the priest
The promised offering." Hearing these words,
He fell down fainting. When his sense returned,
Filled with exceeding pain, the king burst forth,
Lamenting : "This, alas ! most loving one !
Is hardly to be framed in words, much less
Be carried out in deed. Alas ! alas !"—
His spirit fled again, and to the earth
He fell unconscious. Overcome with grief,
The queen exclaimed, filled with compassion : "King !
How art thou fallen from thy high estate !
The ground is now thy resting-place, whom once
A gorgeous couch received. Lo ! this my lord,
By whom wealth, honour, power, are freely given
An offering to the Brâhman—see, he lies
Insensate on the ground. Ye gods of heaven !
Tell me, I pray you, has this noble king,
Equal to gods in rank, committed sin
Against you, that he lies thus overcome
With woe ?" Then fell the queen, bereft of sense
Upon the earth, o'erwhelmed with grief and pain,
Seeing her husband's misery. When the boy
Beheld his parents lying on the ground,
He cried in terror : "Father ! give me food !
Mother ! my tongue is parched with thirst !" Meanwhile
Upon the scene the mighty Brâhman came ;
And when he saw the king lie senseless, "King !"—
Sprinkling cold water on his face—he said,

“ Rise up ! rise up ! Pay me the promised vow ;
For this thy misery from day to day
Increases, and will yet increase, until
The debt be paid.” The water’s cooling touch
Refreshed the king ; his consciousness returned ;
But when he saw the Brâhman, faintness seized
His limbs again. Then overpowering rage
Seized Viśvâmitra ; but before he left,
The best of Brâhman said : “ If what is just,
Or right, or true, enters thy mind, O king !
Give me the present. Lo ! by truth divine
The sun sends forth his vivifying rays
Upon the earth. By truth this mighty world
Stands firm and steadfast. Truth all law excels.
By truth the very heaven itself exists.
Wert thou to weigh the truth, and in the scale
Opposing, wert to place burnt-offerings,
And sacrifices countless, still the truth
Would far outweigh them all. Why need I waste
My words of loving-kindness upon thee—
An ill-intentioned, false, ignoble man.
Thou art a king,—so should the truth prevail
With thee. Yet hear me ;—if the offering
Be still unpaid when th’ evening’s sun has sunk
Behind the western mountain to his rest,
My curse shall smite thee.” Speaking words like these
The Brâhman left him ; and the king, o’ercome
With fear—a fugitive—robbed of his wealth—
Degraded to unfathomable depths—
The victim of his evil creditor—
Heard once again the counsel of his wife :
“ O king ! sell *me* ! nor let the fiery curse
Dissolve thy being ! ” Urged repeatedly,
The king at length replied : “ Most loving one !
What the most wicked man could hardly do,
That same will I :—and I will sell my wife.
Alas ! that I should utter such a word ! ”
And going with his wife into the town—

Eyes dimmed with tears, voice choked with grief—he cried :

“Come hither, townsmen ! hearken unto me !
A wretch ! inhuman ! savage as a fiend !
I offer here my wife for sale, and yet
I live ! Here is a female slave ! Who buys ?
Make haste and speak.” “The female slave is mine !”
(So spake an ancient Brāhman to the king.)
“Money I have in heaps, and I will pay
You well for her. My wife is delicate ;
Her household duties are beyond her strength ;
I want a slave, and therefore I will give
A price proportioned to the woman’s skill
And temper ; nor will I o’erlook her youth
And beauty. What you think is fair and right,
That will I pay.” Struck dumb with grief, the king
Stood mute, nor answered aught. And then the priest,
Tying the price in the king’s garment-hem—
His bark-cloth garment—roughly grasped the queen,
And dragged her off. But when the loving child
Beheld his mother led away, he seized
Her by her garment. And the queen exclaimed :
“If only for a moment, noble sir !
Oh ! let me go ! that I may gaze once more
Upon my child, whom I shall never see,
And never touch again ! My child, behold
Thy mother, now a slave ! And thou—a prince !
Oh, touch me not ! My lot of servitude
Forbids that thou should’st touch me.” But the child,
His eyes bedewed with tears, ran after her,
Calling her “Mother !” As the boy came near,
The Brāhman spurned him with his foot ; but he
Still following close would not be torn from her,
Calling her “Mother !” “Oh, my lord ! I pray,
Be gracious to me !” said the queen. “Oh, buy
My son with me ; divide us not ! For I
Without him shall be nought of use to you.
Be gracious, O my lord !” Then said the priest :

“ Here ! take the money ! give the boy to me !
The saints, who know the scriptures, have ordained
The right and lawful sum. Take it ! ” He tied
The money in the king’s bark dress, and led
Them both away—the mother and the child—
Together bound. But when the king beheld
Himself bereft of both his wife and son,
He burst forth : “ Ah ! my wife ! whom neither sun,
Nor moon, nor air have ever seen ! who hast
Been kept from vulgar gaze ! Alas ! a slave
Hast thou become ! Alas ! thou, too, my son !—
A scion of the noble dynasty,
Sprung from the sun ! disgrace has seized on thee,
And—shame upon me !—thou too art a slave !
Ye have become a sacrifice ; ye, through my fault,
Have fallen. Would that I were dead ! ” Thus spoke
The king. Meanwhile the Brâhman hastily
Entered the grove wherein his dwelling stood,
And vanished with his slaves. Then met the king
The Brâhman Viśvâmitra. “ Prince ! ” he said,
Pay me the offering ! ” Hariśchandra gave
The money gained by the shameful sale
Of wife and child. And when the priest beheld
The money, overcome with wrath, he said :
“ How canst thou mock me with this paltry sum !
Base Kshatriya ! And thinkest thou that this
Suffices for a sacrificial gift
Such as *I* would accept ? But if thy mind
Thus far misleads thee, thou shalt feel my power—
Power transcendant, gained by penances,
And scripture meditation. Yes ! the power
Of my pure Brâhmanhood shall show itself
On thee.” “ More will I give thee,” said the king,
“ But wait, most noble saint ! Nought have I left !
Even my wife and child are sold.” Replied
The Brâhman : “ Hold ! be silent ! Further time
Than the remaining fourth part of to-day
I grant thee not.” Enraged, he turned away,

Departing with the money. And the king,
Immersed in grief and fear, with face cast down,
Cried out: "If there be any one of you
Who wants a slave, let him make haste and speak
While day remains." Then Dharma, putting on
The form of a Chaṇḍāla, hastily
Came forward, taking pity on the king.
His countenance was fearful,—black, with tusks
Projecting; savage in his words; his smell
Was foul and horrible; a crowd of dogs
Came after him. "Tell me thy price," he said;
"Be quick; and whether it be large or small
I care not, so I have thee as my slave."
The king, beholding such a loathsome form,
Of mien revolting—"What art thou?" he said.
"Men call me a Chaṇḍāla," he replied.
I dwell in this same city—in a part
Of evil fame. As of a murderer
Condemned to death, such is my infamy.
My calling is a robber of the dead."
"I will not be a slave," exclaimed the king,
"To thee, a base Chaṇḍāla. Better far
That I should perish by the fiery curse."
The words were scarcely uttered, when the saint
Returned, his countenance with rage
Distorted; and he thus addressed the king:
"The sum is fair; why dost thou not accept
The offer? Then indeed thou mightest pay
The gift thou owest for the sacrifice."
"O son of Kuśika!" replied the king,
"Consider this, I pray!—my noble race!
Truly am I descended from the sun!
How can I then become, though sore in want,
Lowest of creatures—a Chaṇḍāla's slave?"
"Delay no more," the Brāhman said, "but pay
The gift at once, and sell thyself a slave
To the Chaṇḍāla—or assuredly
I curse thee." "Saintly priest, be merciful!"

The king entreated; and, immersed in care,
He seized the Brâhman's feet, exclaiming thus :
"What am I but a slave, o'erwhelmed with grief!
Fear holds me! Saintly priest, be merciful!
Protect me, mighty saint! Save me, I pray,
From this most horrible Chaṇḍâla. Sir!
Most noble saint! hereafter shall thy will
Be all the object of my life! To serve
Thy lightest wish shall be my highest joy!
Thus will I make the offering—I will be
Thy *slave*!" Replied the Brahman: "If thou art
My slave, then will I sell thee as a slave
To the Chaṇḍâla." Then, filled with delight,
Paying the money, the Śvapâka bound
His lately-purchased slave, and striking him,
Led him away. Parted from all his friends;
In utmost grief; in the Chaṇḍâla's house
Abiding—morning, noon, and eventide,
And night, the king thus made lament :
"Alas! my tender wife, overwhelmed with pain,
Looking upon her son in misery,
Bewails her lot. But yet she says: 'The king
Will surely ransom us, for he has gained
By now more money than the Brâhman paid
For us;' and all the time she little knows
My fate—worse than her own. For I have passed
From woe to woe—kingdom and friends—my wife,
My son, have passed from me, and now the state
Of a Chaṇḍâla holds me." While he dwelt
A slave in the Chaṇḍâla's house, the forms
Of those he loved were still before his eyes—
Were ever in his mind. Meanwhile the king,
Obedient to his master's will, became
A robber of the dead; and night and day
He watched for plunder. "One part of the spoil
Is for the king, three for thy master, two
For thee. Go to the city's southern part,
Where is the dwelling of the dead, there wait."

Obeying the Chāṇḍāla, to the place
Of burial he went ;—an awful place,
Filled full of fearful sounds and loathsome sights—
Of evil smells, and smoke, and locks of hair
Fallen from the dead ; while troops of fiends and ghouls,
Vampires and demons, wandered to and fro.
Vultures and jackals prowled, and spirit forms
Of evil hovered o'er. The ground was strewn
With heaps of bones ; and wailing, sharp and shrill,
Re-echoed from the mourners of the dead.
The bodies on the funeral piles, half burnt,
Crackled and hissed ; showing their shining teeth,
They grinned, as if in sport ; while all the time
The howl of demons and the wail of fiends
Were mingled with the roar of flames—a sound
Of fearful import, such as ushers in
The day of doom. The sights, and sounds, and smells—
The heaps of ashes, and the piles of bones,
Blackened with filth—the smoke, the shouts,
The yells—struck fear on fear into the heart.
The burial-place resembled nought but hell.
Such was the place appointed for the king.
“Priests ! Brāhmins ! Counsellors ! how have I fallen
From all my royal state ! Alas ! my queen !
Alas ! my son ! Oh ! miserable fate !
We have been torn asunder by the power
Of Viśvāmitra.” Thoughts like these possessed
His inmost mind ; while foul, unshorn, unwashed,
He served his master. Running here and there,
Armed with a jagged club, he sought the dead,
From whom he gained his wages. So he lived,
Degraded from his caste. Old knotted rags
Served as his dress ; his face and arms and feet
With dust and ashes from the funeral piles
Begrimed ; his hands defiled with putrid flesh
From contact with the bodies of the dead.
So neither day nor night he ceased from toil.
And twelve months passed—twelve weary months, which
seemed

To his grief-stricken mind a hundred years ;
And then at last, worn out, the best of kings
Lay down to rest ; and as upon his couch
All motionless in sleep he lay, he saw
A wondrous vision. By the power divine
He seemed to wear another form,—a form
Both new and strange,—and in that form to pay
The vow. Twelve years of expiation passed
With difficulty. Then within himself
King Hariśchandra thought : “ So too will I,
When I am freed from hence, perform my vows
With generous freedom.” Forthwith he was born
As a Pukkasa ; while a place was found
For him among the dead, and funeral rites
Were ordered as his task. Thus seven years
Were passed ; then to the burying-place was brought
A Brâhman seeking sepulture : in life
He had been poor, but honest ; and the king,
Though he knew this—the dead man’s poverty
And his uprightness—pressed his friends to pay
The funeral dues. “ Enforce thy right,” they said,
“ And do this evil deed ; yet know thou this :
Once upon earth there was a mighty king
Named Hariśchandra ; though he but disturbed
A Brâhman’s sleep, through that offence he lost
His merit, and by Viśvâmitra’s curse
Became a base Pukkasa.” Yet the king
Spared not the dead man’s friends, but still required
His fee. Therefore they cursed him in their rage—
“ Go !—go !—thou most degraded of mankind—
Go to the lowest hell ! ” Then in his dream
The king beheld the messengers of death.
Fearful to look at, armed with heavy chains,
They seized him, and they bound him hand and foot,
And bore him off. And then, in fear and pain,
Headlong he fell into the bath of oil
In Nâraka. There, torn with instruments
Sharp-edged as razors, fed on putrid blood,

He saw himself. For seven years in hell—
Now burnt from day to day, now tossed and torn,
Now cut by knives, and now by icy winds
Frozen and numbed—a dead Pukkasa's fate
He underwent. Each day in Nāraka,
A hundred years of mortal reckoning—
So count the demons who inhabit hell.
Then he beheld himself cast up to earth,
His spirit entering a filthy dog ;
Feeding on things all foul and horrible—
Consumed by cold. A month thus passed away.
His spirit changed its dwelling, and he saw
Himself an ass ; and after that an ox,
A cow, a goat, a sheep, a bird, a worm.
So day by day he saw his spirit change
Its outward shape. A multitude of forms—
Some moving, others rooted to the ground—
Received his soul. And when the hundred years
Were passed and gone, he saw himself again
Re-occupy his pristine human form—
Once more a king. And then he seemed to lose
His kingdom, casting it away in games
Of chance. Turned from his home a wanderer
Into the forest with his wife and child :
Devoured by a ravening beast, but raised
To life again on earth, he sore bewailed
His wife : " Alas ! why hast thou left me thus ?
Alas ! O Saivya ! where hast thou gone ? "
Then in his dream he seemed to see his wife
And son lamenting : " What hast thou to do
With gambling ? Oh protect us, mighty king ! "
The vision faded, and he saw no more
The cherished forms. And then the dream returned
By power divine. And Hariśchandra stood
In heaven, and he beheld his wife on earth,
With flowing hair, dragged forcibly along—
Stripped of her clothes : the cry came to his ear,
" Protect us, king of men ! " Then, snatched away,

The demons hurried him before the judge ;
And Hariśchandra seemed to hear the words :
“ Go forth ! return once more to earth ! Thy grief
Is well nigh past and ended ; joy ere long
Shall come to thee. The sorrows that remain
Endure.” The king, then driven from the sky
By Yama’s messengers, falling through space—
Senseless in fear and terror, filled with pain
Yet more exceeding—thought within himself,
“ How shall I suffer all these torments sore !—
The changes manifold of form—the pain
In Nâraka.” Then Hariśchandra sought
Aid from the gods : “ O mighty lords,” he said,
“ Protect me ! O protect my wife and child !
O mighty Dharma, thee I worship ! Thee,
O Kriṣṇa, the Creator ! Faultless ones,
Both far and near, before you now I come,
A suppliant. On thee, O lord of prayer,
I call ! on thee, O Indra too ! to thee
O ancient one ! I pray—immutable ! ”
The vision fled, the king arose from sleep.
His tangled hair, his body black and grimed,
Recalled to him his state—the plunderer
Of dead men’s clothes. His recollection gone,
He thought not of his sorrowing wife and child,
For reason failed. The loss of kingdom, wealth,
And friends, his dwelling-place among the tombs,
Had overthrown his senses, and destroyed
His mind. Then to the burying-place the queen
Came, bearing the dead body of her son—
Pale and distracted. “ My beloved son !
My child ! ” she kept exclaiming, while she threw
Dust on her head. “ Alas ! alas ! O king !
O that thou could’st behold thy child,” she said—
“ Thy child now lying dead upon the earth,
Killed by a serpent’s bite. Alas ! my son !
So lovely ! so delightful ! ” Then the king,
Hearing the sounds of mourning, went in haste

To rob the dead : nor did he recognize
His wife, in that sad mourner, changed by grief
As if into another. And the queen
Knew not the form that stood before her, clothed
In rags, with matted hair, withered and foul.
Then recollection dawned upon the king,
Seeing the dead child's princely form, the thought
Of his own son came o'er him. "Ah ! my child !
What evil chance," he said, "has brought thee here !
A child of princely race thou seemest. He, my son,
Long lost to me through my accursed fate,
Would have been even such as thou in age."
Then raised the queen her voice, and thus she spoke :
"Alas ! has some unexpiated crime
Brought upon us, my child ! this endless woe.
My absent lord ! since thou did'st not console
My grief in times gone by, how can the pain
I suffer now assuage ? Did'st thou not lose
Thy kingdom ? did'st thou not desert thy friends ?
Did'st thou not sell thy wife and child ?" The king
Heard her lament, and as he heard, the veil
Fell from his eyes,—he recognized again
His wife and son—and saying but the words,
"Ah ! Saivya ! Ah ! my beloved child !"
He fainting fell to earth. Then, too, the queen,
Hearing her husband's voice, o'ercome with grief,
Insensate fell. Returning consciousness
Brought to them both affliction's heaviest weight
And mutual lamentations. "Ah ! my son !"
Thus mourned the king, "my inmost heart is torn,
When I behold thy form so delicate :
My child ! embracing thee in tend'rest love,
Words of affection I will speak, that rise
Unbidden to my lips. Alas ! thy limbs
Will be defiled by my embrace ; the dust
That clings about my garments will pollute
Thy lovely form ! Alas ! my child, thou had'st
An evil father ! He who should have kept

All dangers from thee, he it was who sold
 Thee as a slave ! and yet in heart and mind
 First of all things I love thee. Ah ! my child !
 Thy father's realm—my heaped-up wealth—all this
 By lawful right was thine inheritance,
 And now thou liest slain ! Ah me ! the tears
 Rise to my eyes in blinding force : thy form,
 In grace and beauty like the lotus flower,
 Fades from my sight." He spoke, and faltering
 With grief embraced his son. The queen exclaimed :
 " This is indeed my lord—I know his voice !
 I know his form ! this is the mighty king.
 The wisest of all beings. But how changed !
 What fate is this ? Ah what a dreadful place
 For him, the lord of men. This grief yet more
 Is added to the mourning for my son—
 My husband's fate—for as a slave he serves
 A base Chaṇḍāla. Curséd be that god,
 Or demon foul, through whom a godlike king
 Has fallen to this degraded state ; the lot
 Of a Śvapāka. Ah ! most noble prince,
 My mind is filled with grief, when I recall
 Thy regal state, thy past magnificence.
 No kingly ensigns go before thee now,
 No captive kings, brought down to slavery,
 Humbly precede thee, casting in the way
 Their garments, lest the dust should soil thy feet.
 But now ! O king ! alas ! thyself a slave,
 Thou livest in this fearful place, begrimed
 With filth ; thy sacred cord concealed, thy hair
 Tangled and long, plunder of dead men's clothes
 Thy livelihood. Ah ! king ! and is thy life
 Spent in this awful wise ? " So spake the queen,
 And falling on his neck, embraced her lord :
 While she, sprung from a king herself, bewailed
 Her sorrows endless. " King ! I pray thee speak !
 Is this a dream ? If it be real and true,
 Then justice, truth, and righteousness have fled

And gone from earth : nor aught avails mankind,
Of sacrifice, or reverence, to gods
Or priests ! 'Tis vain to follow innocence
If thou, most perfect, purest of mankind,
Art brought to such a depth of infamy.”
Then spoke the king, and told his sorrowing wife
How he had fallen to this wretched state,—
The state of a Chaṇḍāla. She, in turn,
Weeping, with many sighs, poured out her tale,
Telling him how the serpent's bite had killed
Their child. “ Beloved one ! I suffer not
These evils,” said the king, “ by mine own will—
Thou seest what I endure ; my evil fate
Depends not on myself. I am a slave,
And if I fly from the Chaṇḍāla's bonds,
The fiery torment in the depths of hell
Will overtake me, and I shall become
A slave again. My doom is fixed ! lo ! hell
Is my abode hereafter ; and in forms,
Creeping and loathsome, shall my soul abide.
Yet from this miserable life on earth
There is one only refuge. He ! my son !
My hope ! my stay ! is dead ; drowned by the sea
Of my misfortunes. But I am a slave !
I am dependent on another's will !
Can I give up my wife ? Yes ! even so !
For know thou this : one who is steeped in woe
Cares not for evil chances ; not the state
Of the most loathsome beast, nor yet the wood
Of sword-leaved plants, nor even hell's dread stream,
Could add the smallest fraction to the pain
I have already borne. My son is dead !
Who then will make atonement for my sins ?
Yet listen to my words, beloved one,
If I have offered sacrifice, and paid
Due reverence to the saints ; if I have given
Alms to the needy—may we meet again
Hereafter, in the world to come, and find

The refuge for our woes denied us here.
Let us together follow in the path
By which our son has gone. Our hopeless fate
Can never alter here. Whatever words
I may have uttered, thoughtlessly, in jest,
These, when I pray for pardon, shall receive
Fullest forgiveness. Thou must not despise
Thy lord : nor pride thee on thy queenly state
Now passed and gone." The prince's wife replied :
" I am prepared to tread that path with thee,
O king, most saintly ! and with thee that world
To enter." While she spoke these words, the king
Made up the funeral pile, and placed thereon
His son, himself ascending with his wife.
And then, in meditation wrapt, he thought
Upon Nârâyana, the lord supreme,
And Vâsudeva, lord of deities,
Śiva, and Brâhma the eternal god,
And Kriṣṇa clothed in glory. As the king
Was meditating, all the gods from heaven
Came down headed by Dharma. And they said :
" Hear us, O king ! hear us, O lord ! The gods—
Even the mighty gods have come to earth,
And at their head is Dharma. Gods, and saints,
And heroes—yea, and Viśvâmitra too,
The sage implacable,—all summon thee—
Ascend ! to heaven : receive the due reward,
That thou hast gained. O king ! slay not thyself !
I, perfect Righteousness, I summon thee
To enter now the heaven that thou hast gained
By thy transcendant virtues, self-control,
Patience, and truth." Then Indra spoke, and said :—
" O Hariśchandra ! King, most eminent !
In virtue ! lo ! before you Indra stands—
For I am he. The everlasting world
Thou hast attained : together with thy wife,
And son, ascend to heaven ;—to that third heav'n—
So difficult to be attained by men—

The heav'n that thou hast won." Then Indra rained
Life-giving amrit from the sky, and flowers
That blossomed in the heavenly courts: while sounds
Of music filled the air, and round him stood
The gods, a vast assembly. Then the son
Of Hariśchandra rose, restored to life,
And health, his mind and senses whole, his form
More beautiful than ever: and the king
Embraced his wife and son, with perfect joy
Filled to o'erflowing, crowned with heavenly wreaths.
Then Indra said: "Thou, with thy wife, and son,
Shalt dwell in bliss supreme: bliss that thyself
Hast purchased, by thy virtues and thy toils."
Then spoke the king: "Hear me! most holy gods!
Unbidden by my master, will I not
To heaven itself ascend." Then Dharma spoke:
"I am thy master. I assumed the form
Of a Chanḍāla. All thy pain and woe
Was brought upon thee by my magic power,
And thou wast made a slave! I have beheld
Thy truth, and thy uprightness. Sainly king!
The highest place that heaven accords to men,
Whose virtue has been tried and proved:—to that
Ascend!" But Hariśchandra answering, said:
"Receive, most mighty lord! my words of praise
And thanksgiving. I offer them to thee
Full of affection. Lo! my people stand
With grieving hearts, longing for my return.
Can I ascend to heav'n while they on earth
Lament for me? If they have ever slain,
Brāhmans, or teachers of the holy law,—
If lust or avarice have ruled their hearts,—
Then may my labours and my toils atone,
For these their sins. I may not leave my friends.
For neither here, nor in the world to come,
Can there be peace to one who casts aside
The friend whose love is pure and true—the friend
Who serves him from the heart. Return!

Return ! to heaven ! O Indra ! If thou grant
My friends to rise with me, to heav'n will I
Ascend ; if not, with them will I descend
To Nâraka." " O king ! thy prayer is heard !
Thy people's sins are pardoned : even for them,
Hard though it be, thy toils and pains have gained
A place in heaven." Thus mighty Indra spoke.
Replied the king : " Indra ! I will not leave
My kinsmen. By his kinsmen's help a king
His kingdom rules ; by them he offers up
The kingly sacrifice, and for himself
Lays up a store of meritorious deeds.
So have *my* kinsmen too enabled me
To work whate'er I may of righteousness.
My actions virtuous, my granted prayers,
Truly I owe to them, for by their aid
Have these been possible. May the reward
Thou grantest me, I pray, be shared with them.
My kinsmen, though I should ascend to heaven,
I will not leave." " So be it ! " Indra said ;
" So be it ! " said the Brâhman ; Dharma, too,
Gave his assent ; and then, in countless hosts,
Appeared the heavenly chariots. Indra said :
" Men of Ayodhya, ascend to heaven."
The saintly Brâhman, having heard with joy
The words of Indra, poured the sacred oil
Upon the prince, and with the perfect ones,
The sages, and the gods, anointed him
" Son of the mighty king." Then all the throng—
The king, his wife, his son, his followers—
Filled with rejoicing and delight, ascend
To heaven, surrounding, as they go, the king
Borne in his chariot. He, too, filled with joy—
The mighty father, who eternal bliss
Both for his people and himself had gained,
Once more in form and mien a king—reposed,
Resting from all his toils, his faithful friends
Surrounding him with a protecting wall.

And Indra spoke and said : " Upon this earth
Great Hariśchandra's equal has not been
Nor shall be. Whosoe'er may hear his life,
His toils, his sorrows, and in sympathy
For him lament, transcendant happiness
Shall he attain, and all his heart's desire
Shall be accomplished. Is his prayer a wife,
Or son, or kingdom, he shall gain them all,
E'en heaven itself. And he who imitates
The truth, and steadfastness, of that great king,
Like him shall enter everlasting rest.

ART. XIV.—*Lettre à M. Stanley Lane Poole, sur quelques monnaies orientales rares ou inédites de la collection de M. Ch. de l'Ecluse.* Par H. SAUVAIRE, membre non-résidant.

CHER COLLÈGUE ET AMI,—

Les auteurs orientaux mentionnent tant de petits dynastes dont les monuments monétaires nous sont encore inconnus qu'il n'est pas étonnant que de temps en temps quelques exemplaires nouveaux viennent au jour et nous permettent d'étendre le champ illimité de la Numismatique musulmane.

Je dois à l'obligeance de M. Ch. de l'Ecluse, qui possède une des plus riches collections de monnaies de toutes sortes qu'un particulier ait réunies, de pouvoir vous signaler aujourd'hui deux pièces que je crois inédites et qui appartiennent à la *Dynastie des Banou Mosâfer*, aussi appelés *Banou Salâr*.

La première, qui a un diamètre de 27 millimètres et pèse 3 gr. 78, est en argent. En voici les legendes :

P. I. لا اله الا Il n'y a de Dieu que

الله وحده Dieu seul;

لا شريك له Il n'a pas d'associé.

السلار ابو منصور Le Salâr Abou Mansour.

Au centre, un point de repère.

Tout autour : بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بآردبيل سنة ثلث (Bism Allah) Au nom de Dieu, ce derham a été frappé à Ardabil l'année trois cent quarante-trois.

Cette légende circulaire est enveloppée la suivante : لله الامر (Bism Allah) A Dieu appartient l'empire etc. (Qor'ân, xxx. v. 3 et 4 en partie).

En dehors cercle fin, double sur une partie du pourtour, et rebord.

P. II.	لله	<i>A Dieu.</i>
	محمد	<i>Mohammad (est)</i>
	رسول الله	<i>l'envoyé de Dieu.</i>
	المطيع لله	<i>El Moti' lillah.</i>
	الملك المويّد	<i>El Malek el Moayyad.</i>
	المرزبان بن محمد	<i>El Merzubán ebn Mohammad</i>
	أبو نصر	<i>Abou Nasr</i>

Autour, double cercle fin qu'entoure la mission prophétique محمد رسول الله jusqu'à المشركون *Mohammad est l'envoyé de Dieu*, etc.

La seconde pièce est un dînâr; son diamètre est de 20 millimètres et son poids de 3 gr. 78, exactement le même que celui du derham. On lit sur la P. I. :

ك	<i>K (ou D)</i>
لا اله الا	<i>Il n'y a de Dieu que</i>
الله وحده	<i>Dieu seul;</i>
لا شريك له	<i>Il n'a pas d'associé.</i>
ابراهيم بن المرزبان	<i>Ibrahim ebn El Merzubán.</i>

Tout autour est la légende circulaire suivante: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمراغة سنة سبع واربعين وثلاثماية *Au nom de Dieu, ce dînâr a été frappé à El Marághah l'année trois cent quarante-sept.*

Elle est entourée de بنصر الله jusqu'à الامر *A Dieu appartient l'empire*, etc.

P. II.	لله	(accosté de deux annelets) <i>A Dieu.</i>
	محمد	<i>Mohammad (est)</i>
	رسول الله	<i>l'envoyé de Dieu.</i>
	المطيع لله	<i>El Moti' lillah.</i>

جستان بن المرزبان *Djasatán ebn El Merzubán.*

Ces cinq lignes sont enveloppées par un cercle fin en dehors duquel se déroule la mission prophétique depuis محمد رسول الله jusqu'à المشركون.

On sait que le Khalife 'Abbâside El Moti' lillah dont le nom figure sur ces deux pièces régna de l'année 334 à l'année 363 de l'hégire.

Le derham présente plusieurs problèmes historiques assez

difficiles à résoudre, pour moi du moins qui n'ai à ma disposition qu'Ebn el Aṭīr, Ebn Khaldoun et la traduction turque des *Sahâif el akhbâr* de Munedjdjim bâchi.

Qui était, en effet, le Salâr Abou Mansoûr que nous rencontrons au droit de cette pièce? Le titre s'appliquerait très bien à El Merzubân ebn Mohammad du revers; mais le *Keunyeḥ* ne saurait lui appartenir. El Merzubân, fils de Mohammad ebn Mosâfer, eut trois fils: Djasatân,¹ Ibrâhîm et Nâser. Nous ne trouvons pas de Mansoûr. Je serais porté à reconnaître, dans le Salâr Abou Mansoûr, le frère d'El Merzubân, Wahsoudân, avec lequel il aurait partagé le trône, quoique les Chroniqueurs ne nous en disent rien. Un Wahsoudân portait en l'année 446 le *Keunyeḥ* d'*Abou Mansoûr*; il est très possible qu'il en ait été de même de son ancêtre. Quant au titre honorifique "El Malek el Moayyad" inscrit sur le revers, ou El Merzubân l'a reçu du Khalife, ou il désigne un prince Samanide, soit Noûh 1^{er} ebn Nasr, soit 'Abd el Malek, dont les souverains de l'Aḍrabidjân auraient, à cette époque, reconnu la suzeraineté. 'Abd el Malek succéda à son père en l'année 343, qui est celle où le derham a été frappé; mais je préférerais reconnaître sur la pièce la suzeraineté de Noûh, qui portait le *Keunyeḥ* d'*Abou Mansoûr* aussi bien que le titre honorifique d'El Malek el Moayyad. Une dernière difficulté se présente encore: Les historiens se seraient-ils trompés en appelant *Nâser*, au lieu de *Nasr*, le fils d'El Merzubân? ou bien ce prince aurait-il eu un autre fils de ce dernier nom, dont l'histoire ne ferait pas mention et qui serait mort avant son père? Car au iv^e siècle de l'hégire l'*Alef* de prolongation ne se supprimait plus.

Le dinâr nous montre les deux frères, Djasatân et Ibrâhîm, régnant ensemble et ne reconnaissant que la suzeraineté du Khalife de Baghdâd. Je ferai une seule observation: le nom de Djasatân, l'aîné, aurait dû occuper le droit de la pièce.

¹ Je suis la leçon d'Ebn el Aṭīr, édition Tornberg, nos monnaies ne portant, comme c'est le cas le plus ordinaire, aucun point diacritique.

D'Herbelot nous signale l'existence de deux histoires du Daylam: la première a pour titre *Akhbâr ed-Daylam*, et la seconde *Tâdj el Mellâh* et *Tâdj ed-Daylamiyeh*, composée par Ishâq ebn Ibrâhîm ebn Hêlâl, surnommé Es-Sâbi, qui mourut l'an 384 de l'hégire.

Cette monnaie d'or est très bien frappée et d'une belle conservation.

Je passe maintenant à quelques éclaircissements historiques et géographiques.

Munedjdjim bâchi s'exprime en ces termes :

“ Mention des *Banou Mosâfer*, gouverneurs du Tarm et de l'Adrabidjân, qu'on appelle aussi *Banou Salâr*. Ils commencèrent (à régner) en l'année 330 et prirent fin en l'année 420. Leur généalogie se présente dans l'ordre suivant :

Salâr Mohammad ebn Mosâfer, le Daylamite ;

*Wahsoudân*¹ } fils de Salâr ;
et *Merzubân*, }

Ismâ'îl, fils de Wahsoudân ;

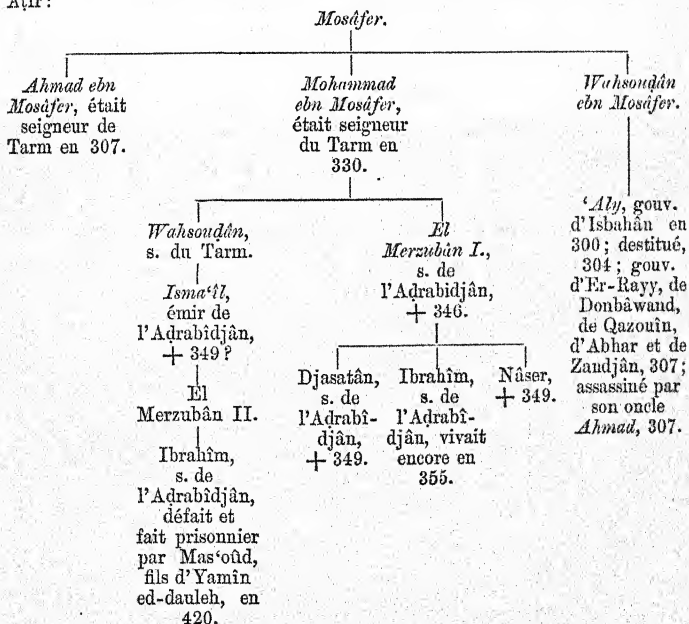
Merzubân II., fils d'*Ismâ'îl* ;

Ibrâhîm, fils de *Merzubân II.* ;

Djasatân Ibrâhîm, fils de *Merzubân I.*²

¹ Le texte ture porte partout Dehsoudân.

² Voici le tableau généalogique dressé sur les données fournies par Ebn el Atîr :



“Il faut savoir que le Tarm est un grand district situé dans les montagnes qui dominent Qazouïn, sur la frontière des provinces du Daylam; ses cantons abondent en eaux et en pâturages. Il se trouve au milieu des montagnes.¹ Le plus souvent ce pays est administré par des gouverneurs indépendants auxquels on donne le nom de *Salâr*. Le mot *Salâr* est nécessairement arabisé.²

“Quant à l’Aḍrabîdjân,³ c’est une vaste contrée mêlée avec l’Arrân et l’Arménie.⁴ Il a pour limites : à l’est, le pays de Daylam et une partie de celui de Djabal; au sud, l’Îraq et une partie de la Mésopotamie; à l’ouest, l’Arménie et une partie des provinces du Roûm; et, au nord, le pays d’Arrân et la mer Caspienne. La ville d’Ardabîl, une des capitales de cette province, fait partie du quatrième climat et est située par 73° de longitude⁵ et 38° de latitude. C’est la plus grande de toutes les villes de ce climat. Malek Moayyad⁶ dit que, selon toute apparence, elle prit son nom d’Ardabîl ebn Ardamin ebn Lamty ebn Younân qui la construisit. Elle se trouve à 25 parasanges de Tebrîz. La ville de Tebrîz, qui est également une capitale de ce pays, fait partie du v^e climat; sa longitude est 73° et sa latitude, 39°.⁷ On l’appelle aussi Tevrîz. Une autre ville encore est celle de Charwân, dans le v^e climat; elle a pour longitude 68° et pour latitude 42°. Les villes suivantes font également

¹ Comp. le *Marâsed* et le *Dre* de la Perse, qui s’expriment à peu près dans les mêmes termes.

² Il signifie en persan “chef de l’armée.”

³ *Aḍrabîdjân*. Quelques-uns écrivent Aḍarbidjân; d’autres donnent de plus un *meddah* au *hamzeh*. C’est une contrée qui s’étend de Barda’ah, à l’est, jusqu’à Erzendjân, à l’ouest. Sa limite septentrionale va jusqu’au Daylam, au Djabal et au Tarm. Une de ses villes les plus célèbres est Tebrîz, qui en est aujourd’hui le chef-lieu; autrefois le chef-lieu était El Marâghah. Ses villes principales sont : Khowayy, Salamâs, Ormyah, Ardabîl, Marand, etc. On y trouve de nombreux châteaux forts et de larges puits.—*Marâsed, Dre de la Perse*.

⁴ Abou’l fêda réunit l’Arménie, l’Arrân et l’Aḍrabîdjân sous le même chapitre. “Ainsi font, dit-il, les géographes parce que ces trois grandes contrées entrent les unes dans les autres et qu’il est très difficile de les séparer.”

⁵ Le texte imprimé porte 37; il y a évidemment transposition des chiffres. Abou’l fêda donne comme latitude à cette ville 72° 30’ et 73° 50’ et le *Dre* de la Perse, 80°.

⁶ C’. à. d. El Malek el Moayyad ‘Emad ed-dîn Ismâ’îl ebn el Afdal ‘Âly, l’Ayyoubîte, connu sous le nom de *Seigneur de Hamâh* et surtout sous celui d’Abou’l fêda.—Voy. pour la citation qui suit sa *Géographie*, éd. Reinaud, p. 399.

⁷ La latitude mentionnée par Abou’l fêda est un peu inférieure.

partie de la province de l'Adrabîdjân : Khosrev,¹ Djéjah,² Salamâs, Nakhdjowân, Bardîdj, Khowaykh,³ Khowayy, Ormyah, Marâghah, Awdjân,⁴ Myânedj,⁵ Marand, Mouqân, Barzand, Barda'ah et Sultâniyeh qui fut construite par Khodabendeh, fils d'Arghoûn, de la famille de Djenghîz, et adoptée par lui comme siège du gouvernement;⁶ elle est située à huit journées de chemin à l'est de Tebrîz.

"*Salâr Mohammad* était dans l'origine un des généraux en chef de Mâkân le Daylamîte⁷ et gouverneur, au nom de ce prince, des frontières du Tarm. Petit à petit la dynastie de Mâkân ayant été ébranlée, il se déclara indépendant et, après quelques années de règne, il mourut laissant pour successeur *Salâr Merzubân*. Celui-ci fut remplacé par *Salâr Djasâtân*. Ce dernier étant mort au bout de quelques années eut pour successeur *Salâr Wahsoudân*. A ce prince succéda *Isma'îl*, qui laissa le trône à *Ibrâhîm*. *Ibrâhîm* mourut et fut remplacé par *Merzubân*. A la date susmentionnée, cette famille prit complètement fin. Ces personnages n'ayant exercé l'autorité sur une province que comme des espèces de gouverneurs, sans avoir été de puissants souverains revêtus de la dignité royale, j'ai donné leur histoire en bloc, sans grands détails, dans la crainte de tomber dans la prolixité."

Voilà tout ce que l'auteur nous apprend des *Banou Mosâfer*.

Ebn el Atîr, qui n'est pas entièrement d'accord, pour l'ordre de succession, avec l'historien que je viens de citer,

¹ Il n'en est faite aucune mention dans le *Marâsed*, ni dans le D^{re} de la Perse, ni dans Abou'l féda.

² Le *Marâsed*, comme le D^{re} de la Perse, cite deux villes de ce nom : Djéjah, dans le Sedjestân, et *Djazzah*, dans le Khorasân. Peut-être faut-il lire Djanzah.

³ Il y a ici une faute d'impression dans le texte. Il faut lire خوج ou خوج.

La carte de Spruner marque une ville du nom de Khoidsh dans l'Adrabîdjân. Le *Marâsed* et le D^{re} la Perse ne donnent pas خوج et disent que "*Khounadj* est le nom officiel de *Khouna*, ville de l'Adrabîdjân, entre Marâghah et Zandjân."

⁴ Omise par le *Marâsed*, mentionnée par Abou'l féda et par Yâqout.

⁵ Le *Marâsed* écrit *Myaneh*. Abou'l féda lui donne les deux noms.

⁶ Ce prince régna de l'a. 703 à l'a. 716 de l'h. La ville de Sultâniyeh n'est pas mentionnée dans le *Marâsed*; elle l'est dans le D^{re} de la Perse et dans Abou'l féda, auteurs postérieurs.

⁷ Voy. sur Mâkân ebn Kâly le Daylamîte Ebn el Atîr, t. viii, surtout p. 296. Il fut tué dans une bataille en l'a. 329. D'après Mirkhond (Defrémery, *Hist. des Samanides*, p. 137), il reçut en l'a. 316 le surnom honorifique d'*El Mowaffaq bē-tât Allah el mo'taref bē-hagq-âl-rasol Allah*.

nous fournit, malgré une regrettable lacune de près d'un siècle, des renseignements plus abondants; et une partie de ce que nous apprend l'auteur du *Kâmel* est confirmée par les deux intéressantes pièces de M. de l'Ecluse.

Ebn Khaldoun, qui copie Ebn el Atîr en l'abrégeant, on pourrait dire en le mutilant,¹ fait pourtant une observation très juste, quand il reproche à ce chroniqueur d'oublier sa promesse de nous faire connaître le sort d'Ibrâhîm ebn El Merzubân après l'année 355, pour ne nous plus parler qu'en l'année 420 d'un homonyme, fils d'El Merzubân ebn Isma'il ebn Wahsoudân ebn Mohammad ebn Mosâfer, tandis que le premier Ibrâhîm, tout en ayant aussi un El Merzubân pour père, était le petit-fils de Mohammad ebn Mosâfer. Il est fâcheux toutefois qu'Ebn Khaldoun n'ait pas comblé, à l'aide des chroniques qu'il pouvait avoir sous la main, la lacune qu'il signale. Je le laisserai donc de côté et donnerai de préférence, dans les pages qui suivent, la traduction d'Ebn el Atîr en l'abrégeant.

“Année 330.² L'Adrabîdjân était aux mains de Daysam le Kurde. . . . Son vizir, Abou'l Qâsem 'Aly ebn Dja'far, s'étant enfui de chez ce prince, se réfugia dans le Tarm auprès de Mohammad ebn Mosâfer, dont les deux fils, Wahsoudân et El Merzubân, s'étaient révoltés contre leur père. Ils s'étaient ensuite emparés de lui, de ses forteresses et de ses trésors. Mohammad ebn Mosâfer vivait dans un château, seul et abandonné, sans argent et sans troupes. Le vizir se rapprocha d'El Merzubân et excita en lui le désir de s'emparer de l'Adrabîdjân. Tous deux d'ailleurs étaient attachés à la secte des Bâténiens. 'Aly ebn Dja'far sut gagner les Daylamîtes qui étaient au service de Daysam et, quand son nouveau maître marcha sur l'Adrabîdjân, ils passèrent de son côté. Daysam fut obligé de s'enfuir en Arménie auprès de Hâdjîq ebn ed-Dayrâm.

¹ Je ne sais si l'édition du Caire a été donnée d'après un MS. très imparfait. Ebn Khaldoun y supprime des passages entiers d'Ebn el Atîr, ne fait pas toujours raccorder ceux qu'il conserve et commet ainsi des contresens. Je n'ai pas besoin d'ajouter que les éditeurs estropient le plus souvent les noms propres et géographiques.

² Ebn el Atîr, éd. Tornberg, viii. pp. 289-291.

“El Merzubân prit possession de l'Adrabidjân et régna paisiblement jusqu'au moment où il se brouilla avec son vizir qui, pour se venger, poussa le prince à s'emparer à Tebriz de richesses considérables dont il lui garantissait la prise; en même temps il excitait les habitants à la révolte. El Merzubân trouva Daysam devant la ville, le défit, se réconcilia avec son vizir et, après avoir laissé un corps de troupes continuer le siège, se porta contre Ardabil et y assiégea Daysam. Après un long siège, Daysam demanda la paix. El Merzubân prit possession de la ville et traita honorablement le vaincu, à qui il accorda ensuite, sur sa demande, la permission d'aller résider avec sa famille dans un château fort lui appartenant et situé dans le Tarm.

“En l'année 332,¹ une bande de Russes traversa la mer (Caspienne) et, remontant le *nahr el keurr* (Cyrus), arriva devant Barda'ah. Le lieutenant d'El Merzubân dans cette ville sortit pour repousser les envahisseurs, à la tête d'une troupe de Daylamîtes et de *volontaires* au nombre de plus de cinq mille. Les musulmans furent battus et tous les Daylamîtes, tués. Les Russes poursuivirent les fuyards jusque sous les murs de la ville et montrèrent d'abord une grande douceur; mais bientôt, aigris par les tracasseries de la populace, ils passèrent au fil de l'épée tous les habitants qui n'avaient pu s'échapper, s'emparèrent de leurs richesses et réduisirent en esclavage les femmes et les enfants. Cette conduite excita l'indignation des musulmans: ils accoururent en grand nombre auprès d'El Merzubân, qui se trouva à la tête de 30,000 hommes avec lesquels il se mit en marche. Cependant ce prince ne put tenir tête à l'ennemi. Les Russes s'étaient dirigés vers Merâghah; ils ne tardèrent pas à être décimés par une violente épidémie. Bientôt El Merzubân, ayant recours à la ruse, leur tendit une embuscade dans laquelle, après un combat acharné, un grand nombre des leurs et entre autres leur chef trouvèrent la mort. Ceux qui échappèrent se réfugièrent dans le château de la ville, qui porte le nom de Chehrestân et où ils avaient transporté de

¹ Ebn el Atîr, viii. p. 308.

grands approvisionnements et déposé leur butin. El Merzubân en entreprit le siège. Mais ayant reçu la nouvelle qu'Abou 'Abd Allah El Hosayn ebn Sa'id ebn Hamdân marchait sur l'Adrabîdjân et était parvenu à Salamâs,¹ envoyé par son oncle paternel Nâser ed-dauleh pour s'emparer du pays, il laissa un corps de troupes chargé de continuer le siège et partit à la rencontre d'Ebn Hamdân. Un engagement eut lieu. Puis, la neige étant tombée, les soldats d'Ebn Hamdân, qui étaient des Arabes bédouins, se dispersèrent. Sur ces entrefaites, Ebn Hamdân reçut de Nâser ed-dauleh la nouvelle de la mort de Tôûzoûn² et l'ordre de revenir, parce qu'il désirait se rendre à Baghdâd.

“Les troupes d'El Merzubân continuèrent à livrer des combats aux Russes, de plus en plus décimés par la maladie : ils sortirent du château pendant la nuit, emportant sur leur dos tout ce qu'ils voulurent et, arrivés sur les bords du Cyrus, ils remontèrent sur leurs navires et s'en allèrent. Les soldats d'El Merzubân ne purent les poursuivre et leur enlever leur butin.

“En l'année 337,³ El Merzubân [ebn]⁴ Mohammad ebn Mosâfer, seigneur de l'Adrabîdjân, marcha contre Er-Rayy, car il avait appris que les troupes du Khorasân s'étaient dirigées vers cette ville, ce qui, en donnant de l'occupation à Reukn ed-dauleh, le laissait libre du côté de ce prince.

“Un envoyé qu'il avait adressé à Mo'ezz ed-dauleh avait été chassé ignominieusement. Déjà irrité par ce manque d'égards, El Merzubân se trouva encouragé dans ses projets par les promesses d'un des généraux de Reukn ed-dauleh. Nâser ed-dauleh lui promit aussi de le seconder ; mais il lui conseillait de diriger d'abord son attaque contre Baghdâd. El Merzubân ne suivit pas ce conseil. Il demeura sourd aux instances de son père qui cherchait à le détourner de son

¹ Ville de l'Adrabîdjân à deux journées de marche d'Ormyah et à trois de Tebrîz ; elle est située entre ces deux villes. Une seule journée de marche sépare Salamâs de Khowayy. — *Marâsed*.

² L'émir Tôûzoûn mourut à Baghdâd le 23 de moharram 334 (4 Sept. 945).

³ Ebn el A'tîr, viii. p. 360.

⁴ Une note du savant éditeur du *Kâmel* porte que le MS. B. ajoute بن (fils) que j'ai placé entre deux crochets. La précieuse monnaie de M. de l'Ecluse ne peut laisser aucun doute sur la bonne leçon, donnée par ce MS.

projet et dont il avait demandé l'avis insi que celui de son frère Wahsoudân. 'Où irai-je désormais te chercher, ô mon fils?' lui dit son père en fondant en larmes, lorsqu'il prit congé de lui.—'Dans le palais de l'émirat à Er-Rayy ou parmi les morts,' répondit-il.

'Aussitôt que Reukn ed-dauleh eut connaissance des préparatifs d'El Merzubân, il écrivit à ses deux frères 'Emâd ed-dauleh et Mo'ezz ed-dauleh pour leur demander des secours. 'Emâd ed-dauleh envoya deux mille cavaliers; Mo'ezz ed-dauleh lui expédia une armée sous le commandement de Sebuktékin le turc et un diplôme par lequel El Motî' lillah investissait Reukn ed-dauleh du gouvernement du Khorasân. Arrivés à Ed-Dinawar,¹ les Daylamîtes se révoltèrent un moment contre Sebuktékin et rentrèrent aussitôt dans le devoir.

'Reukn ed-dauleh eut d'abord recours à la ruse. De nombreux messages furent échangés. Il offrit à El Merzubân, s'il consentait à s'en aller, de lui livrer, Zandjân, Abhar et Qazouîn.² Une fois à la tête d'une nombreuse armée, il lui livra bataille. El Merzubân qui, tout en reconnaissant son impuissance, s'était obstiné à rester, fut mis en déroute et tomba entre les mains du vainqueur. Il fut envoyé à Somayram³ et emprisonné. Reukn ed-dauleh retourna dans ses états et Mohammad ebn 'Abd er-Razzâq,⁴ qu'il avait amené avec lui, occupa les districts de l'Adrahîdjân.

'Les troupes d'El Merzubân se réunirent autour de son père Mohammad ebn Mosâfer et le reconnurent pour chef. Wahsoudân,⁵ fils de ce prince, s'enfuit d'auprès de lui⁶ et se retira dans une forteresse lui appartenant. Mais Mohammad

¹ Ville des dépendances du Djabal, près de Qarmisîn, à vingt et quelques parasanges de Hamadân.—*Marâsid*.

² Ces trois villes sont situées dans le Djabal ou 'Irâq 'Adjamy.

³ Ville située à mi-chemin entre Isbahân et Chîrâz. Elle forme la dernière limite (du territoire) d'Isbahân.—*Marâsid*.

⁴ D'abord gouverneur de Naysâboûr au nom d'Abou 'Aly ebn Mohtâdj, ce personnage était, en l'année 337, seigneur de Tôûs et de ses dépendances. S'étant révolté contre l'émir Noûh ebn Nasr le Samanide, il s'était sauvé dans le Djordjân, puis à Er-Rayy, auprès de Reukn ed-dauleh.

⁵ Ebn Khaldoun et D'Herbelot l'appellent *Wahchoudân*.

⁶ Ce passage viendrait à l'appui de l'hypothèse que j'ai émise et d'après laquelle Wahsoudân aurait partagé le trône avec El Merzubân. Malgré le silence des historiens, le *Keunyah* d'Abou Mansour pourrait très bien lui appartenir.

ayant indisposé l'armée, celle-ci voulut le tuer. Il se réfugia auprès de son fils Wahsouđân, qui l'enferma dans une étroite prison jusqu'à ce qu'il mourut. Puis, ne sachant quel parti prendre, il appela Daysam le Kurde, à cause de l'autorité dont il jouissait sur ses contribules, lui remit des renforts et le fit marcher contre Mohammad ebn 'Abd er-Razzâq. Les deux armées en étant venues aux mains, Daysam fut défait et Ebn 'Abd er-Razzâq, puisant dans sa victoire de nouvelles forces, se maintint dans l'Ađrabîdjân, dont il percevait les impôts. Il retourna ensuite à Er-Rayy en l'année 338 ; puis à Toûs, l'année suivante, lorsque Mansoûr marcha sur la première de ces deux villes."

Après le départ d'Ebn 'Abd er-Razzâq, Daysam dut s'emparer de nouveau de l'Ađrabîdjân ; car Ebn el Aťir fait allusion à ce fait, mais sans le mentionner, quoiqu'il dise l'avoir fait.¹

"En l'année 341,² raconte cet historien, Daysam ebn Ibrâhîm Abou Sâlem s'enfuit de l'Ađrabîdjân : il fut mis en déroute par Wahsouđân à qui s'était réuni 'Aly ebn Masîky, un des généraux de Reukn ed-dauleh, que ce prince avait mis en prison et qui était parvenu à s'échapper. La rencontre des deux armées eut lieu près d'Ardabîl : les Daylamîtes ayant passé du côté d'Aly, Daysam fut contraint de se sauver en Arménie. El Merzubân était parvenu sur ces entre-faites, grâce au stratagème employé par quelques hommes que sa mère, fille de Djasatân, fils du roi Wahsouđân, avait fait déguiser en marchands, à se sauver de la forteresse de Somayram, après s'en être emparé et en avoir tué le gouverneur Béchîr Esfâr.³ Daysam apprenant qu'El Merzubân se dirigeait vers Ardabîl, qu'il s'était rendu maître de l'Ađrabîdjân et qu'il avait envoyé une armée contre lui, quitta l'Arménie et s'enfuit, cette même année, à Baghdâd où il fut comblé d'honneurs par Mo'ezz ed-dauleh ; il demeura à la cour de ce prince, menant l'existence la plus agréable. Quelque temps après, ses parents et ses compagnons restés dans l'Ađrabîdjân l'invitèrent à revenir : il

¹ T. viii. p. 375.

² T. viii. pp. 375-378.

³ Ebn el Aťir fait un récit très détaillé de la conspiration.

quitta Baghdâd, l'an 343, après avoir demandé des secours à Mo'ezz ed-dauleh qui les lui refusa attendu qu'El Merzubân avait fait la paix avec Reukn ed-dauleh et lui avait donné sa fille en mariage ; il se rendit à Mosoul où il sollicita vainement l'assistance de Nâser ed-dauleh ebn Hamdân et vint à la cour de Sayf ed-dauleh en Syrie. Il resta auprès de ce prince jusqu'en l'année 344.

"Cependant El Merzubân vit son autorité menacée par une bande de rebelles à Bâb el Abwâb et marcha contre elle. Profitant de son absence et appelé par un des chefs Kurdes de l'Adrabîjân, Daysam se dirigea vers ce pays et s'empara de la ville de Salamâs. Un général envoyé contre lui par El Merzubân fut mis en pleine déroute. Mais lorsqu'il eut comprimé la révolte, El Merzubân reprit la route de l'Adrabîdjân et, à son approche, Daysam, abandonnant Salamâs, se réfugia en Arménie auprès d'Ebn ed-Dayrâmî, qui ne tarda pas, sur les menaces d'El Merzubân, à le lui livrer. Daysam eut les yeux crevés et fut jeté en prison. A la mort d'El Merzubân, il fut assassiné par un des compagnons de ce prince.

"En l'année 346,¹ au mois de ramadân, le Salâr El Merzubân mourut dans l'Adrabîdjân. Quand il eut perdu tout espoir de vivre, il institua son frère Wahsoudân son héritier et, après lui, son fils Djasatân ebn El Merzubân.² Par un premier testament il avait légué le trône au survivant de chacun de ses fils Djasatân, Ibrâhîm et Nâser et, en cas de prédécès de ceux-ci, à Wahsoudân. Lorsque Wahsoudân voulut se faire remettre les forteresses par les lieutenants du souverain défunt, ceux-ci lui exhibèrent ses premières dispositions, aux termes desquelles ils devaient les consigner d'abord à Djasatân. Wahsoudân s'imagina que son frère l'avait trompé. Il resta avec ses neveux ; mais ces princes l'ayant exclu du pouvoir, il s'enfuit d'Ardabil et se retira dans le Tarm. Bientôt Djasatân

¹ Ebn el Atîr, viii. pp. 388-389.—Ebn Khaldoun place la mort d'El Merzubân en l'année 345.

² Les MSS. portent *خستان* et *هستان*, suivant une note de Tornberg. La dernière leçon est celle suivie par les éditeurs égyptiens d'Ebn Khaldoun. La monnaie de M. de l'Ecluse exclut les deux premières leçons.

régnâ seul ; ses frères se soumièrent à lui et tous les généraux de son père vinrent lui rendre hommage, à l'exception de Djasatân (*sic*) ebn Cheremzen qui était gouverneur de l'Arménie et avait formé le projet de s'emparer de cette province.

“ Une fois sur le trône, Djasatân ebn El Merzubân s'était livré à ses passions et s'était abandonné aux plaisirs et aux conseils des femmes.

“ En l'année 349, un des fils d'Ysa ebn El Moktafy billah leva dans l'Adrabîdjân l'étendard de la révolte : il se fit surnommer El Mostadjîr billah et proclama *Er-Réda de la famille de Mohammad*. Il se vêtit de laine, manifesta l'équité et ordonna de pratiquer le bien et de s'abstenir du mal. Ses partisans devinrent très nombreux. A cette époque, Djasatân ebn Cheremzen était à Ormyah ;¹ Wahsoudân résidait dans le Tarm, d'où il soufflait la discorde entre ses neveux et excitait les convoitises de leurs ennemis. Djasatân ebn El Merzubân s'étant saisi de son vizir En-No'aymy qui était allié avec celui de Djasatân ebn Cheremzen, Abou'l Hasan 'Obayd Allah ebn Mohammad ebn Hamdawayh, ce dernier poussa son maître à entrer en correspondance avec Ibrâhîm ebn El Merzubân qui se trouvait en Arménie. Ce prince, qui convoitait le trône, accourut auprès d'Ebn Cheremzen et tous deux, ayant marché sur Marâghah, s'emparèrent de cette ville. Lorsque Djasatân ebn El Merzubân eut connaissance de ce qui s'était passé, il se réconcilia avec Ebn Cheremzen et son vizir Abou'l Hasan envers lesquels il s'engagea à mettre en liberté En-No'aymy. Ibrâhîm fut abandonné par Ebn Cheremzen. Les deux frères comprirent alors la duplicité de ce personnage ; ils s'envoyèrent des messages et se mirent d'accord contre lui.

“ Quelque temps après, En-No'aymy s'échappa de sa prison et se sauva au Mouqân ;² il adressa des lettres au fils d'Ysa ebn El Moktafy billah, l'excitant à revendiquer le Khalifat

¹ Grande et ancienne ville de l'Adrabîdjân à trois ou quatre milles du lac (du même nom).—*Marâsed*.—Peut-être vaudrait-il mieux lire “ en Arménie.”

² Les habitants l'appellent *Moughân*. C'est une province qui renferme nombre de villages et de prairies où les Turkomans mènent paître leurs troupeaux. La plupart des habitants forment partie de ces tribus. Cette province appartient à l'Adrabîdjân. Le voyageur qui se rend d'Ardâbil à Tebrîz passe par les montagnes (du Mouqân).—*Marâsed*.

et lui promettant de lui réunir des partisans et de prendre en son nom possession de l'Adrabîdjân. Devenu fort, il gagna l'Iraq. Le prétendant vint à sa rencontre avec environ trois cents hommes et fut rejoint par Djasatân ebn Cheremzen dont la présence accrut ses forces. Proclamé par le peuple, il se trouva à la tête d'un puissant parti.

“Les deux fils d'El Merzubân, Djasatân et Ibrâhîm, marchèrent contre cette armée pour la combattre. On en vint aux mains : les partisans d'El Mostadjîr furent battus et lui-même tomba prisonnier et disparut. Suivant les uns, il fut tué ; suivant d'autres, il mourut de mort naturelle.

“Quant à Wahsoudân, lorsqu'il vit la discorde régner parmi ses neveux et chacun d'eux travailler sourdement à tromper l'autre, il envoya un message à Ibrâhîm, après la défaite d'El Mostadjîr, et l'invita à venir le visiter ; ce qu'il fit. Il le combla d'honneurs et des plus riches présents. Il écrivit aussi à son autre neveu et réussit à le séduire. Ce prince quitta son frère Djasatân et arriva au Mouqân où il fut suivi par l'armée qui, espérant se procurer par ce moyen de l'argent, abandonna en grand nombre Djasatân. Nâser, se trouvant en forces pour lutter contre son frère Djasatân, s'empara d'Ardabîl. Mais lorsque les troupes réclamèrent l'argent qu'il leur avait promis, Nâser ne put les satisfaire ; son oncle Wahsoudân s'abstint de venir à son aide. Comprenant alors qu'il l'avait trompé, il se réconcilia avec Djasatân. Les deux frères se trouvaient cependant dans une extrême pénurie d'argent et dans une situation très difficile, les gouverneurs des provinces voisines s'étant emparés de leurs possessions. Il se virent contraints de se rendre avec leur mère auprès de leur oncle, après avoir pris de lui des engagements. Wahsoudân, malgré la foi jurée, les fit incarcérer tous trois et, se rendant maître des troupes, il remit à son fils Ismâ'il la plupart des forteresses et le nomma émir de l'Adrabîdjân.

“Ibrâhîm, fils d'El Merzubân, avait gagné l'Arménie. Il se prépara à disputer le pouvoir à Ismâ'il et à délivrer ses deux frères de prison. Wahsoudân, informé de ses préparatifs et voyant la population lui devenir hostile, se hâta

de faire périr Djasatân et Nâser ainsi que leur mère. En même temps il écrivit à Djasatân ebn Cheremzen de marcher contre Ibrâhîm et lui envoya des troupes et de l'argent. Ses ordres furent exécutés et Ibrâhîm fut contraint de s'enfuir de nouveau en Arménie; son armée et les villes de Marâghah et d'Ormyah tombèrent au pouvoir d'Ebn Cheremzen.

"Après sa défaite, Ibrâhîm se mit à rassembler des troupes et fit des préparatifs pour retourner dans l'Aḍrabîdjân. S'étant réconcilié avec Ebn Cheremzen, il fut rejoint par de nombreux partisans. Sur ces entrefaites Ismâ'îl, fils de Wahsouḍân, mourut. Ibrâhîm se dirigea aussitôt vers Ardabîl, s'en empara et marcha contre son oncle pour venger la mort de ses deux frères. Wahsouḍân effrayé se rendit dans le Daylam avec Abou'l Qâsem ebn Masîky, qui avait embrassé son parti. Ibrâhîm s'empara des états de son oncle, écrasa ses partisans et reprit ses trésors qu'il lui avait enlevés.

"Bientôt Wahsouḍân ayant réuni ses compagnons retourna à sa forteresse du Tarm et fit partir contre Ibrâhîm Ebn Masîky à la tête d'une armée. Ibrâhîm fut mis en déroute après un combat acharné et, s'étant enfui seul, il courut jusqu'à Er-Rayy où il fut reçu avec distinction et bienveillance par son beau-frère Reukn ed-dauleh, qui le combla d'honneurs et de présents. Cette défaite d'Ibrâhîm, à la suite de laquelle il dut quitter l'Aḍrabîdjân, eut lieu en l'année 355.¹

"La même année,² aidé par les troupes que Reukn ed-dauleh expédia avec lui sous le commandement de l'Ostâḍ Abou'l fadl ebn El 'Amîd, qui avait mission de lui faire recouvrer ses états et de gagner à sa cause les seigneurs des provinces limitrophes, Ibrâhîm ebn El Merzubân reprit la route de l'Aḍrabîdjân et fut réinstallé sur son trône. Djasatân ebn Cheremzen et d'autres chefs Kurdes reconnurent son autorité.

"La mauvaise administration de ce prince entièrement livré à sa passion pour le vin et les femmes, la richesse des revenus du pays et l'abondance de ses eaux frappèrent Ebn El 'Amîd. L'Ostâḍ écrivit à Reukn ed-dauleh pour lui signaler cet état des choses et l'engager à enlever à Ibrâhîm une partie de ses possessions contre le paiement d'une somme

¹ Ebn el Aṭîr, viii. p. 420.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 422-423.

proportionnée aux revenus, lui prédisant que le pays échapperait des mains de ce faible prince. Mais Reukn ed-dauleh refusa cette proposition et répondit à Abou'l fadl : 'On ne dira pas de moi qu'un homme a imploré mon assistance et que j'ai convoité ses états.' Il ordonna en même temps à son vizir de revenir et de remettre l'Adrabîdjân à Ibrâhîm. La prédiction d'Ebn El 'Amîd s'accomplit. Ibrâhîm fut pris et incarcéré." ¹

Nous ignorons ce que devint l'Adrabîdjân depuis le départ d'Ebn el 'Amîd jusqu'à l'année 420, époque à laquelle un Ibrâhîm, arrière petit-fils de Wahsouân, régnait dans ce pays. Il est probable que les guerres entre les deux branches issues de Mohammad ebn Mosâfer continuèrent et qu'Ibrâhîm 1^{er} ne tarda pas à avoir pour successeur El Merzubân ebn Ismâ'il ebn Wahsouân, à qui aurait succédé Ibrâhîm II, fils d'El Merzubân II.

Quoi qu'il en soit, Ebn el Aîr nous apprend qu' "en l'année 420² le Salâr Ibrâhîm ebn El Merzubân ebn Ismâ'il ebn Wahsouân ebn Mohammad ebn Mosâfer, le Daylamite, possédait les villes de Sardjêhân,³ Zandjân,⁴ Abhar,⁵ Chahrazour⁶ et autres. Ce sont celles dont il s'empara après la mort de Fakhr ed-dauleh ebn Bouwayh.⁷

"Quand Yamîn ed-dauleh Mahmoûd, fils de Sébuktékîn, se fut rendu maître d'Er-Rayy, il fit partir El Merzubân ebn El Hasan ebn Khorâmîl, prince du Daylam, qui s'était réfugié auprès de lui, avec l'ordre de s'emparer des états du

¹ C'est ici que s'applique l'observation d'Ebn Khaldoun. Ebn el Aîr ne dit plus un mot de cet Ibrâhîm. On pourrait même croire qu'il le confond plus loin avec son homonyme dont il est question sous l'année 420.

² T. ix. pp. 262-263.

³ Citadelle très forte, à l'extrémité des montagnes du Daylam; elle domine la plaine de Qazouîn et de Zandjân. C'est un des châteaux les mieux fortifiés.—*Marâsed.*

⁴ Grande ville connue faisant partie des districts du Djebâl, à proximité d'Abhar et de Qazouîn. Les Persans prononcent Zenguiân.—*Marâsed.*

⁵ Ville connue, entre Qazouîn, Zandjân et Hamâdân, et faisant partie des districts du Djabal. Les Persans l'appellent Avhar.—*Marâsed.*

⁶ Vaste district dans le Djebâl, entre Erbel et Hamâdân. Tous ses habitants sont Kurdes. La ville est située en plaine et entourée d'un mur épais de 8 coudées. A proximité se trouvent une montagne appelée Cha'rân et une autre connue sous le nom d'Ez-Zalam. Le fleuve de Tâmarâ la traverse en se dirigeant vers Khânégîn.—*Marâsed.*

⁷ Ce fils de Reukn ed-dauleh mourut dans la citadelle de Tabaraq l'an 387 de l'h. Il hérita Hamâdân et Er-Rayy de son père en 366 et Isbahân, en 373, de son frère Moayyed el-dauleh Abou Mansour.

Salâr Ibrâhîm. Il se rendit dans ce pays ; quelques Daylamîtes se laissèrent gagner à son parti.

“ Or il arriva qu’Yamîn ed-dauleh retourna dans le Khorasân. Ibrâhîm, profitant de son départ, marcha sur Qazouîn où se trouvaient les soldats d’Yamîn ed-dauleh et, leur ayant livré bataille, il en tua le plus grand nombre ; les autres prirent la fuite. Le Salâr avait été secondé par les habitants de la ville. Il se dirigea aussi sur Makân,¹ place voisine de Sardjéhân et entourée de fleuves et de montagnes qui servent à sa défense.

“ Mas’oùd, fils d’Yamîn ed-dauleh, se trouvait alors à Er-Rayy. Informé de ce qui se passait, il marcha en toute hâte contre le Salâr. Après plusieurs rencontres dans lesquelles la victoire resta à ce dernier, Mas’oùd attira à son parti par des distributions d’argent un détachement de l’armée d’Ibrâhîm, qui lui fit connaître les points faibles de l’ennemi. Le Salâr se trouva attaqué de face et par derrière. Lui et ses compagnons luttèrent vainement et furent mis en déroute et poursuivis. Le Salâr se cacha dans Makân ; mais une femme de la campagne ayant fait connaître sa retraite, Mas’oùd se saisit de lui et l’emmena à Sardjéhân où était son fils. Celui-ci refusa de rendre la place. Mas’oùd lui imposa un tribut ainsi qu’à d’autres chefs Kurdes du voisinage et retourna à Er-Rayy, après avoir pris possession des autres citadelles et villes et de tous les trésors d’Ibrâhîm.”

Ebn el Aîr mentionne encore sous l’année 421² une expédition malheureuse contre les Khazars conduite par Fadloun le Kurde, qui possédait une portion de l’Aḍrabîdjân.

“ Dès l’année 420, les Turcs Ghozz étaient arrivés dans l’Aḍrabîdjân³ où ils furent reçus honorablement par Wahsoudân qui contracta avec eux des liens de famille dans l’espérance de les avoir pour auxiliaires et d’être à l’abri de leurs méfaits. Mais son espoir fut déçu : ils continuèrent de se livrer à toutes sortes de brigandages, tuant et pillant les

¹ Cette place n’est mentionnée ni dans le *Marâsed*, ni dans le D^{re} de la Perse, ni dans la géographie d’Abou’l fêda.

² ix. p 289.—Je préviendrai en passant que dans ce volume les pages 280 à 289 sont répétées deux fois dans le volume.

³ Ebn el Aîr, ix. pp. 269-270.

habitants. En l'année 429, ils entrèrent dans Marâghah, incendièrent la mosquée et massacrèrent un grand nombre de gens de la ville. Les Kurdes, en présence de tant de maux, s'unirent pour mettre un terme à la scélératesse des envahisseurs. Abou'l haydjâ ebn Rabîb ed-dauleh et Wahsoudân, seigneur de l'Adrabîdjân, firent la paix et les habitants du pays se joignirent à eux. Voyant que tout le monde s'unissait pour leur faire la guerre, les Ghozz quittèrent l'Adrabîdjân et se dispersèrent dans différentes directions."

Tous n'avaient pourtant pas abandonné le pays, car nous voyons en l'année 432¹ Wahsoudân ebn Mehlân (ou Memlân) massacrer à Tebrîz un grand nombre de Ghozz et se saisir de leurs chefs, après les avoir invités à un festin, et ceux qui se trouvaient à Ormyah se diriger vers les districts de Mosoul.

"En l'année 446,² le Sultan Seldjoukide Toghrulbek marcha sur l'Adrabîdjân. Il gagna d'abord Tebrîz dont le seigneur, l'émir *Abou Mansour* Wahsoudân ebn Mohammad er-Rawâdy, lui fit sa soumission, prononça son nom dans la *kheutbeh*, et lui donna son fils en otage; puis Djanzah, où l'émir Abou'l Asouâr, seigneur de cette ville, se soumit également et fit célébrer la prière publique au nom du conquérant; puis tous les autres districts. Toghrulbek trouva partout la soumission la plus complète et reçut l'engagement que la *kheutbeh* serait célébrée en son nom et qu'on lui fournirait des contingents de troupes. Après avoir ravagé l'Arménie, s'être avancé jusqu'à Arzen er-roûm (Erzeroum) et avoir tenté en vain de s'emparer de Malâzkerd, le sultan retourna à Er-Rayy où il resta jusqu'en l'année 447, et revint ensuite dans l'Iraq."

"En l'année 454, le Sultan Toghrulbek marcha sur la citadelle du Tarm, qui fait partie du pays de Daylam, et imposa au seigneur de cette forteresse, Mosâfer, (un tribut de) cent mille dinârs et de mille vêtements."³

¹ Ebn el Atîr, ix. pp. 271-272.

² *Ibid.* pp. 410-411.

³ Ebn el Atîr, t. ix. p. 15.—J'ai omis de citer deux autres passages du même chroniqueur relatifs aux seigneurs du Tarm. Le premier se trouve dans le t. ix. p. 304 :

"En cette année (427) un corps de troupes Khorâsâniennes qui était à Ishahân avec le vizir Abou Sahl el Hamdoufy se mit en marche pour aller faire du

Ici se termine ce qu'Ebn el Atîr nous apprend de l'histoire des Banou Mosâfer, seigneurs de l'Aḍrabîdjân.

J'ajouterai que les noms d'El Merzubân, Wahsouḍân et Djasatân semblent avoir été assez communs chez les Daylamîtes. Un Djasatân ou Merzubân ebn Djasatân, seigneur du Daylam, vient rendre hommage à Haroûn er-Rachîd à Er-Rayy, en l'année 189.—En l'année 252, un autre Djasatân, seigneur du Daylam, fait une incursion sur le territoire d'Er-Rayy.—En 259, une rencontre a lieu entre Mohammad ebn El Fadl ebn Bayân et Wahsouḍân ebn Djasatân, le Daylamîte. Ce dernier est défait.—En l'année 300, 'Aly ebn Wahsouḍân (fils sans doute du précédent) est nommé gouverneur militaire d'Isbahân; il est destitué en l'année 304 et se fixe dans les districts du Djabal; il reçoit de Mounès, en l'année 307, le gouvernement d'Er-Rayy, de Donbâwand, de Qazouîn, d'Abhar et de Zandjân. Il est assailli la même année dans le district de Qazouîn et tué dans son lit par son oncle Ahmad ebn Mosâfer, seigneur du Tarm.—En l'année 290, un Djasatân, Daylamîte et seigneur du Tabarestân, avait donné asile à Mohammad ebn Haroûn.

Agrérez, etc.,

HY. SAUVAIRE.

ROBERNIER PAR MONTFORT SR. ARGENS (VAR),
le 6 février 1881.

fouillage. 'Alâ ed-dauleh (Duchmanzyâr ebn Kâkouwayh) aposte des gens qui inspirèrent à ces soldats le désir de se rendre, pour s'approvisionner, dans les districts de son voisinage. Ce qu'ils firent, sans le savoir si près deux. Aussitôt informé de leur approche, il sortit les attaquer et, étant tombé sur eux, il leur enleva tout ce qu'ils avaient.—Ce succès ayant accru sa convoitise, il réunit une bande de Daylams et autres et marcha sur Isbahân où se trouvait Abou Sahl à la tête des troupes de Mas'ûd, fils de Sebuktékîn. Elles sortirent à sa rencontre et lui livrèrent bataille. Trahi par les Turcs, 'Alâ ed-dauleh fut mis en déroute et ses bagages furent pillés. Il se dirigea alors vers Baroûdjerd* et de là vers le Tarm. Mais Ebn Es-Sallâr (sic) refusa de le recevoir en disant : 'Il m'est impossible de me séparer des Khorâsâniens.' Conséquemment il le laissa et s'éloigna de lui."

Le second passage est ainsi conçu (t. ix. p. 348) :

"Année 434.—Toghroulbek dépêche également un envoyé au Salâr du Tarm pour l'inviter à venir lui rendre hommage et à lui porter 200,000 dinârs. L'accord s'établit entre eux moyennant l'obéissance et le paiement d'une certaine somme."

* Ville située entre Hamadân et El Karadj.

ART. XV.—*Aryan Mythology in Malay Traditions.* By
W. E. MAXWELL, Colonial Civil Service.

ONE of the most striking coincidences in the traditions of different Malay states is the constant recurrence of three persons as the founders of kingdoms, the authors of government and order, or the progenitors of a line of rulers. In Menangkabau, the most ancient state of Sumatra, it is related how Iskandar Z'ul Karnayn ("lord of the two horns," or the East and the West; generally identified with Alexander the Great) begot three sons named respectively Maharaja Alif, Maharaja Dipang, and Maharaja Diraja. When the three brothers had reached maturity, they proceeded on a voyage together and arrived at Ceylon, where they agreed to separate. "Then the eldest, Maharaja Alif, claimed the crown, *Makota Singhatahana*. And Maharaja Dipang said, 'I too want it.' Maharaja Diraja said, 'It is mine, because I am the youngest.' Then an angel descended and said, 'Which of you is Raja? Why are ye disputing?' And they replied, 'It is about the crown which was our father's.' Then said the angel, 'Are ye willing to give it up to me?' And they surrendered it to the angel, who forthwith let it fall into the sea, and then instantly vanished. Then said Maharaja Alif, 'How now, my brethren, will ye sail towards the setting of the sun?' Maharaja Dipang replied, 'I intend to sail for a land between the rising and setting of the sun.' And Maharaja Diraja said, 'As my two elder brothers have thus decided, I shall sail for the rising sun, and we will take our chance of what fortune may befall us.' Then Maharaja Alif set sail for the setting sun, namely, Rourm; and Maharaja Dipang sailed to the dark land, the country of China; and Maharaja Diraja sailed away to the land of the rising sun, and after a long

time reached the top of the burning mountain (Menangkabau in Sumatra)."¹

The main features of the foregoing legend are preserved in the story communicated to Marsden, "as the belief of the people of Johor," and published by him in his *History of Sumatra* in 1811. It is as follows :

"It is related that Iskander dived into the sea, and there married a daughter of the king of the ocean, by whom he had three sons, who, when they arrived at manhood, were sent by their mother to the residence of their father. He gave them a *makuta* or crown, and ordered them to find kingdoms where they should establish themselves. Arriving in the Straits of *Singa-pura*, they determined to try whose head the crown fitted. The eldest trying first could not lift it to his head. The second the same. The third had nearly effected it, when it fell from his hand into the sea. After this the eldest turned to the west and became king of Rome. The second to the east and became king of China. The third remained at *Johor*."

Johor is the southernmost state of the Malay Peninsula. It was to this state that the Raja of Malacca removed after the conquest of his country by the Portuguese under Albuquerque in 1511, and here the royal line of Malacca was continued for several generations. The legend preserved by Marsden appears to be a localized version of the Menangkabau tradition, with the introduction of the changes necessary to give Johor due prominence.²

Malacca, however, had her own traditional account of the origin of her kings, who were said to be descended from one of three princes, descendants of Iskandar Z'ul Karnayn, who came down from the heaven of Indra and appeared on earth at a place called Palembang in Sumatra. This is

¹ From a Malay manuscript in my possession.

² This incident about the loss of the crown is found in Perak legendary history also. When the first Raja of Perak was on his way up the Perak river, he stopped at a place called Selat Lembajayan for amusement. One of his attendants happened to point out some fish in the water, and in leaning over the boat's side to look at them the Raja lost his crown, which fell from his head and immediately sank. His people dived in vain for it, and from that day to this no Sultan of Perak has had a crown.

related in detail in the *Sajarah Malayu*. The following translation is from a manuscript, which formerly belonged to the Rajas of Perak, a Malay state whose royal house is an off-shoot of the Malacca line:—

“There was a kingdom in the land of Andalas called Palembang, the ruler of which was named Demang Lebar Daun. His descent was from the stock of Raja Cholan. Muaratatang was the name of his river, and beyond it was another river called Malayu. Now on this river Malayu there was a hill called Bukit Sagantang Maha Miru. Two widow women lived on this hill; one was called Wan Pak and the other Wan Malini.¹ They grew upland rice (*padi*) on Bukit Sagantang Maha Miru, and their fields were of great extent. Their crops were so abundant that the quantity of grain could not be calculated. One night, when the *padi* was nearly ripe, Wan Pak and Wan Malini noticed from their house on the hill Sagantang Maha Miru that their fields were blazing with light, as if they were on fire. Then said Wan Pak to Wan Malini, ‘What brilliancy is this? It frightens me to look at it.’ Said Wan Malini, ‘Let us make no noise. Mayhap it is the lustre of some large dragon’s jewel.’ And Wan Pak replied, ‘It is very likely as you say.’ Then they both held their peace from fear and went to sleep. As soon as it was light, they arose from their slumbers and washed their faces. Then said Wan Pak to Wan Malini, ‘Come, let us see what it was that was shining so brilliantly last night.’ And the other assented. Then they both went up the hill Sagantang, and found that their *padi* had produced grains of gold and leaves of silver and stalks of brass. When they perceived the nature of their crop, Wan Pak said, ‘It is this *padi* that we saw shining so brilliantly last night.’ Then they walked to the top of the hill Sagantang Maha Miru, and saw that the ground on the top of the hill had also become gold. (By some it is said that even up to the present time the soil of that hill is of the colour of gold.) On the top of this golden hill Wan

¹ “Wan Ampu and Malin.”—Leyden’s translation, p. 21.

Pak and Wan Malini saw three young men of exceeding beauty. They were seated on a white elephant,¹ and each of them had girded on by his side a sword named '*Chora Samandang Kini*.' This is the royal sword of state of all Malay rajas. Each of them also held in his left hand a wand (*kayu gamit*), that is to say, the *chap halilintar* ('the seal of the thunderbolt').

Great was the amazement and wonder of Wan Pak and Wan Malini at the appearance of three young men of such surpassing beauty of feature and person and richness of apparel. They thought, 'Perchance it is because of these three young men that our *padi* has borne grains of gold and leaves of silver and stalks of brass, and that the soil on the top of the hill has also become gold.'

Then Wan Pak and Wan Malini inquired of the three men, 'What may be the names of my lords, and whence do my lords come? Are ye of the sons of the Jin or of the Peri? We have lived long here, and have never yet seen any human creature come to this spot until to-day.' The three young men answered, 'We are not of the race of the Jin or of the Peri. We are men, and our descent is from the children and grandchildren of Raja Iskandar Z'ul Karnayn; our stock is that of Raja Nashirwan, and our origin from Raja Soliman, on whom be peace. Our names are Najitram, and Paldutani, and Nila Asnam.'² Wan Pak and Wan Malini then said, 'If my lords are descended from Raja Iskandar Z'ul Karnayn, why do my lords come here?' Then were related by the three young men all the adventures of Raja Iskandar Zu'l Karnayn; and Wan Pak and Wan Malini believed their words; and being exceedingly

¹ "One of them had the dress of a raja, and was mounted on a bull, white as silver; and the other two were standing on each side of him, one of them holding a sword and the other a spear."—Leyden's translation, p. 22.

² "My name is Bichitram Shah, who am Raja; the name of this person is Nila Pahlawan; and the name of the other Carua Pandita. This is the sword, Chora sa-mendang-kian, and that is the lance, Limbuar; this is the signet, Cayu Gampit, which is employed in correspondence with rajas."—Leyden's translation, p. 22. In some manuscripts the name transliterated by Leyden "Carua Pandita" is *Kisna* Pandita."

joyful, they brought back the three princes to their house. And they plucked their *padi* and became rich.¹

Now it is said that the Palembang of that time is the same Palembang that exists to the present day. When the Raja of Palembang, Demang Lebar Daun, heard it reported that Wan Pak and Wan Malini had met the sons of a raja who had descended from the abode of Indra, he went to their house to see these princes. He conducted them to his own capital, and the fame of these doings was published abroad in all lands. And kings from all quarters and countries presented themselves before the king. The eldest prince was sought out by the people of Andalas and made by them king of Menangkabau. And he took the royal title of Sang Purba.² Afterwards the people of Tanjong Pura came and fetched away the second prince. His royal title was Sang Manika. The youngest remained at Palembang with Raja Demang Lebar Daun, and was made king at Palembang, and invested with the royal title of Sang Nila Utama. To him Demang Lebar Daun resigned his throne, and became Mangko-bumi or chief minister."

Here once more we have the myth of the three high-born personages with whom a new order of things commences. The Perak version of the legend comprised in the foregoing translation differs in many respects from that contained in better-known copies of the *Sajarah Malayu*, as a reference to the English and French translations will show. In the translated versions the chief of the three princes is described as seated upon a bull, white as silver, while the other two

¹ "Nila Pahlawan and Carua Pandita were married to the young females Wan Ampu and Wan Malin, and their male offspring were denominated by Sangsa-purba Baginda Awang, and the female offspring Baginda Dara; and hence the origin of all the Awangs and Daras."—Leyden's translation, p. 24.

² *Sang* is a title applied in Malay and Javanese to gods and heroes of pre-Muhammadian times. Applied to gods it is often coupled with the word *hyang*, which means "divinity," "deity," and then becomes *sangyang*. *Sang* is still an ordinary title among the chiefs of the aboriginal tribes of the Peninsula. It is probably of Sanskrit origin and, like the *sain* and *sahib* of India, is probably derived from *swami*. *Purba* is the Sanskrit word *pūrva* 'first.' *Sang Purba* may therefore be translated "first deity," or "first chief."

stand one on each side of him, one of them holding a sword and the other a spear.

The names introduced into the narrative are very instructive. The titles of the supernatural visitors are of Sanskrit origin, while the name of the chieftain of Palembang is pure Malay. *Demang Lebar Daun* means "Chieftain Broad-leaf," and is thoroughly characteristic of the aboriginal Malay tribes. To this day the latter name a child from some peculiarity about the place in which it happens to be born or the natural phenomena noticed about the time of its birth. "Earth," "Mud," "Leaf," "Flower," "Thunder," and "Lightning," are some of the names which the Sakai of Perak give their offspring. Again, the method of cultivation in which the women are described as being engaged is the most primitive known to the Malays, who in most populous districts have long abandoned upland cultivation, with its scanty returns, for wet cultivation on the plains. The latter requires an advanced degree of agricultural skill, the use of buffaloes in ploughing, and some ingenuity in devising means of irrigation; but the crops are far more abundant than those obtained from the hill-clearings.

The hill-clearing system of agriculture is the primitive mode of cultivation common to Indo-Chinese races from the Himalayas to Borneo.¹

The connexion of the sword, lance and seal with Hindu Gods is not obvious, but it is a matter of general knowledge that Hindu deities are generally portrayed with particular objects connected with events in their mythical histories or with the various powers and attributes assigned to them. Thus Çiva is represented as bearing in his hands the holy shell, the radiated weapon, the mace for war and the lotus.

The name of the sword is perhaps capable of satisfactory explanation. The sacred river Ganga (the Ganges), according to Hindu mythology, is called in heaven *Manda-*

¹ Journ. Ind. Arch. vol. i. p. 455; Marsden, History of Sumatra, p. 62; Forbes, British Burmah, p. 281; Newbold, Straits of Malacca, vol. i. p. 263; Pallegoix, Siam, vol. i. p. 40; Low, Sarawak, p. 232; Asiatic Researches, vol. vii. p. 190; Journ. Ind. Arch. vol. ii. p. 236.

Kini. When Ganga fell from heaven to the earth, Çiva caught her in his bunch of matted hair, and idols represent him with the sacred river springing from his head. It appears, therefore, that the name of the river whose source is Çiva's head has in Malay legend become the name of the sword which Sang Purba holds in his hand. The transition is not a very startling one; the word remains, though its original signification has been lost.

Chora is not a Malay word, and is probably identical with the Sanskrit *kshura* 'a razor.'

Taking into consideration the Sanskrit names and the mention of Maha Miru,¹ the Hindu Olympus, it is not difficult to see that the story of the three princes owes its origin to accounts of the three deities of the Hindu Triad, Brahma, Vishnu, and Rudra (Çiva). The "white bull," the "vahan" of Çiva, on which the centre character is generally described as seated, takes the matter beyond the region of conjecture altogether. The three persons who descend from the abode of Indra to the sacred mountain Maha Miru, one of them riding on a white bull, and at whose approach the earth becomes gold, and the very corn is transformed into stalks, leaves, and grains of precious metals, cannot but be divine.

The legend may therefore be viewed in two aspects; first, as an instance of the occurrence of the widely-spread myth which connects the commencement of history with three persons, be they deities, princes, or rulers; second, as an independent tradition of the introduction of Aryan civilization in Sumatra, already occupied by an aboriginal people.

It is with the first aspect of the legend that we now have to deal. The tradition shown to exist in independent forms among the Malays of Menangkabau, Johor, and Palembang, appears again in the belief entertained by one of the wild tribes of the Peninsula respecting the origin of their Batins

¹ Sagantang = Sughanda? one of the four mountains which surround Sumeru "towards the four quarters."—Ward's *Hindoos*, vol. iv. p. 455. Cf. *Jukunthou*. "La première chaîne de montagnes qui entoure le *Meru* l'appelle *Jukunthou*."—Pallegoix, *Siam*, vol. i. p. 432.

or rulers. The Mantra of Johor are an aboriginal tribe with a Sanskrit name, a combination which may be explained perhaps by the circumstance of their being skilled in all kinds of spells and incantations, *Mantra* being Sanskrit for a charm. In this tribe a chief is called Batin, and they say that "the first of all Batins and rulers was Batin Changei Besi, whose nails, as his name imports, were of iron. He lived at Gunong Penyarong (Pagaruyong?) in Menangkabau. By him a Raja was placed over Menangkabau, a Bandahara over Pahang, and at a later period a Punghulu over Ulu Pahang.¹

In Marsden's History of Sumatra there is an interesting account of the religious belief of the Battaks of Sumatra, which affords another illustration of the myth under consideration. According to it the whole human race descended from the three sons and three daughters of a female deity, who was herself the daughter of the chief of the three gods who are the objects of Battak veneration :²—

"They acknowledge three deities as rulers of the world, who are respectively named *Batara-guru*, *Sori-pada*, and *Mangalla-bulang*. The first, say they, bears rule in heaven, is the father of all mankind, and partly, under the following circumstances, creator of the earth, which from the beginning of time had been supported on the head of *Naga-padoha*, but growing weary at length, he shook his head, which occasioned the earth to sink, and nothing remained in the world excepting water. They do not pretend to a knowledge of the creation of this original earth and water, but say that at the period when the latter covered everything, the chief deity, *Batara-guru*, had a daughter named *Puti-orka-bulan*, who requested permission to descend to these lower regions, and accordingly came down on a white owl, accompanied by

¹ Journal Ind. Archipelago, vol. i. p. 326. *Changgai* is a long finger-nail worn as a mark of distinction. Cf. Hindustani *chang*, *changul*, 'claw.'

² "For a knowledge of their theogony we are indebted to M. Sieberg, governor of the Dutch settlements on the coast of Sumatra, by whom the following account was communicated to the late M. Radermacher, a distinguished member of the Batavian Society, and by him published in its Transactions."—History of Sumatra, p. 385.

a dog; but not being able, by reason of the waters, to continue there, her father let fall from heaven a lofty mountain, named *Bakarra*, now situated in the *Batta* country, as a dwelling for his child; and from this mountain all other land gradually proceeded. The earth was once more supported on the three horns of *Naga-padoha*; and that he might never again suffer it to fall off, *Batara-guru* sent his son, named *Lagang-layang-mandi* (literally, 'the dipping swallow') to bind him hand and foot. But to his occasionally shaking his head they ascribe the effect of earthquakes. *Puti-oria-bulan* had afterwards, during her residence on earth, three sons and three daughters, from whom sprang the whole human race."¹

What, then, is the primitive idea which lies at the root of these numerous parallel accounts of the foundation of kingdoms by three supernaturally-derived persons? The Battak legend, were other proof wanting, would naturally lead us to connect them with a traditional account (of Aryan origin) of the creation of man. The notion of the division of the supreme God into a triad, and the commencement of human history after a visit paid by the three deities to earth, came to the aboriginal Malay tribes with the introduction of Hindu civilization. It lost its original significance in the course of ages among barbarous tribes, who were probably demon- or spirit-worshippers, but survives in a more concrete shape, applied, as we have seen, to the national history of the Malays, the Battaks and the Mantras. The reasonableness of this view is confirmed by the account of the creation given in the Eddas:—

"Men came into existence when three mighty, benevolent Gods, Odin, Hœnir and Lodur, left the assembly to make an excursion. On the earth they found Ask and Embla (ash and elm?), with little power and without destiny; spirit they had not, nor sense, nor blood, nor power of motion, nor fair colour. Odin gave them spirit (breath), Hœnir

¹ Verhandeligen van het Bataviasch Genootschap, 1787, p. 15. De Backer, "L'Archipel Indien," p. 281.

sense, Lodur blood and fair colour. . . . From this pair the whole human race is descended."¹

Nor is this the only passage in the Eddas which bears upon the legends which I have quoted. A striking parallel with the Battak legend of Naga-padoha, on whose three horns the earth is supported, and whose occasional movements cause earthquakes, will be found in the account of the punishment of Loki :—

"When the gods had captured Loki, they brought him to a cave, raised up three fragments of rock, and bored holes through them. They then took his sons, Vali (Ali) and Narfi (Nari). Vali they transformed into a wolf, and he tore his brother Narfi in pieces. With his entrails they bound Loki over the three stones, one being under his shoulders, another under his loins, the third under his hams; and the bands became iron. Skadi then hung a venomous snake above his head, so that the poison might drip on his face; but his wife Siggyu stands by him and holds a cup under the dripping venom. When the cup is full, the poison falls on his face while she empties it; and he shrinks from it, so that the whole earth trembles. *Thence come earthquakes.* There will he lie bound until Ragnarök."²

Surely there is more than chance coincidence between the three horns of Naga-padoha, on which the earth of the Battaks is supported, and the three rocks to which Loki (fire) is bound. Though bound hand and foot, Naga-padoha sometimes shakes his head, even as Loki shudders in spite of the iron bands which bind him, and in either case the whole earth trembles, and men say that there is an earthquake.

If it has been satisfactorily shown that the history of the arrival of Sang Purba and his companions at Palembang is, in common with certain other legends, mythical and not

¹ Thorpe, Northern Mythology, vol. i. p. 10. "As the common ancestor of the German nation, Tacitus, on the authority of ancient forms, places the hero or god Tuiscō, who sprang from the earth; whose son Mannus had three sons, after whom are named the three tribes, viz. the Tugævones, nearest the ocean; the Hermiones, in the middle parts; and the Istævones."—Thorpe, Northern Mythology, vol. i. p. 232, quoting Tacitus, Germania, c. 2.

² Thorpe, Northern Mythology, vol. i. p. 78.

historical, being in fact only a local development of a primitive Aryan belief, it only remains to demonstrate the danger of attempting to fix dates for events of this kind.

It will probably be conceded that sufficient ground has been furnished for the reconsideration of the arguments by which the foundation of Singhapura by a son of *Sang Purba* has been attributed to the twelfth century A.D.!

In everything Malayan, the language, the literature, and the folk-lore of the people, the three stages, 1. Aboriginal, 2. Hindu, 3. Muhammadan, can be plainly detected. It is not uncommon to find three synonymous terms for some common object, one of which will be pure Malay, one Sanskrit, and one Arabic. Thus the human body is *tuboh*, (Malay), *salira* (Sanskrit), and *badan* (Arabic). The Aboriginal list of demons, already sufficiently large, has been successively enriched by the addition of the Sanskrit *bhut* (Malay *bota*) and the Arabic *jin* and *sheitan*. In the historical legends preserved in the *Sarajah Malayu* there may be found, in one place, aboriginal traditions which are traceable also among tribes in Sumatra and the Philippines; and, in another place, stories and allusions which belong to the continent of India, while over all there is a varnish of Arabic nomenclature and embellishment which the Muhammadan chroniclers have permitted themselves to bestow, undeterred by any consideration for truth or sense of fitness. Destitute of the critical faculty, they accepted as history the legends which had been handed down from time immemorial in the kingdoms of which they wrote, and knew no more than the Malay peasant of to-day that the traditions of their forefathers related to anything more than events in the lives of their Rajas.

ART. XVI.—*The Koi, a Southern Tribe of the Gond.* By the
Rev. JOHN CAIN, Missionary.

BEFORE entering upon an account of the Koi, I ought to say that I am going to describe those only, with whom I came in contact during my residence at Dummagûdem, in the Bhadrachellam taluqa of the Godâvari District, giving at the same time additional information gleaned from them respecting those of their tribe, who live further inland, on the uplands of the bordering semi-independent state of Bastar. The place furthest south, where I have met with Koi, is Kammameta, in the Nizam's dominions. At present I know of eight classes or castes of the Koi, the Oddî, Guṭṭa Koi, Gommu Koi, Linga Koi, Koi Nâyak, Koi Kammara, Dôlivândlu or Dôlôllu, and Paṭṭiḍivândlu.

The Oddî live on the table-land of Bastar, and are regarded as the most honourable, and have chief control of the superior vêlpus or objects of Koi worship.

The Guṭṭa Koi, *i.e.* the hill Koi. These live on the Bastar plateau, and look down with some degree of contempt on the lowland Koi.

The Gommu Koi. Gommu is a Telugu word meaning horn, tusk, etc., but in the Upper Godâvari District it is used for the banks of the river, and all villages on the banks of the Godâvari are called Gommu villages. Hence as the Koi, who live in the plains, are nearer the river than those who live on the Bastar plateau, they are Gommu Koi or bank Koi. These are the Koi, with whom I came in contact, and whose manners and customs I am about to describe.

The Koi Nâyakalu. Few of these are to be found outside the Bastar country, and the only connexion between the people of this class and the Koi seems to be that of the name. It is well worth noticing, in passing, that there are a great many Nayak to be found further up the river. In years

gone by many of these were retainers of the petty zemindars of that part of the country.

The Koi Kammaravaṇḍlu. Kammaravaṇḍlu is the Telugu equivalent for blacksmiths. These Koi blacksmiths live in the Koi villages, but are reckoned as lower in the social scale than the Koi. The Koi are not always dependent upon them for smiths' work, as it frequently happens that some of their own people can handle the anvil effectively.

The Linga Koi. Some few Koi villages in the Bastar country have adopted the worship of Siva and wear the lingam. Hence their name.

Ḍōlivaṇḍlu or Ḍōlōllu. These are the chief guardians of the inferior vēḷpu, attend the marriage feasts, when they recite old stories and sing the national songs, and live by begging. They are however regarded as lower in the scale than the Koi blacksmiths.

Pattīdivaṇḍlu. These are beggars, but many of them also engage in cultivation as well.

But to return to the Gommu Koi. They are also called by the Guṭṭa or Hill Koi Mayaloṭīlu or rogues; for these latter say that in years gone by the ancestors of the lowland Koi dwelt with their ancestors on the Bastar plateau, but went, on a certain occasion, to see a zemindar in the plains, and were so pleased with the character of the country, that they settled there and persuaded many of their old friends to follow their example, and, worse than all, frequently visited the plateau on secret marauding expeditions. The Gommu Koi have a pretty widely received tradition, that their ancestors left the hills some two hundred years ago, but it must be confessed, that they have very vague ideas as to time.

Each group of twenty-five Koi villages forms a samatu, but if a new village is formed in the area of country occupied by these twenty-five villages, this new village forms part of the samatu, so that at times a samatu may consist of more than twenty-five villages, and if some of the villages have been deserted, of less than twenty-five. The leading man in the samatu is called the samatu dora (a Telugu word for *lord*), and he is assisted by two others who are called peṭṭananandā-

rule. The duties of the samatu dora are to preside over all meetings, to settle all tribal disputes, and to inflict fines for all breaches of caste rules : he always receives a certain share of the fines. The office is generally hereditary. The custom of calling the Koi doralu or lords is of uncertain origin. Some have traced it to the termination of the word Koitor, the name by which it is said they call themselves further inland ; but this seems rather doubtful, as this honorific title is not only conceded to the Koi, but to several other castes in the Telugu country, and all the more influential natives in the neighbouring independent or semi-independent states. In most of the Koi villages are to be found their Mala (pariah) and Madiga (shoemaker) servants, who talk Telugu, and it can be well imagined that these called their superiors doralu or lords. Many of the Koi on the Bastar plateau, and more particularly those who are Saivites, call themselves Bhûmi Razulu, *i.e.* kings of the earth.

The lowland Koi say that they are divided into four tribes, the Perumboyuḍu, Madogaṭṭa, Peragaṭṭa, and Mata-mappayo.

As a rule, they are timid, inoffensive, and tolerably truthful, but contact with the Hindus has not improved them in this latter particular. The Rev. J. V. Razu Garu, the native clergyman, who has lived in that district for the past twenty-five years, has often remarked to me, that many of the Koi had degenerated, and were not to be trusted now any more than the average Hindu, and he attributed this to coming in contact with Hindu civilization. When he first went up there, those Koi who were very bold huntsmen, and not afraid of the wild beasts of the forest, frequently fled at the sight of a few Hindus ; and even after this timidity had worn off, and they had been persuaded to sell any articles of produce, they looked with great suspicion on any silver money, preferring the copper coins to the rupees.

They are rather restless, and apt to forsake their village sites for new ones, for very trivial causes, and, having a large tract of forest at their command, some of them frequently change their abodes ; but of late years the tendency has been to

more permanency. They are very partial to fire and axe cultivation, and do not at all appreciate the restrictions placed by the Madras Government upon that method of cultivation. In every village there are some very fond of hunting, and in years gone by each house could furnish a bow and arrows, a spear, or at least a few very heavy clubs. Now, the matchlock has superseded the bow and arrows. If a man-eating tiger makes its appearance and carries off one or two Koi, the villages in the immediate neighbourhood at once combine and send out a party to hunt down the beast, and every house in those villages is expected to send one man to share in the danger.

As may be supposed, they are not good cultivators; in fact, they are very dependent upon the flowers of the mhowa tree, which they gather up very carefully and dry, and stow away for use as required. A good flower harvest is regarded by them as sufficient provision for six months.

And now as to their religious belief. It is rather difficult to say anything very general, as the deities worshipped in one part are not necessarily looked up to in another, and Hinduism, in one or other of its forms, seems to have influenced some of the Koi. But they all hold the names of the Pāṇḍava family in very great respect; and, as they regard the wild dogs or dholes as the Pāṇḍava messengers, they will never interfere with them, even if they attack any of their flocks or herds. At the beginning of the rainy season, there often appears a large kind of spotted black-beetle, which they call the Pāṇḍava goats. Bhīma is their especial favourite, and his name is often pronounced at the commencement of their marriage ceremonies; and their popular processional dance, in which men, women and children join, is said to have been copied from one of Bhīma's marches after his enemies.

They assert that Muttelamma, Maridimahalakshmi, Poturazu and Korrarazu are the gods of the Sudras, but they frequently worship the last-mentioned god. Their gods and goddesses are Sārlamma, Kommamma, Adamarazu and Māmili or Lēli. Korrarazu is supposed to have supreme

power over the tiger, hence he is worthy of propitiation. Mâmili, or Lêli, may be called the goddess of spring, for her favour is always sought when the young crops are just springing up; and in years gone by, and most probably even now in some villages in Bastar, human sacrifices were often offered to her, strangers being preferred. About three years ago, a Koi, living in a village about six miles from Dummagudem, was accused of having sacrificed a traveller to Mâmili, and though, in consequence of the police bungling the matter, nothing further came out, every one believed him guilty, and the man himself did not very strongly deny the charge. I well remember an outcry being raised in 1878, in a village not far from my bungalow, and as I knew many of the Koi, I inquired what was the matter, and they replied that one of their number had been seized and was about to be offered to an image of Mâmili, in the village of Dabanutulu, some six miles away. This man professed to have a knowledge of medicine, and was frequently consulted by sick people or their friends for some miles around. A fortnight previous he had been called to attend a patient living at Dabanutulu, where there was an old stump supposed to represent the goddess Mâmili. After careful examination of the patient, he announced, that some enemy of the sick man had caused a large quantity of tin to lodge in the stomach, and that it was impossible to remove it, and therefore there was no hope of recovery. The friends present, however, entreated the son of Esculapius to make some attempt to save the dying man, so he consented; and fowls, arrack, benzoin, turmeric, and other drugs were brought, and after the fowls were slain and their blood smeared over the sick man's face, all present, excepting the invalid, partook of the liquor and ate the fowls. After this the turmeric was made into small balls and well rubbed over the patient. Having done his best, the physician departed, but ere he had crossed the village boundaries the sick man breathed his last. Fifteen days afterwards his friends re-assembled, according to custom, and proceeded to slay an ox and consume the funeral feast. But they were greatly disturbed in mind, for

a strong suspicion arose, that the man had died for want of care, and therefore his spirit must remain alone and desolate, and unable to join the spirits of his departed friends and relations. The only remedy was to call the physician, and entreat of him to remove the impurity clinging to the unfortunate spirit, and then the latter could be gathered in peace to his people. Accordingly they sent word to the physician, and he came, but, remembering that not so many years before the people of that village were devoted to the worship of Mâmili, a horrible fear flashed across his mind, and he fled. But the people were far too anxious for the repose of their friend's spirit to allow that, and so they pursued and brought the man back. In the mean time, the man's own friends heard of what was going on, and, sympathizing with his suspicion, applied to the police in Dummagudem for a rescuing force. This was sent, and the whole matter cleared up. The leading men of the suspected village then explained, that the fears, which had been excited, were quite unnecessary, for if they had wanted a sacrifice to the bloodthirsty goddess, they would have had to go to work in quite a different way. The victim must be seized secretly, killed in the dark, and his blood sprinkled on the image immediately, and the corpse buried forthwith.

Many a time I inquired of the Koi, whether they had any idea of a future state of happiness or misery, and always received the same answer that they had never heard of anything of the kind. A few, who have mixed a great deal with Hindus, have some faint belief in a transmigration; but the rest believe, either that at death they cease to exist, or that their spirits wander about in the forest in the form of pisachas. This last is the most prevalent belief. If they are not satisfied as to the cause of the death of any of their friends, they continue to meet at intervals for a whole year, offer the sacrificial feasts, and inquire of a physician, whether he thinks that the spirit of the departed has been able to associate with the spirits of his pre-deceased friends, and when they obtain an answer in the affirmative, then, and then only, do they discontinue their feasts.

They have but little belief in death from natural causes; some demon or demones, generally the latter, has brought about the death, and most probably at the instigation of an enemy of the deceased. Consequently, not many years ago they used to enforce the taking of the ordeal. On the occasion of the death of a man—it seems they were not so solicitous in the case of a woman's death—the friends of the deceased would assemble and consult as to who could be the first cause of death, and, having decided, would place the corpse on a cot and carry it to the suspected man's house, and then, if they were fortunate enough to find him at home, would compel him to submit to the ordeal of plunging his hand in boiling water or oil, and swearing at the same time that he was innocent of the death. If he faltered, or his hand suffered, he was immediately put to death. As blood revenge was very prevalent, the blood feuds often lasted for a very long time.

As witches and wizards are supposed to have the power of life and death, they are very much dreaded, and I knew of one Koi, who lived in the Bastar country, just over the border, compelled by all his friends to kill an aunt, who was a reputed witch, on the pain of being put to death himself. There is another class of wizards, the members of which are regarded as very harmless and useful, as they are regarded as being able to pierce the veil which overhangs this material world, and tell the causes of disasters, and also the names of the authors of evils and troubles. These men allow their hair to grow very long, and have to perform a very quick dance before the spirit of inspiration can enter them. I only saw this done once, and then at a distance, as they knew we were not favourable to them; in fact they said that the native clergyman, whom I have before mentioned, had deprived some of them of their supernatural power by persuading them to have their hair cut short.

There is a sacred standard called a *vêpu* (*vêpu* in Telugu means a god) belonging to each gens, and in a certain village in Bastar, the name of which I could never get hold of, there is the chief *vêpu* for the whole tribe of the Koi.

When one of the inferior vèlpu is carried about, contributions (in kind or in cash) are collected by its guardians almost exclusively from the members of the gens to which the vèlpu belongs. Although some of the Dôlôllu generally carry the vèlpu about, yet each vèlpu is regarded as under the peculiar guardianship of the head of the gens. When the superior vèlpu is taken to any village, all the inferior vèlpu of the district are brought, and, with the exception of two, are planted some little distance in front of their lord paramount. The two which are not planted there are two which are regarded as lieutenants to the supreme vèlpu, and accordingly are granted the honour of being planted one on each side of their lord. It was explained to me, that the chief one might be compared to the Râjâ of Bastar, the two of secondary rank to his ministers of state, and the rest to the petty proprietors scattered over the country. Offerings are made to the vèlpu, and then divided, the chief one obtaining the largest share, then the two lieutenants, and the inferior ones divide the remainder. I am bound to confess, that I have never seen a vèlpu, for the very satisfactory reason (satisfactory to me as a missionary) that they were but seldom brought to the villages in the neighbourhood of Dummagudem. But they have been described to me many times as simply consisting of a pole, with a long cloth tied to it; the pole revolves, and when the festival occurs it is planted in the ground, and the guardians seize hold of one end of the cloth and run rapidly round with it, causing the pole to revolve, to the sound of small drums, which are as musical as the tom-tom. As a rule, no adoration is paid to this vèlpu, although it is regarded as sacred. Very frequently, when the inhabitants of a village, to which the vèlpu has paid a visit, accompany it out of their village, they mark the distance they have gone by fastening to trees close by small cords made of rice-straw or of like material.

The number of feasts kept by the Koi around Dummagudem is now comparatively small. Formerly, like other Koi, they held festivals on each occasion of gathering in the

different crops and fruits, even including the ippa flower feast and the pumpkin feast. The principal one is the Kottalu feast, observed at the gathering in of the cholam crop. When this crop is ripe and ready to be cut, they take a fowl into the principal field or fields, kill it, and sprinkle the blood on any stone set up for the occasion. After this they are at liberty to partake of the new crop. They also hang up on some of the trees on the outside of the fields some rice-straw cords. As a rule, they refuse to eat with any Koi who have neglected this ceremony. The name Kottalu, which they give to this feast, is evidently connected with the Telugu word kotta, new.

There is one singular feast which they have discontinued, but which is still observed not far away. It occurs soon after the cholam crop has been harvested. Early on the morning of that day all the men have to turn out into the forest to hunt, and are not allowed by their wives to re-enter their houses, unless they bring home game of some kind or other, even if it be only a little bird or a rat or mouse.

On the occasion of another neglected feast, about which I could learn nothing definite, they used to take a goat or sheep out into the forest and there leave it as an offering to one of their gods.

With certain exceptions they burn their dead. These exceptions are children and unmarried young men and young women. Children who die within a fortnight of their birth are buried under the eaves of their parents' houses, in order to insure to the latter the birth of other children within the coming twelve months. On the occasion of the death of an adult the friends gather together and slay one or more oxen—according to the wealth of the deceased or his friends, and, having placed the corpse on the funeral-pile, take the tail of one of the slain animals and place it in the dead person's hand. It is said that in some villages they also put some of the liver of the animal in the corpse's mouth. They then put a light to the funeral-pile, and when all is consumed, retire to feast on the slain animal, and on the rice or cholam they have brought as a contribution to the funeral feast. In

farther removed taluqs, immediately the corpse is consumed, the ashes are wetted, rolled up into balls, and deposited in a hole about two feet deep, dug on the road-side just outside their village. Over the hole is placed a slab of stone, and at the head a perpendicular stone. Whenever friends pass by these graves, and have tobacco with them, they carefully place a few leaves on the stone, remarking how fond deceased was of tobacco when on the earth. The only stones that I have seen have been comparatively small ones, the horizontal ones about three feet by two feet, and the perpendicular ones about three feet high and two wide. But I have been informed that the stones erected in Bastar are much larger, though even these are small compared to the many large slabs which are frequently to be seen on the dolmens and kistvaens scattered in many parts of these taluqs. Three days after the funeral feast, a second is generally held, and sometimes on the seventh and also on the fifteenth day.

The Koi women are very hardy, and if they are at all strong, they resume their daily work very soon after giving birth to a child. The child is generally named on the seventh day after its birth, frequently without any particular ceremony, but frequently the friends collect together and consult as to the most suitable name. Leaves are brought, and one is placed in the hand of the child as the proposed name is pronounced. If the child does not reject the leaf, and express its disapproval by crying, the name is regarded as settled; but if disapproval is shown by the child in any way, a new name is brought forward, and the former ceremony repeated until the child acquiesces in their proposal.

The Koi are one of the few tribes of India, who practise, to a great extent, bride-catching. I have known of a few cases of infant marriage, and very many of marriages by the mutual consent of the parents of the bride and bridegroom. It all depends upon the wealth of the bridegroom. If he is at all rich, there is no need for him to take a wife to himself by forcible means. But, if his means are scanty, and he

cannot obtain the desire of his heart by peaceful methods, he and his friends fix upon a suitable bride and arrange for the feast. Then one or two of them go and win over the consent of the headman of the village where the bride lives by a present of money and liquor. The headman is not always consulted, for I well remember the headman of a village, about four miles away from Dummagudem, coming to complain of a widow being forcibly carried off from his house and himself knocked down in trying to prevent the rape. I am glad to say, that I was enabled to release the woman the next day before she had been compelled by her captors to go through the ceremony of being married to a man whom she had no desire of marrying. But, supposing the headman won over, the intimate friends of the bridegroom proceed to lie in wait outside the village of the proposed bride, and directly they can find her at home, or with but little protection, they rush in and carry her off, and then send word to her parents, stating who have carried her off, and where the ceremony and feast are to take place that evening. The simplest way of uniting the couple is to get them to stand close together with their heads bent down, that of the bride being just below that of the bridegroom. Then water is poured on the head of the bridegroom, and allowed to run off on to the head of the bride, and they become man and wife. But very frequently more elaborate ceremonies are practised. The two are brought together and made to take an oath to be faithful to each other, after which they drink milk together. Rice is then placed before them, they repeat their oaths, and then eat the rice together. After this they go outside the house and march round a small mound of earth thrown up under a pandal, singing a song as they march. The blessings and the good wishes of the elders are then sought, and the ceremony is over, and the feast begins, and continues all night. If they are tolerably well off, the feast will continue for three or four nights, and their favourite dancing will be carried on unremittingly. In their great desire to obtain a suitable bride, they are not always very considerate of the feelings of the weaker

vessel, for I have known of widows being carried off at the time of the burning of their late husbands, and more than once I have been appealed to to save them from such a cruel fate.

There are certain relationships in which relations have a prior claim to the hand of unmarried female relations, but the only instance I can now remember is that of a maternal uncle. He has the right to bestow his niece's hand on any one of his sons, or any other suitable candidate who meets with his approval. The father and mother of the girl have no voice in the matter. A similar custom is said to prevail amongst some sections of the Vaisya caste.

Mission work has been carried on amongst the Koi for the past twenty years, but not vigorously enough to have had large success. The Rev. J. V. Razu has itinerated amongst them, and no one has more influence over them than he has. But they are a suspicious race, and if the work had been carried on amongst them alone, to them, as a tribe, their language mastered, and the Christian church not weighted (in their eyes) by the admission of their servants, the Mala and Madiga, of their villages, there is little doubt but that many more would have embraced Christianity. But it was not felt to be right to neglect the other inhabitants of those districts, more especially as many of them were anxious to hear the Gospel. During the past ten years more than 100 Koi, children and adults, have been admitted into the Christian church. At present I should think there are more than fifty of the Christians in the church there of Koi origin; and there are many who are anxious to have schools started in their village. A letter, which I received a few days ago, stated that on Christmas Day a deputation of twenty had come in from villages about ten miles further up the village begging for schools. But the Church of Christ has not yet girded itself up for steady, earnest evangelistic work amongst the tribes of the jungles of the Central Provinces.

On the question of the Koi language I would speak with the greatest diffidence, for, although I have several good

vocabularies, etc., I never found time to study the language as I wished. Other duties had more immediate claims. But I can answer for the accuracy of the vocabularies, as the main part of them was, in the first instance, collected by two or three of my Christian teachers who live and work amongst the Koi. It is also important to bear in mind that we were only on the outskirts of the Gond country, and that the Koi we heard has been more or less influenced by the neighbouring language, Telugu. I came across a few very isolated villages on the banks of the Godavari eighty miles above Dummagudem, in which the Koi said they had forgotten the Koi language and only used Telugu. Of course there is no doubt that the Koi language is one of the Gond dialects, but it differs more from that spoken around Chindwara than I had expected. A careful comparison of the vocabularies I collected with the corresponding words in the lists given by the Rev. J. Dawson in his papers on the Gond language, published in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, shows that there is a connexion between half the words so compared: of the other half some are more nearly related to Telugu, and the others seem to stand alone. Among these last mentioned may be instanced the equivalents for father, house, cow, husband, wife, back, hair, belly, mouth, food and bush.

The plural of the nouns is formed by the particles êru, ôru, ku, nku, nki, ngu: these particles resemble the Tamil pluralizing particles more than the Telugu or northern Gond particles. In most cases the stem and the singular nominative form are the same: but in other cases a change takes place, *e.g.* konda (a bullock) becomes konângu in the plural, verkâdi (a cat) becomes verkâнку in the plural. To the words which have evidently been borrowed from Telugu the above pluralizing particles are added: *e.g.* chênu (a field) becomes chenku; panța (a crop) becomes panțangu; ginne (a cup), ginnêngu. It may be noticed that all the plurals end in u, like the Telugu plurals, and not like the northern Gond plurals. So in many of the case-endings the resemblance is more to the southern Dravidian languages rather than the northern. Although the endings in the instances

I have given in the vocabulary are rather irregular, yet the endings of the genitive in *ne*, *na*, *te*; the dative in *ki*; the locative in *lô*, all prove the accuracy of my assertion.

The pure Koi numerals are only three; *orrôti* (one), *renđu* (two), *munđu* (three). *Orrôti* resembles what is supposed to be the primitive Dravidian form.

The first and second personal pronouns are more nearly allied to Tamil than either to northern Gond or Telugu.

The interrogative *bênônđu* has more affinity with northern Gond.

In the personal affixes to the verbs the affinity is rather with the southern Dravidian languages.

A comparison of the vocabularies, etc., of the Koi with the Khond vocabularies and grammar given in Major Smith's book on the Khond language shows us that there is but little connexion between the two languages.

DECLENSION OF NOUNS.

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
father	tappe	tapperô
of a father	tappen	tapperenu
father (<i>accus.</i>)	tappeni	tappereni
to a father	tappeniki	tapperiki
by a father	tappenaske	tapperenaske
from a father	tappenagada	tapperenagada
with a father	tappenitô	tapperetô
in a father	tappenaga	tapperenaga
house	lônu	lôhaku or lônku
of a house	lôtaska	lôhakkinaska
house (<i>acc.</i>)	lôtini	lôhakkini
to a house	lôtiki	lôhakkiniki
by a house	lôtivalla	lôhakkinivalla
from a house	lôtinunchi	lôhakkininunchi
with a house	lôtitô	lôhakkinitô
in a house	lôtelô	lôhakkinilô

VERBS.

to eat	tinnandu	to tell	keltaanadu
to drink	uḍanadu	to descend	diganadu
to come	vadanadu	to place	vaṭanadu
to go	dayanadu	to turn	uhudinadu
to stand	niḷichimannanadu	to consent to pay	bâki armimanna-
to walk	dayanadu	a debt	nadu
to run	mirranadu	to chip away	ekkanadu
to sleep	unjanadu	to root up	pikanadu
to dream	kalaganskanadu	to take	tisanadu
to see	uḍanadu	to wander	uḍḍanadu
to hear	kanjanadu	to laugh	kavudanadu

VERBS (*continued*).

to cry	aḍadanadu	to plough	uḍadanadu
to kill	avukanadu	to cut	koyadanadu
to strike	tannandu	to squeeze	piranadu
to fell	narakanidu	to tie	tohidanadu
to drive	tolanadu	to draw	lāganadu
to sell	ammanadu	to buy	asanadu
to do	tunganadu	to exchange	mātsanadu
to collect	kappuvatanadu	to worship	maṭkanadu
to fall	aṛḍanadu	to mount	tarrandu
to shut	mutstsanadu	to cross	ḍātanadu
to rub	rasanadu	to weave	allanadu

ADVERBS.

where	begga	after	payya
here	igga	how much	bettsu
there	agga	thus much	atsu
when	beppōḍe	very	bana
at intervals	aste aste		

PRONOUNS.

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Inclusive.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>	<i>Exclusive.</i>
I	nanna	mannāḍa		mamma
my	nā	manaska		maska
me	nanna	mana		mamma
to me	nāki	manaki		māki
by me	nāyagga	managga		māyagga
near me	nāyagga	managga		māyagga
thou	nimma	mīru		
thy	nī	mī		
thee	nimma	mimmumu		
to thee	nīku	mīku		
by thee	nīyagga or nikaide	mīkaide		
near thee	nīyagga	mīyagga		
he	ōṇḍu	ōru		
his	ōnagga	ōri		
him	ōni	ōrini		
to him	ōniki	ōriki		
by him	ōnikaide	ōrikaide		
near him	ōnagga	ōridagga		
he (<i>i.e. this one</i>)	vīṇḍu	vīru		
who	benōṇḍu	benōru		

NUMERALS.

one	orrōṭi	two	renḍu	three	munḍu
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ADJECTIVES.

sweet	tiyyanga	crooked	vanku
bitter	kalute	high	gōkodi
long	poḍugutadu	low	vāya
short	guṭṭodi	wide	velputadu
salt	uvvōriga	straight	orikiḍi
red	erranga	thin	sannatadu
white	tellanga	green	paṇṇatadu
pretty	tsakkanga	ripe	kammanadu
ugly	uḍavavaḥo	ripened	paṇḍtadu
straight	saya		

POSTPOSITIONS.

above	porro	to above	porrotiki
below	idupo	to below	idupotike
outside	baiḍa	to outside	baiḍiki

VERB. TO DO.

INDICATIVE MOOD. PRESENT TENSE.

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1 <i>pers.</i>	tungōruminnānu	tungōruminnamu
2 "	tungōruminnīni	tongōruminnīri
3 " (<i>m.</i>)	tongōruminnōṇḍu	tungōruminnōru
3 " (<i>f. or n.</i>)	tungōruminnē	tungōruminne

PAST TENSE.

1 <i>pers.</i>	tungitāni	tungitāna
2 "	tungitīvi	tungitīri
3 " (<i>m.</i>)	tungitōṇḍu	tungitōru
3 " (<i>f.</i>)	tungite	tungite

CONDITIONAL MOOD.

1, 2, 3 (<i>m.</i>)	tungataskē	tungataskē
3 (<i>f.</i>)	tunganaskē	tunganaskē

IMPERATIVE.

	tungāṭi	tungāṭi
there is not	ille	it is not
there are not	illōru	they are not
		ayyo
		ayyōru

SHORT VOCABULARY OF THE SAVARA LANGUAGE.

It was prepared in 1880 by Mr. M. H. Prendergast, Assistant Superintendent of Police in Vizigapatam of the Madras Province, and forwarded to the Rev. J. Cain, Missionary, who transmitted it to me.

The Savara language belongs to the Kolarian Group, and very little is known of it; no literature exists; a portion of the tribe have adopted an Aryan language. It is described at page 85 of my Modern Languages of the East Indies.

ROBERT CUST,

Hon. Sec. R.A.S.

May 23, 1880.

last year	mingnyan	green (unripe)	ayeng
all	sabbi	young	abolai
water	dā	ripe	jadang
river	alō	sweet	ragul
water course	jōda	sour	arāng
fish	ayo	pretty	langa
mountain	baru	straight	rojolo
stone	areng	crooked	konkidī
tree	aniban	black	soyebōng
house	singan	white	paye
village	gochang	red	jē
elephant	rā	yellow	sangsang
horse	kurutā	tall	jeli, lankā
buffalo (<i>fem.</i>)	ayaragchong	short	jāyetān
cow	ayāngtang	old	pāpurun
dog	kinbu	new	tamme
cat	rameng	this	kani
tiger	sudākinā	these	kaniadenne
cheetah	sannakinā	to this	kanātē
antelope	aringarā	that	kuni
sheep	murkandidi	those	kuniadenne
goat	kimme	to that	kunāte
monkey	arisi	he	ani
bear	kambūn	to him	anināte
pig	kindringjēl	by him	aninamūḍalungan
snake	jū	they	aninju
bird	onti	to them	aninjūte
rice	kūdu	by them	aninjūnāmūḍalun-
rice (grain)	runku		gan
big stick	arā	he (this man)	vuntēyāmandre
little stick	angal	by him (this man)	vuntēyāmandreā-
road	tangōran		mūḍalung
milk	āḍuban	these (men)	kaninju
wind	rengi	by these (men)	kaniyāmandreāmū-
bamboo	urung		ḍalung
cot	sanḍi	I	gñe
month	jēlu	me	gnenna
body	dōng	to me	ḍilō
bone	achugu	mine	gnenāte
blood	miyam	thou	aman
butter-milk	salādā	to thee	amanna
calf (female)	shendātāng	thou (obj. c.)	amanna
calf (male)	aōngtāng	we	yellen
man (person)	mandra	us	yellenna
woman	ambolo	to us	yellenna
girl	ambolopani	you	anchen
boy	ongērāvōnan	to you	anchenna
iron	luāng	you (obj.)	achenna
brass pot	muntā	one	boyyo
thunder	tachḍre	two	bugu
neck	sanka	three	yāgi
peacock	māra	four	unju
plough	yurtuban	five	mollōye
salt	basi	six	tudya
word	binan	seven	gulji
little	sanna	eight	tanji
big	lūḍa	nine	tinji
good	ambase, bangsā	ten	galji
bad	kōrā	eleven	galmoye

20	bokkođi	therefore	đo
21	bokkođibōye	to eat	gā
30	bokkođigalji	to come	yyāye
40	bagukođi	to hide	sō
60	yāgikođi	to come	mā
80	vunjukōđi	to stand	añiya
100	bōsō	to sit	gobba
101	bōs Gaboye	to run	yenān
200	bagusō	to sleep	đimanan
1000	galjisō	to hear	amidangā
here	tennennā	to speak	ōvunñā
there	tettennā	to laugh	māng
where	ōnđo	to cry	ēđā
why	yotināsan	to die	kiyāle
on, above	lankā	to kill	tuāble
below	jayētān	to raise	tere
near	fuyāđān	to see	gillāye
do not touch that		to take	gyimle
spirit	kani ali suni dōng	to cut down	yudle
father	vyāng	to cut	gattebe
mother	yāng	to hide (transitive)	asole
elder brother	kāko	to draw	yengdā
younger brother	ubbā	to mount up	dayule
son	ōn	I will go	gñen yutte
elder sister	kāki	he will go	anen yeyōte
younger sister	āye	we will go	allen aye
daughter	amcholoōn	you will go	amben ayette
grandmother	yūyon	they will go	aninjo yetteja
grandfather	jujū	I have gone	gnēn yille
head	bōbon	thou hast gone	aman yille
eye	monnan	you have gone	ambenā yille
ear	lunnan	they have gone	aninja yilleja
mouth	tūnnan	we have gone	allen ayille
face	mukka	we are going	allen ayette
hair	vū	you are going	ambin ayitte
hand	shī	they are going	aninjayitteja
leg	jīng	thou art going	aman yitte
sun	uyūng	I am coming	gñen aittāyenade
moon	angai	thou art coming	aman aittānāfen
sky	ruāng	he is coming	anin yāyitte
day	diinna	we are coming	allen ayittāyu
night	togol	you are coming	anbin ayyāyete
light	tambā	they are coming	aninja yettāyija
darkness	lūng	I have come	gñen yüllāyi
morning	palil	thou hast come	aman yüllāyi
evening	ōruban	he has come	anin yyāyule
to-morrow	biyōđe	we have come	allen ayüllāyi
day after to-morrow	gnāramē	you have come	ambin ayüllāyi
yesterday	ruban	they have come	aninja yüllāyija
day before yesterday	moyye	I will come	gñen yuttāyi
far	sangai	thou wilt come	aman yyāyute
how much	jejan	he will come	anin yyāyute
this much	đinne	we will come	allen ayuttāyu
that much	đitte	you will come	ambin yyāyute
a little	asundān	they will come	aninja yuttāja
much	alāndān	I am eating	gñen gāgātenāye
what	yete	thou art eating	aman gāgāte
when	āngan	he is eating	anin gāgāte
then	terētte, shelite	we are eating	allen agāgātenāye
now	nommi	you are eating	ambin agāgāte

they are eating	aninja gāgāteja	he will eat	anin gāte
I have eaten	gñen gālāye	we shall eat	allen agāgāte
thou hast eaten	aman gāle	you will eat	ambin gāgāte
he has eaten	anin gāyete	they will eat	anin gāte
we have eaten	allen agālāye	I have eaten rice	gñen kūḍun gālāye
you have eaten	ambin agāle	he is beating me	anin gñen tittāng
they have eaten	aninja gāleja	we have gone to sleep	allen ḍimālen
I will eat	gñen gātāye	to come	jāye, jāḍe
thou wilt eat	aman gāte	go (<i>Plural</i>)	mabā
give that stick to me		kunā dāngu gñen tī	
can you see that fruit (<i>lit.</i> that fruit to you does it appear)		kunā agūr giyātēpō	
he saw me and ran away (<i>lit.</i> he me having seen ran)		anin gijangille gñen yerēte	
he died by that blow		kunā tinedenāsan kiyaḷe	
(you) must not eat sour curry		arangḍan atonongāl ajjunbe	
after having cut down that tree go into the house		kunā arayedān yēḍle sūngan yennā	
when will they plough this earth		kanā (<i>this</i>) tulobon angān ṛte	
they cut that rice crop		kunā (<i>that</i>) sharo galleja	
that boy killed this crow		kunā pasi kanā kākā kabīḍētē	
33 seers of cholum will be got for a rupee		bōtonkāsan (<i>one rupee</i>) bokkodimigga bōye shēru (<i>seer</i>) gñāḡṅtebe	
this axe (<i>price</i>) how much		kanā shinḍrin ḍejangān mullu	
it is four rupees (<i>price</i>)		unju tonkāsan mullu ḍēle	
who is abusing there		tette bote ugāte	
how much (<i>price</i>) is that fowl		kunā kanchin a mullu ḍejangā	

ART. XVII.—*On the Duty which Mohammedans in British India owe, on the Principles of their own Law, to the Government of the Country.* By N. B. E. BAILLIE.

THE Mohammedan law was for several centuries the general law of the territories now forming the British Empire in India. It still enters to some extent into the dealings of Mohammedans with each other, and, being founded on texts of the Koran and sayings of the Prophet, is binding on their consciences in all cases to which it is applicable. It has a direct bearing on their conduct to foreigners; and it is therefore of great importance that it should not be in conflict, but in harmony, if possible, with the law of the place on a matter that so nearly affects themselves and their fellow-subjects, as the duty which they owe to the Government.

In the early ages of Mohammedanism all persons of a different faith were treated as enemies, on whom it was the duty of the true believers to make war until they embraced the faith or consented to pay tribute. Foreign countries were technically termed *Dar-ool-Hurb*, while countries under the sway of Mohammedans were termed *Dar-ool-Islâm*. The names have descended to our times, retaining their original application. But though foreigners are all deemed to be of one religion as opposed to Mohammedans, their division into separate nationalities is distinctly recognized by the law. Mohammedans, on the other hand, though living under separate governments, are held to be of the same nationality; insomuch, that when a Mohammedan goes to a foreign country, he is supposed to have the *animus revertendi*, however long he may continue to reside in it, until he actually apostatizes from the faith. This is not inconsistent with his behaviour as a good citizen while he remains in the territory, provided that he is justly treated and protected by the Government. Indeed, he is strictly prohibited by his own

law from molesting in any way, either in their persons or property, the people among whom he is permitted to dwell.

The principle of this prohibition, as explained in my paper on *Jihad*,¹ is an implied engagement on his part, when obtaining permission to enter the territory, that he will refrain from any such molestation so long as due protection is afforded to him. Now, as the permission and protection can only be rendered by the sovereign of the country, the implied engagement is a contract with him, and any insurrection against his authority, or any incitement to it, as well as any molestation of the people, would be a breach of the contract, and contrary to an express injunction of the Koran,² and a special denunciation of the Prophet. It is true that the original authority speaks only of a merchant entering the foreign territory under protection, and does not seem to contemplate the case of a large body of Mohammedans permanently located under a foreign government. The case had probably never occurred until the conquests of the British in India. But the body, however large, is only an aggregate of individuals, and what is the duty of one must, on the same conditions, be the duty of all. Now the only conditions are protection by the foreign government, and that the country is a true *Dar-ool-Hurb*; and if these are found in the case of the forty millions and more of Mohammedans located in British India, then are they bound on the principles of their own law to be loyal and true to the government and their fellow-subjects. The protection is not disputed, and I hope to be able to establish the other condition on an authority peculiarly Indian, viz. that of the great Digest of Mohammedan Law prepared under the orders of Aurungzebe, and known as the *Futawa Alumgeere*.

Before proceeding to examine the authority, I must refer to another matter closely connected with the question, whether a country is or is not *Dar-ool-Hurb*, which must be of deep interest to all Mohammedans who are anywise engaged in commerce. I allude to the prohibition of usury contained in the following texts of the Koran:³ "God hath permitted

¹ Journ. R.A.S. N.S. Vol. V. p. 401.

² Cap. v.

³ Cap. ii.

selling and forbidden usury;" "Whoever returneth to usury they shall be the companions of hell fire, they shall continue therein for ever;" "God taketh his blessing from usury, for God loveth no infidel or ungodly person." So that the taking of usury exposes a Mussulman to perdition in a future state, and classes him with *Kafirs* or infidels in this.

Usury in the common acceptation of the word means an exorbitant rate of interest on a loan of money. In Mohammedan law it means interest at any rate, and is not limited to loans of money, or indeed to loans of any kind, but extends, under the name of *reba* or excess, to the exchange, that is, to the sale and barter, of all commodities that are usually dealt in by weight or measure of capacity, as the precious metals, coined or uncoined, wheat, barley, etc. I may thus say, without waiting to describe the manner of its operation, that the prohibition of usury pervades the general law of sale, affecting all commodities of the above description. But confining ourselves to loans of money, the prohibition must be felt to be very burdensome by that large class of persons who live by the interest of money, and the larger class who require credit or actual advances of money to enable them to carry on their ordinary business.

The prohibition of usury was probably derived from the Jews, who were allowed to take it from foreigners. Mohammedans are in like manner allowed to take it from *Hurbees*, but only in a foreign country. Thus in the *Hidayah*, The prophet has said there is no usury between a Mussulman and a *Hurbee* in the *Dar-ool-Hurb*. Mussulmans are forbidden under all circumstances to take usury from each other, even when both are residing in a foreign country. So also they are precluded from taking it from a foreigner who has come under protection into the *Dar-ool-Islám*. It thus appears, I think very clearly, that the permission does not depend on the fact of the person being merely a foreigner, but on the fact of the transaction taking place in the *Dar-ool-Hurb*.

Mohammedans are intensely religious, their zeal being kept alive by constant ceremonial observances; but the most scrupulous among them may freely take interest from any

of the vast number of the inhabitants of British India who are of a different faith from himself, if it can be established to his satisfaction that the country has become in the eye of his law, as it has long been in reality, a *Dar-ool-Hurb*.

When I was in India I frequently heard doubts on the subject expressed by Mohammedans, though I never heard any one maintain that the country is *Dar-ool-Islâm*, yet it must be one or the other; and so far as I had the means of judging, the doubt, whatever it was, did not give rise to any feeling of disloyalty to the Government. It always had reference to usury or the lawfulness of taking interest on loans of money, even on loans to the Government. Government loans in India are not veiled under the form of annuities, and the securities given in exchange for them bear on their face a distinct obligation to pay interest. To accept interest on them is the same as taking it from private individuals, and any Mussulman who does either is, in the eye of his law, an infidel, and exposed to the direst retribution in a future state, unless he is satisfied, as I have already said, that the country is *Dar-ool-Hurb*. The ambiguous conduct of the East India Company's Government, at the time I have mentioned, towards the King of Delhi, with whom they kept up diplomatic arrangements down to the mutiny, and whose name was long retained on the current coin, gave some encouragement to the idea that the country was considered to be still in some way *Dar-ool-Islâm*. The deposition and punishment of the king for rebellion, and the formal proclamation of Her Majesty as Empress of India, have removed all ground for this imagination, if it ever existed. The way is therefore quite clear for considering without prejudice the question as one of abstract law, whether the country which was so long subject to Mussulman rule has now at length become *Dar-ool-Hurb*. I adverted, incidentally, in the paper on *Jihad*, to the only authorities I have ever met with on the subject, though without a sufficient consideration of their applicability to British India. I now propose a more minute examination of them, though at the expense of some repetition, which I hope may be

excused on account of the importance of the subject to our Mussulman friends, who may still retain some lingering doubts in regard to it.

The Mohammedans of India are, with few exceptions, Soonnees of the Hanifite sect. The great doctors of that sect were Aboo Huneefa its head, and his two disciples Aboo Yoosuf and Moohummud, whose authority stands so high that they are commonly styled his companions. Now, according to all their opinions, a country becomes *Dar-ool-Islâm* on a single condition, which is the open exhibition of Mooslim authority within it. By analogy, therefore, a country should become *Dar-ool-Hurb* on the same condition of the open exhibition of infidel authority in it. And the two disciples or companions concurred in thinking that nothing more was required for that purpose. But, according to Aboo Huneefa, it required three conditions to convert a country that was once *Dar-ool-Islâm* into *Dar-ool-Hurb*.

1. The issuing within it of orders by infidels in a public manner, with the entire absence of orders under Mooslim authority.
2. That it is joined to a *Dar-ool-Hurb*, without the interposition of any city or country of *Islâm*.
3. That there does not remain within it a single believer or a *Zimmee* in the enjoyment of the former safety that was secured to him by virtue of his religion or covenant of *Zimmut* or submission, before the conquest of the country by infidels.

Of the first and last of these conditions there is a literal fulfilment in the case of British India. Of the first, both positively and negatively, and of the last in the strictest sense of the word; for, though there is the amplest protection and complete security to all the inhabitants, there is not a Mussulman among them that can say he owes his safety to his religion, nor any person of another faith who will say that he owes his safety to the *Zimmut* or thralldom in which he was held under the former Government. There remains the second condition. But the only question that can be raised upon it is as to the meaning of the word joined. If it means contiguity of place, India cannot be locally joined to Great Britain, which is an island; but all that the condition

requires when literally translated is that the countries are so joined that there is no Mussulman country between the *two*—the pronoun being used in the dual number. Now, the interposition of the sea and the command of it effectually prevent for the present, and will, I hope, long continue to prevent, any Mussulman or other power from coming between Britain and its great dependency. It thus appears that there was really no difference between Aboo Huneefa and his two disciples or companions on the point at issue. There is not a trace of Mooslim authority in the proceedings of the Government; and if so, the country must have entirely lost its pristine character, and become, according to Mohammedan law, *Dar-ool-Hurb*, as it has long been according to the law of the place. It therefore only remains to consider whether the law on that supposition is in conflict or harmony with the law of the place on the great and vital question of allegiance to the Government. Here there is no room for doubt. The law of the place affords the fullest protection to all the inhabitants, whatever may be their religion or nationality, on the sole condition of their loyal and peaceable behaviour, and all that the Mohammedan law requires is such protection as the sole condition of the loyal and peaceable behaviour of the Mussulman population. So that the harmony between the two laws is quite complete, one fitting in exactly into the other.

Before concluding, I will merely observe that, though the word *hurb* means literally enmity, it has lost that meaning in combination with the word *Dar*, and that the combined phrase is only descriptive of a locality. Thus, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, as well as Britain, is each a *Dar-ool-Hurb*, and, so far from being enemies to Mussulmans, it has only been by their friendly co-operation that Turkey, the chief Mussulman power in the world, has been rescued from the deadly grasp of its hereditary foe.

At the close of the paper, LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY said that the Society was indebted to Mr. Baillie for reading a paper which was carefully and concisely written; nevertheless, he was obliged to take exception to it as misleading and unnecessary, and regretted its publication. The author of this paper did not know or had not taken account of the fact that this question had been fully discussed in the "Pioneer," an Indian newspaper written in English, and much used by Indians. The Ulema had decided that British India was neither Dar-ul-Islam nor Dar-ul-Harb, but something between the two, and that the Mussulmans were bound to give their acquiescence to British Rule on account of three conditions: 1. That the British Government respected their law and religion; 2. That the British Government was in alliance with and supported the Sultan of Constantinople; 3. That the English Government was a government of Christians and not of infidels.

Now the author of this paper says that the body of Mussulmans in India, however large, is only an aggregate of individuals, and what is the duty of one must, on the same conditions, be the duty of all. This did not follow; for instance, thirty-nine Mussulmans cannot or need not hold the Friday congregational prayers, but forty must; and it is evident that the amount of protection which would satisfy the requirements of a single Mussulman traveller in an infidel or Pagan country, would not satisfy the needs of a large body of them permanently settled in such a country. The author says the protection given by the British Government is not disputed, and then he goes on to say that which, if it were a fact, would contradict that assertion, for he says: "There is not a trace of Muslim authority in the proceedings of the Government."

Lord Stanley did not think this statement was correct, or in accordance with the facts, for even if the Kazys had not the full position that they ought to have, still the affairs of the Mussulmans were governed in accordance with Mussulman Law, and Mussulman Law was administered by the British Law Courts. If this were not so,

then the amount of protection given by the British Government would be deficient, and, on the author's own showing, the forty millions of Mussulmans would not owe obedience to that Government. The author of the paper, also, in mentioning the second condition of a Dar-ul-Harb, of its being contiguous to another Dar-ul-Harb without the interposition of any city or country of Islam, quite forgot the territory of the Nizam of Haiderabad, which was completely a Dar-ul-Islam, for the proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India had not in any way affected the status of Haiderabad.

ART. XVIII.—*The L-Poem of the Arabs*, قَصِيدَةُ لَوَيْيَةِ الْعَرَبِ;
by Shanfarà الشَّنْفَرَى. Rearranged and translated by J.
W. REDHOUSE, M.R.A.S., H.M.R.S.L., etc., etc.

HAJJĪ KHALĪFA gives the pedigree of Shanfarà in the following manner: Shanfarà الشَّنْفَرَى, son of Aws أَوْس, son of Hujru-'l-Hinwu حُجْرُ الْهِنْوُ, son of Azd أَزْد, son of Gawth غَوْث, son of Zayd زَيْد, son of Kahlān كَهْلَان, son of Saba' سَبَأ.

De Sacy (Chrestomathie Arabe, vol. ii. p. 345, 2nd edition, 1826) says of Shanfarà, that he was a contemporary of Ta'abbata-Sharran; and that they lived a short time before the days of Muhammad.

The Arabic preface to the edition of Shanfarà's poem given by De Sacy is to the following effect;—very interesting, if not thoroughly critical:

"Shanfarà is *one who has large lips*.

"He was a poet of the tribe of Azd, and was one of the *Runners*.

"There were among the Arabs certain runners, whom horsemen could not overtake. Of them were this (Shanfarà), Sulayk son of Sulaka, 'Umar son of Barrāq, Usayr (or Asīr) son of Jābir, and Ta'abbata-Sharran.

"Now Shanfarà had vowed that surely he would slay of the tribe of the Banū Salāmān a hundred men; and he had (already) killed ninety-nine of them (towards the accomplishment of his vow). For, whenever he met a man of that tribe, Shanfarà would call out to him: 'This for thy eye!' Then he would shoot at him (with an arrow), and would strike out both his eyes.

"After this, they devised a stratagem against him and seized his person. The man who captured him was Usayr son of Jābir, one of the runners, who watched for Shanfarà

until the latter alighted in a confined spot to drink water one night; he then stood up before Shanfarà and seized him.

"The tribe put Shanfarà to death.

"Long afterwards, one of their number, passing that way, saw the skull of Shanfarà, and kicked it. A splinter of the skull entered his foot; and of the wound he died; so making up the full tale of one hundred killed by Shanfarà. But God knows best as to this matter."

This story, like all the others collected, two or three hundred years after the promulgation of Islām, by the traditionists and folkloremongers of Bagdād, is a mere adaptation, a patchwork of various tales preserved or invented in the desert to account for ancient songs or proverbs current among its inhabitants.

Our poem itself mentions the name of Shanfarà as that of a dire slaughterer of his enemies.

A number of proverbs were picked up, which speak of a Shanfarà and a Sulayk, as also of a male ostrich, a snake, a wolf, a scorpion, the mange, and gaping, as things to surpass which was difficult, in running or in attacking,—... أَشَدَّ مِنْ. In the first-named three proverbs, the commentators preferred to understand speed in running; in the five last, aggressiveness. They are probably correct; but their conclusions are mere inferences; even if we admit the proverbs to be genuine and ancient.

Shanfarà's poem lends itself to the supposition that he really was swift of foot, by asserting that, when striving to reach some scanty pool of water, he could easily outstrip the sandgrouse birds, though these are said to fly a distance of ten and even twenty days' journey (for an Arab on foot),—say, from one to two hundred miles,—between the earliest day-dawn and the sun's attaining an altitude of a few degrees.

Of course, such speed in Shanfarà is merely poetical exaggeration. But, that a trained man can outrun a horse is a fact well proved in our own times.

The Shanfarà of the poem, and the Shanfarà of the proverb, may therefore be reasonably supposed to refer to the same individual.

But De Sacy, in his notes to the poem, carries this probability much further. He there cites an anecdote, which, if not a mere invention *ad hoc*, as appears very likely indeed, proves that Shanfarà was a contemporary and a confederate of the poet Ta'abbata-Sharran, who is known, on other grounds, to have lived, as mentioned above, but a short time before Muhammad.

What this last expression may have been intended to mean, is not well defined by De Sacy; and I have not sifted the question myself. "To have lived a short time before Muhammad" may mean, in one sense, to have died not very long before the year A.D. 569, in which Muhammad was born;—*the Year of the Elephant*, the year of Abraha's expedition from Yaman, to destroy the *Cubical House* of Makka. While, in another sense, it may signify to have died some time during the latter part of the forty years that elapsed between Muhammad's birth and his announcement of himself as charged with a heavenly mission to his countrymen in A.D. 609; that is, to have died about the year A.D. 600;—several years before Ethelbert, the Saxon king of Kent, was converted to Christianity by the monk Augustine. At any rate, it is universally admitted that Shanfarà and his poem were things of a period anterior to the promulgation of Islām among the tribes of Arabia.

The anecdote given by De Sacy commences thus:

"Ta'abbata-Sharran, Shanfarà, and 'Umar son of Barrāq, were in league together against the tribe of Bajila بَجِيلَة. The tribe placed a party of their men in ambush near a tank to which the three confederates were to come by night, to drink."

Now, as it is not likely the tribe could have had any certain knowledge of this fact, the probability is that the tank was a convenient station between the camping-grounds of the tribe and those of the confederates. The tribe may have been informed that these latter were about to carry out an attack against them in the usual Arab fashion, by surprise, and by night. The tribe could calculate that the raiders would be in

the lightest marching order, unarmed; also, that they would naturally visit the tank, both to refresh themselves on their journey, and to ascertain whether the coast were clear of the tribe, ere they ventured further.

On the other hand, the tribe may have been out themselves on a similar marauding expedition, bound to surprise the confederates, if possible. They, too, were unarmed; but they were provided with ropes to bind any prisoners they might chance to take.

The anecdote then proceeds:

"When the three confederates reached the neighbourhood of the tank, Ta'abbat declared to his companions that it was beset by the foe in ambuscade, *as he could hear the palpitations of their hearts.*"

The natural explanation of this passage is, that the confederates were proceeding with due circumspection. Ta'abbata-Sharran, either in his turn, or as the most experienced local guide, or as the acknowledged captain of the triumvirate, was leading the van, acting as scout in advance. His acute ear informed him at some distance that the neighbourhood of the tank was not untenanted. He had, in consequence, fallen back on his friends, or had waited for them to join him. Then he communicated his discovery. But, meanwhile, the Bajila party had also become aware of the approach of the trio, or of some one unknown. The word had been passed round among them, and all was now as still as death.

The anecdote runs on:

"The two friends assured Ta'abbat that (as they could detect no sound) he must have been deceived by the beating of his own heart. He took their hands, placed them on his bosom to convince them how tranquil all was there, and remarked: 'My heart never palpitates audibly from fear.'"

The two friends were satisfied on that score. Still, all was silent. After a while, spent in listening, as woodsmen and Arabs can listen, Shanfarâ, perhaps pressed by thirst and urged by chivalrous devotion, determined to run the risk of being seized, but felt persuaded there was no real danger. Most likely there was no other water available within attain-

able distance. He went, drank, and returned in safety; assuring Ta'abbat that the water was not beset. He had seen and heard nothing. And yet, this was the Shanfarà of the Lāmiyya poem, who could glide in and out among the watchdogs of his foes, without arousing them. Still, Ta'abbat was sure he had not been mistaken. His answer to his friend was, simply: "It is not you they want."

The other confederate of the three, 'Umar son of Barrāq, now went to the tank, drank his fill, saw and heard nothing, and returned also without molestation.

Ta'abbat was not to be deceived. He knew what he had heard, but he knew also that he must drink or perish. He therefore addressed his companions: "As soon as I stoop down to drink, they will set upon me and seize me. When you witness that, do you, Shanfarà, betake yourself quickly to the foot of yon hillock, and hide yourself there for a short time. You will hear me shout: 'Seize! Seize!' Then do you at once make for me, and release me from bonds."

Shanfarà went off towards the hillock swiftly and stealthily. The foe remained in ignorance of his action.

Ta'abbat then turned to 'Umar, and said: "I shall propose you as my hostage to these men. Go not far away; but suffer them not to touch you."

That, like most or all of similar historical details, the whole of this scene is drawn from the imagination of the narrator, is evident from the childish inconsistency of its elements. With the darkest of dark nights, always selected for such expeditions, shortly after a new moon, the hidden foe, so securely ensconced away as to be utterly inscrutable to two such men as Shanfarà and 'Umar,—that foe is still able to distinguish unerringly their forms, or the fall of their footsteps, from that of Ta'abbat, their own arch-foe. Ta'abbat can hear their hearts beat; but he can instruct his friends in a suddenly conceived plot, which they carry out forthwith in every detail; and yet those hidden foes gain no inkling of the plan, as we shall presently see.

"Having thus taken his measures, Ta'abbat now advances to the tank, stoops, drinks, and, as he had anticipated, is

pounced upon, and instantly secured with a stout rope, or a thong of raw hide."

Shanfarà, notwithstanding the darkness, witnesses the proceeding, unseen, from the foot of the hillock where he has taken up his post.

"Ta'abbat then addresses his captors aloud: 'Men of Bajila, I offer you to ransom myself on equitable terms; and 'Umar son of Barrāq shall be your hostage for me.' They accept his proposal. Ta'abbat now calls out: 'Come forward, 'Umar. As for that fellow Shanfarà, he is already off to some friendly tribe, near at hand. You, 'Umar, must be hostage for me.'

"'Umar stood forward in full view,"—in spite of darkness and distance,—"and said: 'Not until I have shown them how to run.' So saying, he ran swiftly towards the hillock, and then back again towards the Bajila party," all of whom had now shown themselves, and were looking on to watch and admire 'Umar's deftness of foot.

"When he had repeated this course, to and fro, several times, the Bajila men imagined that he would be sufficiently out of breath to be easily made prisoner," without becoming hostage for his friend.

According to Arab laws of private warfare, there would be no treachery or dishonesty in this. He had not yet chosen to constitute himself their hostage and guest. He was still their foe at large and had foolishly tired himself, out of bravado. He could be, therefore, honourably seized.

"The Bajila men," all of them in a body, the simpletons, "set out, therefore, in pursuit of 'Umar," leaving Ta'abbat unguarded, even by a single sentry. He was so securely bound, he could not possibly escape.

Seeing the opportunity he had so adroitly planned, and the perfect manner in which his bait had been taken, Ta'abbat, when his captors were sufficiently distant at the heels of 'Umar, who kept just clear of them, without making clean off,—dangling, as it were in their grasp, and so enticing them to continue the pursuit,—"Ta'abbat shouted aloud," as though to cheer them on: "'Seize! Seize!' At this signal, Shanfarà

came forth from his hiding-place, swiftly ran to Ta'abbat, cut loose his bonds, and set him free. The two now made for their companion 'Umar," still in spite of the pitchy darkness.

"Having joined him, Ta'abbat, in a vein of irony, addressed his late captors: 'Men of Bajila! you have seen how 'Umar can run; look now, and admire the speed of Ta'abbata Sharran!' With this, the three friends put on speed, and were soon out of reach of their foes."

Such is the tale on which is said to have been based a proverb, not founded on the fleetness of foot of 'Umar, or of Ta'abbat, but on that of our bard, Shanfarà, respecting whose celerity not a word is explicitly stated in the whole course of the anecdote.

As a further proof that the Shanfarà proverb was founded on the nimbleness displayed by his double, Ta'abbat, on that memorable night of accommodating darkness, when all distant objects were so conveniently visible, De Sacy gravely continues to quote his Arabian guide, and gives the following three distichs, said to have been composed by Ta'abbat in commemoration of that night's adventure, but which might have been indited by any bard on almost any occasion of a nocturnal chase.

In these verses, it is not Ta'abbat who calls out; it is the men of Bajila. Again, it is not the whole of them who run after 'Umar, but only their swiftest men who pursue Ta'abbat, while the rest urge them on with their voices. The verses do not fit the anecdote; the anecdote does not tally with the proverb; and the verses of Shanfarà himself, fully bearing out the sense of the latter, are not quoted in support of it, as though they were unknown to the commentator. These are the verses:

لَيْلَهُ صَاحُوا وَأَعْرَوْا بِي سِرَاعِهِمْ بِالْعَيْكَتَيْنِ لَدَى مَعْدَى بْنِ بَرَّاقٍ
كَأَنَّمَا حَاكَحُوا خُصًّا قَوَادِمَهُ أَوْ أَمَّ خَشْفٍ بِذِي شَتِّ وَطَبَاقٍ
لَا شَيْءَ أَشْرَعُ مِنْ جَنْبَرِ ذِي عُذْرٍ أَوْ ذِي جَنَاحٍ بِجَنْبِ الرَّيْدِ خَفَاقٍ

"On a night when they shouted, and excited against me

their swiftest ones, at the two thickets near (the camping-ground of) Ma'di son of Barrāq, it was as though they were scaring (a bird) whose primaries had fallen out (in moulting¹, or a doe gazelle with her fawn, at Dhū-Shathth and at Dhū-Tabbāq; there being nothing more fleet than a young bustard¹ with an infirmity, or with one sole wing (uninjured), that flutters convulsively along, on the brink of a mountain ledge."

Accepting, then, the supposition that Shanfarā the poet, the exterminator of his foes, the rapid runner, and Shanfarā the confederate of Ta'abbata-Sharran, were one and the same individual, having died ere Muhammad appeared on the scene, we have to inquire why his poem has been entitled *the L-Poem of the Arabs*.

I do not know by whom this splendid piece of verse was rescued from obscurity, perhaps from impending oblivion; nor where, nor at what date, it was dug out from its native desert home. Neither can I say from whom or why it has received its special designation; who was the first known to have written a commentary on it, at what date, where, and by what title it was first mentioned? Was that title from the first the now well-known "*L-Poem of the Arabs*"; or was it originally distinguished, as is so usual, by its opening words?

If these questions cannot be answered (though I merely avow my own ignorance on the points), the circumstance may be taken as a glaring instance of the imperfect methods of the native commentators. They write page after page of mere verbal exegesis, or of prosodial technicalities, but they seldom afford the student a guide by which to understand the allusions of their author. Here and there, at rare intervals, such a light is vouchsafed; but generally it may be said of the Arabian scholiasts, as of the old astrologer: "They can scan the distant orbs of heaven; they cannot perceive what lies at their feet."

¹ De Sacy has *عَمِير*, where I have conjecturally used *جَمِير*. He found *غير*, without vowels, and translates quite differently; but avows himself dissatisfied.

The name of *L-Poem* is given to any piece of verse the rhyme of which is based on the letter *L*. There are numerous such poems preserved to us of the ante-Muhammadian period. In the "Six *Dīwāns*," edited by Ahlwardt, I find that Nābigha has left four *L*-poems; 'Antara, two; Tarafa, three; Zuhayr, five; 'Alqama, only one fragment; but Imra'u-'l-Qays has fifteen, among which is his Mu'allāqa, with seventy-six distichs. Other "*L-poems*" and fragments are doubtfully attributed to each of these great songsters of the desert.

But all those ancient "*L-poems*," with the exception of the masterpiece of Imra'u-'l-Qays, are of less magnitude than the poem of Shanfarā. The second longest, by Imra'u-'l-Qays, has but fifty-nine distichs to weigh against the sixty-eight in that of Shanfarā. 'Antara's longest has but thirty-one, and Nābigha's two longest, thirty distichs each; all the rest being shorter. The masterpiece of Imra'u-'l-Qays, with its seventy-six distichs, being distinguished as his Mu'allāqa, it would appear that the commentators have perceived in this circumstance a plausible reason to glorify Shanfarā's poem by the proud title of "*The L-Poem of the Arabs*."

D'Herbelot (Bibliothèque Orientale), under the sadly-degraded word "*Lamiat*" (by which the Arabic *Lāmiyya* لامية, is rather hinted at than indicated), explains that "there are three such poems, rhyming in *L*, much esteemed in the East. The first bears the name of *Lamiat al Arab*, and was composed by Schafari. The second, entitled *Lamiat al Agem*, . . . had for author . . . al Thograi . . . Of all these four poems (he has discovered a fourth since he first wrote *three*), that of Thograi is the most famous, and the most elegant. . . Pococke has translated this poem into Latin, and has illustrated it with learned notes."

Whatever may have been, or is, in the east, or in the west, the relative degree of celebrity of the two "*L-poems*," by Shanfarā and Tugrā'i, the date of the latter being about A.D. 1120—five hundred years posterior to the former—I may venture, having recently made a new English prose

translation of Tugrā'ī's poem also,¹ to assert that Shanfarā's verses, as they read in my rearrangement of the text, are as superior to those of Tugrā'ī as it is well possible to conceive. The former are original, natural, rich, and soul-felt; the latter are imitative, bald, stilted, bombastic, and inconsequent.

The Argument of Shanfarā's poem, still according to my rearrangement of some of its distichs and sections, is the following:

Section 1, verses 1-3. The poet calls on his fellows or followers, "Sons of my Mother," to come with their ready-prepared beasts for a new expedition, as he wishes to visit other familiars of his,—“a wolf, a leopard, and a hyæna,”—which represent, perhaps, the nicknames, or similes, by which he would allude to such confederates as Ta'abbata-Sharran, 'Umar son of Barrāq, and the like, as becomes more apparent a little further on, by a well-known rule of the Arabian rhetoric.

Section 2, verses 4-7, first praises the rare fidelity and courage of those familiars, but then asserts that, in the hour of danger, Shanfarā is even more brave than they. It then vaunts the generous self-denial with which he yields precedence to them at meals, “when hands are stretched forth towards the provisions”; to them, really his inferiors, “for the most excellent is he who confers favours.” Shanfarā's venturing first to the tank beset by the “men of Bajila,” in his expedition with Ta'abbata-Sharran, is a very apposite instance of his superior readiness to encounter an apprehended peril.

Section 3, verses 8-13, recounts what, in the poet's estimation, compensates him for the absence of those who rightly value not his favours, or even remain unconscious of them; namely, his heart, his bared blade, and his twanging bow, “that moans like a bereaved mother whenever it parts with a sped arrow.” It proceeds to assert that there is room in

¹ Published in Mr. W. A. Clouston's recently issued “Arabian Poetry for English Readers,” Trübner and Co., London, 1881, p. 468.

the land, or a refuge, for a brave and wise man, be he on an aggressive expedition or seeking his own safety in flight.

Section 4, in the next six verses, 14-19, describes more than as many different kinds of moral defects, from which the poet declares himself free—thirstiness in a camel-herdsman, uxoriousness in a young husband, timorousness, slothful foppishness, ungenerous spitefulness, sleepiness, effeminacy, bewilderment in the dark in strange places.

Section 5, verses 20-28, describes first the toughness of his bare "hoof-like toes," that crush the flints and elicit fire from them; next, his endurance of hunger, and his avoidance of all that might savour of laying himself under an obligation to a pretentious benefactor; asserts that should he choose to exert his power, all the necessities that men require would be possessed by him alone; mentions his invincible impatience of wrong, his moderation in weal and in woe.

Section 6, verses 28-38, contains a vivid description of the sufferings from inanition of the "lean-haunched wolf," to which the poet compares himself.

Section 7, verses 39-44, sets forth the poet's boasted fleetness of foot, his outstripping the sandgrouse in its most anxious exertion to attain a scanty pool of water, and the tumult the birds raise when they reach it, as he turns away satiated.

Section 8, verses 45-50, describes the burning heat of noontide in the dog days—"when the gossamer floats about, and the vipers among the over-heated rocks writhe in agony"—which the poet faces with no other protection than a tattered rag, and a long-unkempt, shaggy head of hair. Like the antelope of the sands, he braves the sun on scanty fare and barefoot; for "he wears the armour of patience over the like of the heart of the wolf-hyæna, and he practises discretion."

Section 9, verses 51-55, recounts the cares to which the poet is exposed, from the assaults of his enemies, and describes his long pedestrian journeys through wastes "as bare as the back of his shield," and usually untrod by man; such

journeys being occasionally diversified by the ascent of a hill on which to sit down for a little rest, or to stand erect and scan all around, in anticipation of danger.

Section 10, verses 56-59, describes his mode of reposing by night during such journeys, on the bare earth, where a level spot can be found; his spine-like vertebral processes forming his only couch, and his scraggy arm, "with prominent joints like gamblers' dice," his hard pillow; the female chamois flocking round him, under the mistake that he is their buck.

With Section 11, verses 60-62, the scene changes to a cold dark night, "when the archer is fain to burn his very bow and arrows" to keep life in him. The poet then tramps forth in the pitchy darkness and drizzle, "with naught but hate and misery for his companions." Suiting his actions to such concomitants, "he makes widows and orphans" (in one tent), and "repeats this again and again while the night is at its very darkest."

Section 12, verses 63-66, gives, chorus fashion, an imaginary conversation between two parties of the survivors, which artistically brings into relief the details of the preceding summary of the slaughter. They had heard their watchdogs slightly growl, but those sentinels had again composed themselves to sleep. The men had therefore imagined that some beast or bird had been scared to an untimely movement, and, had themselves gone to sleep again. Dawn having shown them the reality of the havoc, they are most graphically pictured as musing: "Verily, if a demon has done it, his work is horrible, even for one of them; and, if a human being was the butcher . . . ; but no! what man could do it?"

The drama is thus concluded in twelve sections; and, in an epilogue of two verses, 67-68, the poet discloses his name, with the sombre reflection: "If the Mother of Qastel be now in despair through my act, she has for much longer time enjoyed an advantage over me. She sleeps only when I sleep; and even then her eyes (spies) are open, spying for an occasion to wreak mischief on me."

No poem could be more in accordance with the unities than this defiant, though foreboding, effusion of the ante-Muhammadan Arabian warrior, whose direst vengeance assailed not directly the women or the children. It is the most perfect drama I can call to mind, now that its distichs and sections are duly co-ordinated. What sacrilegious mutilation has been wrought upon it during a thousand years by, I believe, the blunderings of successive generations of commentators and translators, blindly following in each other's footsteps! May I not dare humbly to hope that my venturesome attempt at a tardy rectification will be pronounced unanimously, by competent critics, to be correct in its main features, even though a detail here and there may still admit of further amelioration?

The exact meaning of the poet's expression: "the mother of Qastel," is not known. One commentator has guessed—it is nothing more—that the term means "a calamity," آفة; another opines that it may signify "war" or "a battle," الحرب; a third, again, truly states, in my opinion, that it is (the designation of) "a woman."

With the two concluding distichs of my rearrangement separated from each other by six intervening verses, according to the manuscript of the India Office Library, or by one verse, as in the order adopted by De Sacy, their close connexion is entirely masked. Again, by being forced back to the place of the forty-fourth, and forty-sixth or fiftieth verses respectively, their true significance is effaced, their office is ignored, and the whole poem is shattered into dislocated fragments, entirely void of interdependence. But, coming together at the end of the poem, as I have placed them, it seems to me that their true meaning is as clear as the day; viz. "Qastel," which is a name for "the dust," was the youthful chief of the tribe assailed by Shanfarà, and was most likely one of those done to death by his hand in that night of horrors. His father may have been Shanfarà's foe in bygone days, and have died by some other hand, Shanfarà being suspected and persecuted by the widow and son in

consequence. They had inflicted for a long time grievous wrongs on the unyielding man ; but in that night he, in his turn, had struck a heavy blow at the vindictive widow's heart, through the slaughter of her son Qastel. As a woman, she was herself sacred, having no violence to fear at his hand personally ; but he openly declares his conviction that she was ever hatching plots against his safety, sleeping, when she could sleep, with all the eyes (of her spies)¹ wide open, seeking how best to pour down calamity on his devoted head.

Such is the sense in which I have come to understand the expression and the paragraph. As such I submit it, with all due reserve, to be weighed by the learned.

قَصِيدَةُ لَامِيَّةِ الْعَرَبِ لِلشَّافَرِيِّ

THE L-POEM OF THE ARABS, BY SHANFARÀ.

1 (1-1).

أَقِيْمُوا بَنِي أُمِّي صُدُورَ مَطِيَّتِكُمْ فَإِنِّي إِلَى قَوْمٍ سِوَاكُمْ أَمِيلُ

Get ye up, O sons of my mother, the return of your beasts from their watering ; for verily I am eagerly inclined (to be off) to a set, other than you.

2 (2-2).

فَقَدْ حُمَّتِ الْحَاجَاتُ وَاللَّيْلُ مُتَمَمَّرٌ وَشَدَّتْ لَطِيَّاتِ مَطَايَا وَأَرْحُلُ

For matters (to look after) have sprung up ; and the night is bright with the moon. The beasts, too, and the saddles, are ready girded for expeditions.

3 (5-5).

وَلِي دُونَكُمْ أَهْلُونَ سَيِّدَ عَمَلَسْ وَأَرْقَطُ زُهْلُولَ وَعَرْفَاءَ جَبِيَالُ

And I have (other) familiars besides you ;—a fierce wolf, and a sleek spotted (leopard), and a long-maned hyæna.

¹ The word for "eyes," here, being in the plural, not the dual, cannot mean "*her two natural eyes*."

4 (6-6).

هُمْ الْأَهْلُ لَا مُسْتَرْذَعُ السِّرِّ ذَا نَحْجٍ لَدَيْهِمْ وَلَا أَلْجَائِي بِمَاجِرٍ يُخْذَلُ

They are a family with whom the confided secret is not betrayed; neither is the offender thrust out for that which has happened.

5 (7-7).

وَكُلُّ أَبِي بَابِلٍ غَيْرُ أَنْبَى إِذَا عَرَضَتْ أُولَى الطَّرَائِدِ أَبْسَلُ

And each one (of them) is vehement in resistance, and brave; only, that I, when the first of the chased beasts present themselves, am (still) braver.

6 (8-8).

وَأِنْ مَدَدْتَ الْأَيْدِيَ إِلَى الزَّادِ لَمْ أَكُنْ
بِأَعْجَلِهِمْ إِنْ أَجْشَعَ الْقَوْمِ أَعْجَلُ

And if hands are stretched forth towards the provisions, I am not the most hasty of them. For the greediest of a party is the most hasty.

7 (9-9).

وَمَا ذَاكَ إِلَّا بَسْطُهُ عَنْ تَفَضُّلٍ عَلَيْهِمْ وَكَانَ الْأَفْضَلُ أَلْمُتَفَضِّلُ

And that is naught but a stretch of (my) generosity, out of a kindness towards them. And the more excellent is he who confers a favour.

8 (10-10).

وَإِنِّي كَفَائِي فَقَدْ مَنْ لَيْسَ جَارِيًا بِنِعْمِي وَلَا فِي قُرْبِهِ مُتَعَلِّلُ

And verily, there will compensate to me the loss of whom-soever requites not a benefit, or is unmindful of its proximity.

9 (11-11).

ثَلَاثَةُ أَصْحَابٍ فُؤَادٌ مُشَيِّعٌ وَأَبْيَضُ إِصْلِيَّتٍ وَصُفْرَاءُ عَيْطَلُ

Three companions;—a dauntless heart, and a trenchant drawn sword, and a slimly-long yellow (bow)

10 (12-12).

كَثُوفٍ مِنَ الْمَلْسِ الْمَشُونِ تَزِينُهَا رَصَائِعُ تَدْ نِيْطُتْ إِلَيْهَا وَمِمْحَمَلُ

That twangs loudly ; of those with smooth flat surfaces, ornamented with clasps passed on to it, and a suspensory,

11 (13-13).

إِذَا زَلَّ مِنْهَا السَّهْمُ أَتَتْ كَانَتْهَا مُرَّرَاهُ نَكَلَى تَسِرُّ وَتُعْوِلُ

Which, when the arrow glides forth from it, moans, as though it were a bereaved (mother) robbed of her child, who lifts up her voice and weeps aloud.

12 (4-4).

لَعَمْرُكَ مَا بِالْأَرْضِ ضَيْقٌ عَلَى أَمَرٍ سَرَى رَاغِبًا أَوْ هَارِبًا وَهُوَ يَعْقِلُ

By thy life ! There is no straitness in the land for a man who journeys by night, seeking or shunning, he being wise ;

13 (3-3).

وَفِي الْأَرْضِ مُنَآئٍ لِلْكَرِيمِ عَنِ الْآذَى وَفِيهَا لِمَنْ خَافَ الْقِلَى مُتَحَوِّلُ

And in the land (there is) a refuge from molestation for the noble-minded. And therein, for him who fears enmity, (there is) a place towards which to turn.

14 (14-14).

وَأَسْتُ بِهَيْيَافٍ يُعَشَّى سَرَامُهُ مُجْدَعَةً سَقْبَانُهَا وَهَى بُهْلُ

And I am not one impatient of thirst, who pastures his free-grazing she-camels by night, their young male colts being driven away, while they themselves are left with their dugs free ;

15 (15-15).

وَلَا جَبَّاهُ أَكْهَى مُرَبِّ بَعْرِسِهِ يُطَالِعُهَا فِي أَمْرِ كَيْفَ يَنْعَلُ

Nor a faint-hearted poltroon who cleaves to his bride, and consults her in his matter in hand, as to how he shall manage ;

16 (16-16).

وَلَا خَرِقَ كَيْفِي كَانَ فُرَادُهُ يَظُلُّ بِهِ أَلْمَكَاءُ يَغْلُو وَيَسْقُلُ

Nor a terrified scare-crow, whose heart is, as it were, as though a mock-bird were therein, mounting and descending ;

17 (17-17).

وَلَا خَالِفَ دَارِيَّةٍ مُتَعَزِّلٍ بِرُوحٍ وَيَعْدُو دَاهِنًا يَشْكَلُ

Nor a stay-at-home, who never quits the tent ; but flirts with the women ; who is occupied, evening and morning, with anointing himself and tingeing his eyes with *stibium* ;

18 (18-18).

وَلَسْتُ بِعِلٍّ شَرُّهُ قَبْلَ خَيْرِهِ أَلَفَّ إِذَا مَا رُحَّتْهُ أَهْتَاجَ أَغْزَلُ

And I am not a good-for-nothing, whose ill precedes his good deed ;—a drowsy-head, who starts when thou scarest him ; who wears no weapon ;

19 (19-19).

وَلَسْتُ بِمُحْيَارٍ الظَّلَامِ إِذَا أَنْتَجَبَتْ هُدَى الْهُوْجِلِ الْعَصِيفِ يَيْمَاءَ هُوْجُلُ

And I am not one bewildered by the darkness when my huge she-camel takes the direction of the trackless waste.

20 (20-20).

إِذَا أَلْمَعَزُ الصَّوَّانُ لَأَى مَنَاسِمِي تَطَايَرَ مِنْهُ قَادِحٌ وَمُقَلَّلُ

When the hard flint meets my hoof-like digits, there fly from it the fire-striking and the shivered fragments.

21 (21-21).

أَدِيمُ وَمَطَالُ الْجُوعِ حَتَّى أُمِيتَهُ وَأَضْرَبُ عَنْهُ الذِّكْرَ صَفْحًا فَأَذْهَلُ

I make perpetual the term of delay for the satisfaction of the calls of hunger, until I kill it. I then turn away from noticing it, and I forget it.

22 (25-25).

وَأَطْوَى عَلَى الْخُمْصِ الْخَوَايَا كَمَا أَنْطَوَتْ خُمُوطَةُ مَارِي تَعَارٍ وَتُقْتَلُ

And I twist my intestines about my inanition, as the yarns of a spinner are twisted when spun and laid.

23 (22-22).

وَأَشْتَفُّ تَرَبَّ الْأَرْضِ كَيْلًا يَرَى لَهُ عَلَى مِنَ الطَّوْلِ أَمْرٌ مُسْطَوٍ

And I lick up the dry dust of the earth, lest some pretender to generosity should imagine in himself a superiority over me (by offering food).

24 (23-23).

وَلَوْلَا أَجْتِنَابُ الدَّامِ لَمْ يَلَفْ مَشْرَبٌ يُعَاشُ بِهِ إِلَّا كَدَتْ وَمَا كُلُّ

And were it not for (my) shunning what might be blamed, there would not be found, to subsist on, a potable or edible thing, excepting with me.

25 (24-24).

وَلَكِنْ نَفْسًا مُرَّةً لَا تُقِيمُ بِي عَلَى الضَّيِّمِ إِلَّا رَيْبًا أَتَحَوَّلُ

But (I possess) an unyielding spirit, that will not be quiet with me under a wrong, save while I turn over (in my mind what to do).

26 (48-53).

وَلَا تَزِدْهُي الْأَطْمَاعُ حِلْمِي وَلَا أَرَى سَوْدًا بِأَغْقَابِ الْأَحَادِيثِ يَنْعَمُ

And covetings turn not to giddiness my sobriety; nor am I seen inquisitively prying at the heels of occurrences (or, news).

27 (46-51).

وَأَعْدِمُ أَحْيَانًا وَأَغْنَى وَإِنَّمَا يَنْتَالُ الْغِنَى نَوُ الْبُعْيَةِ الْمَتَبَدِّلُ

And I become poor at times, and (then) rich. For verily, the entertainer of desire, who does not spare himself, obtains opulence.

28 (47-52).

وَلَا جَزَعٌ مِنْ خَلْقٍ مُسَكِّفٍ وَلَا مَرَجٌ تَحْتَ الْعِغْيِ أَتَحِيلُ

And I am not a repiner in poverty, habitually parading (my need); nor an exulter, proudly assuming, under wealth.

29 (26-26).

وَأَعْدُو عَلَى الْقَوْتِ الزَّهِيدِ كَمَا عَدَا أَزَلَّ تَهَادَاهُ السَّنَانُفُ أَطْحُلُ

And I go forth early, upon the most frugal fare; as the dun-coloured, lean-haunched (wolf) goes forth, which deserts direct, the one to the other.

30 (27-27).

عَدَا طَاوِيًا يُعَارِضُ الرِّيحَ هَافِيًا يَجُوبُ بِأَذْنَابِ الشَّعَابِ وَيَعْسِلُ

He goes forth betimes, fasting; he questions the wind, hungrily; he traverses the outlets of the passes; and skulks along with hanging head and straddling steps.

31 (28-28).

فَلَمَّا لَوَاهُ الْقَوْتُ مِنْ حَيْثُ أَمَّهُ دَعَا فَاجَابَتْهُ نَطَائِرُ مُحَلٍ

Then, when sustenance fails him, where he had sought to obtain it, he cries aloud; and his fellows, lean also, respond;

32 (29-29).

مُهَلَّلَةً شَيْبُ الْجُوهِ كَأَنَّهَا قِدَاحٌ بِكَنَى يَاسِرٍ تَقْفَلُ

Thin as laths, hoary-faced ones, who are, as it were, (from attenuation), so many gaming arrows shuffling about in the two hands of a distributor by lot of the joints of a slaughtered camel;

33 (30-30).

أَوِ الْحَشْرُمُ الْمُبْعُوثُ حَاحَتْ دَبْرُهُ مَحَابِيضُ أَرْسَاهُنَّ سَامٍ مُعْسِلُ

Or, (as though he were) an excited queen-bee, whose swarm the spatulae have roused up, thrust in (to their hive) by a honey-seeking hunter;

34 (31-31).

مُهَرَّتَةٌ فُوهٌ كَانَ شُدُوقَهَا شُقُوقُ الْعِصِيِّ كَالْحَاثِ وَبُسْلُ

Open-jawed, wide-mouthed, as though their cheeks were splinters of staves ; morose-looking, and determined.

35 (32-32).

فَضَجَ وَضَجَّتْ بِالْكَرَّاحِ كَانَّجَا وَأَيَّاهُ نُوحٌ فَوْقَ عَلِيَّاءَ تُكَلِّ

Then he howls, and they howl, in the wide waste ; as though they and he were bereaved ones, lamenting upon some high place.

36 (33-33).

وَأَغْضَى وَأَغْضَتْ وَأَتَسَّى وَأَتَسَّتْ بِهِ
مَرَامِيْلُ عَزَاهَا وَعَزَّتُهُ مُرْمُولُ

And he becomes quiet, and they become quiet ; and he imitates, and they imitate him ; provisionless wanderers, whom he consoles, and who console him, he wandering provisionless.

37 (34-34).

شَكَوَا وَاشْتَكَّتْ ثُمَّ أَرَعَوَى بَعْدَ وَارَعَوَتْ
وَلِلصَّبْرِ إِنْ لَمْ يَنْفَعِ الشُّكُّو أَجْمَلُ

He complains, and they complain ; then, he refrains at last, and they refrain. And verily, patience, if complaint avail not, is more seemly !

38 (35-35).

وَفَاءٌ وَفَاءَتْ بِأَوْرَاتٍ وَكُلَّهَا عَلَى نَكْظٍ وَمِمَّا تَكَاثَمَ مُجْمِلُ

And he goes back ; and they go back in all haste ; and all of them are busily intent on what the decent one keeps secret.

39 (36-36).

وَتَشْرَبُ أَشَارِيَّ الْقَطَا الْكَدْرُ بَعْدَمَا سَرَتْ قَرَبًا أَحْنَأُهَا يَصْصَلُ

And the cinereous sandgrouse birds drink my leavings,
after they have travelled a whole night, their sides audibly
panting (with thirst and fatigue);

40 (37-37).

هَمَمْتُ وَهَمَّتْ وَابْتَدَرْتُ وَأَسْدَلْتُ وَشُمِرَ مِنِّي قَارِطٌ مَسْمَلٌ

I strive, and they strive; and I quicken my pace, and
they lag behind; and a leisurely harbinger, in me, has thus
been allowed to tuck up his skirts;

41 (38-38).

فَوَلَّيْتُ عَنْهَا وَهَيَّ تَكْبُولُ عَقْرَهُ يُبَاشِرُهُ مِنْهَا ذُنُونٌ وَحَوْصَلُ

Then I turn back from them; and they tumble over at its
margin, which their chins and breasts embrace;

42 (40-39).

كَأَنَّ رَعَاهَا حَجَرَتِيهِ وَحَوَكُهُ أَخَامِيمُ مِنْ سَفَرِ الْقَبَائِلِ نَزَلُ

As though their tumult, on each side of, and round about
it, (were that of) congregations settling down from migrating
tribes

43 (39-40).

تُؤَانِسُ مِنْ شَيْءٍ إِلَيْهِ فَضَمَّهَا كَمَا ضَمَّ أَدْوَانَ الْأَصَارِمِ مِنْهَلُ

Coming to it from divers quarters; so that it collects them,
as one watering-place collects the camel-troops of various
tent-groups.

44 (41-41).

فَعَبَّتْ غِشَاشًا ثُمَّ مَرَّتْ كَأَنَّهَا مَعَ الْفَجْرِ رَكَبٌ مِنْ أَحَاطَةِ مُجَفَلُ

So they sip a scanty turbid puddle. Then they pass on,
as though they were a caravan hastening away from Uhātza
with the dawn.

45 (61-61).

وَيَرْمِي مِنَ الشَّعْرِ يَذُوبُ لُعَابُهُ أَفَاعِيهِ فِي رَمَضَائِهِ يَسْمَلُ

And on a day of (the canicular period of) Sirius, when his gossamer floats melting about, and his vipers, among his over-heated rocks, writhe in agony,

46 (62-62).

نَصَبْتُ لَهُ وَجْهِي وَلَا كِنَّ دُونَهُ وَلَا سِتْرًا إِلَّا الْأَتْحَمِي الْمُرْعَبِلُ

I set up my face right against it, with no screen in front thereof, and no covert, save a tattered At-hamī rag,

47 (63-63).

وَضَافٍ أَذَا هَبَّتْ لَهُ الرِّيحُ طَيَّرَتْ لَبَائِدَ عَنْ أَعْطَافِهِ مَا تُرْجَلُ

And a shaggy head of hair, on which when the wind blows, there fly out, as fluffs from its tufts, what might be combed away;

48 (64-64).

بَعِيدٌ بِمَسِّ الدَّهْنِ وَالْفُلْيِ عَيْدُهُ لَهُ عَبَسَ عَافٍ عَنِ الْغَسْلِ مُحُولُ

Far, in time, from the touch of oil, and from a riddance of vermin; soiled with filth; excused from washing; dishevelled.

49 (53-49).

فَإِمَّا تَرَانِي كَأَبْنَةِ الرَّمْلِ ضَاحِيًا عَلَى رِقَّةٍ أَخْفَى وَلَا أَتَعْلُ

And if thou see me, like an antelope of the sands, exposed to the sun on scanty fare, I go barefoot, and I wear no sandals.

50 (54-50).

فَإِنِّي لَمَوْلَى الصَّبْرِ أَجْتَابَ بَرَّةً عَلَى مِثْلِ قَلْبِ السَّمْعِ وَالْحَزْمِ أَفْعُلُ

For verily, I am a slave to patience. I wear its armour over the like of the heart of the wolf-hyæna; and discretion I practise.

51 (45-45).

طَرِيدٌ جَنَائِدَاتٍ تَيَاسِرُنْ لَحْمَهُ عَقِيرَتُهُ لِأَيِّهَا حُمَّ أَوَّلُ

(I am a man) persecuted by assaults that imperil life and limb, and that gamble on his flesh as against his death shriek,—which of them is destined to be first had;

52 (51-47).

وَأَلْفٌ هُمُومٍ لَا تَزَالُ يَعُودُهُ عِيَادًا كَحُمَّى الرَّبْعِ بَلْ هِيَ أُنْقَلُ

And a familiar of cares, which cease not to revisit him, returning like the quartan ague; nay, which are yet heavier to bear.

53 (52-48).

إِذَا وَرَدَتْ أَصْدَرُهَا ثُمَّ إِنَّهَا تَثُوبُ فَنَأْتِي مِنْ تَحِيَّتٍ وَمِنْ عَلٍ

When they beset me, I drive them away. Then, verily, they spring round, and come upon me from a little below, and from just above.

54 (65-65).

وَخَرْتُ كَطَافِرِ الشَّرْسِ قَفَرٍ قَطَعْتُهُ بِعَامِلَتَيْنِ بَطْنِيهِ لَيْسَ يُعْمَلُ

And in a wilderness, (bare) as the back of a shield, which I have traversed, the hither and thither portions of the interior of which are not usually travelled through,

55 (66-66).

فَالْحَقْتُ أَوَّلَهُ بِأَخْرَافِهِ مُوْفِيًا عَلَى فُتَيْهِ أَفْعَى وَرَارًا وَآمِنًا

The beginnings of which I have brought together with its endings (by journeying); mounting on a hill-top, to sit down at times; and (again) standing up erect (on the outlook for foes).

56 (42-42).

وَأَكْفَ وَجْهَ الْأَرْضِ عِنْدَ افْتِرَاشِهَا بِأَكْدَأُ تُبْنِيهِ سَنَاسِنُ فَحُلْ

And I snuggle to the face of the earth, where it spreads out level, on a crooked back, built up by fleshless vertebral processes;

57 (43-43).

وَأَعْدَلُ مَحْرُوضًا كَانَ نُصُوصُهُ كِكَابِ دَحَاكَا لَأَحِبِّ فَنَيْ مُثَلْ

And on a scraggy arm, the articulations of which are, as it were, dice thrown by a player, they thus standing out erect.

58 (67-67).

تَرُودُ الْأَرَاوِي الشَّحْمُ حَوْلِي كَأَنَّهَا عَذَارَى عَلَيَيْنِ أَلْمَاءُ أَلْمَذِيلُ

The dusky chamois does wandering around me, as though they were maidens on whom are train-trailing mufflers;

59 (68-68).

وَيُرْكَدُنْ بِالْأَصَالِ حَوْلِي كَأَنِّي مِنْ أَلْعَصَمِ أَدْنَى يَنْتَمِي الْكِحْ أَغْلُ

And of evenings resting around me, as though I were, of the white fore-shanked ones, a long-horned chamois buck, with crooked hind legs, bound for the mountain slopes.

60 (49-54).

وَلَيْلَةً نَحْسٍ يَصْطَلِي الْقَوْسَ رَبِّهَا وَأَنْطَعَهُ اللَّاتِي بِهَا يَنْتَبَلْ

And in a night of wretchedness, when the owner burns his (very) bow, and his fragments (thereof), from which he could make arrows,

61 (55-55).

دَعَشْتُ عَلَى غَطَشٍ وَبَغْشٍ وَصُحْبَتِي سُعَارٌ وَآرْزِيزٌ وَحَرٌّ وَأَفْكَلُ

I tramp forth in the dark and the drizzle; my companions being heart-burning, and sleet, and rancour, and shivering.

62 (56-56).

فَأَيَّمْتُ نِسْوَانًا وَآيَّمَّمْتُ أَلَدَةً وَعَدْتُ كَمَا أَبْدَأْتُ وَاللَّيْلُ أَسِيلُ

Then I make widows of women, and I make orphans of children (in one tent); and I repeat (in other tents) as I began; the night being (still) most obscure.

63 (57-57).

وَأَصْبَحَ عَنِّي بِالْعُمَيْصَاءِ جَالِسًا فَرِيقَانِ مَسْؤُولٌ وَآخَرُ يَسْأَلُ

And on the morrow, at Gumaysā, two parties of men arose to a sitting posture (conversing together) about me (in reality),—the one being questioned and the other inquiring.

64 (58-58).

وَقَالُوا لَقَدْ هَرَّتْ بِلِيلٍ كَلَبْنَا فَقُلْنَا أَ ذُنُوبٌ عَسَّ أَمْ عَسَّ فُرْعَلُ

And they said (to one another): "In the night our dogs growled; so we said: 'Is a wolf prowling, or is it a hyæna-cub skulking about?'"

65 (59-59).

فَلَمْ تَكُ إِلَّا نَبَاهٌ ثُمَّ هَوَمَتْ فَقُلْنَا قَطَاهُ رِيحٌ أَمْ رِيحٌ أَجْدَلُ

But it was nothing, only a slight sound; then they dozed off again; so we said: 'Was it a sandgrouse got scared, or did some hawk take fright?'

66 (60-60).

فَإِنْ يَكُ مِنْ جِنٍّ لَأُبْرِحَ طَارِقًا وَإِنْ يَكُ إِنْسًا مَا كَمَا الْإِنْسُ يَفْعَلُ

"Now, if it was one of the genii, verily, he has wrought a dreadful deed! And if it was a human being, . . .!—But what human being could do it?"

67 (44-44).

فَإِنْ تَبْتَسُّ بِالشَّغْرِ أَمْ تَسْطِلُ لِمَا اغْتَبَطَ بِالشَّغْرِ قَبْلَ أَطْوَلِ

Well ! If the mother of Qastel is (now) in despair through Shanfarà, verily, the advantage over Shanfarà for which she was envied, was of longer duration !

68 (50-46).

تَسَامُ إِذَا مَا نَامَ يَقْظَى عِيُونُهَا حَشَاثًا إِلَى مَكْرُوهٍ تَتَغَلَّعَلْ

She sleeps whenever he sleeps ; but her eyes (her spies are) awake as she dozes, exercising her utmost (thoughts) in what may wreak misery on him.

Perhaps a few notes may be not quite without use as to some of the idiomatic or poetical expressions that occur in the poem.

V. 1. *ضُورٌ* is the reverse of *وُورٌ* in the matter of the watering of camels. The latter word denotes their *arriving* at a watering-place ; the former, their *leaving* it after drinking.

In natural water-courses, cattle always *enter* the water to drink, and *come out* again when they have drunk. Our word *ضُورٌ* really means *a coming or going out, an issuing* ; and is strictly appropriate to a case where the cattle enter the water to drink. It is used, however, to signify their *leaving* a watering-place, whether they enter the water or not.

It is peculiar that the word *دُخُولٌ*, which is the lexical converse of *ضُورٌ*, is not used in the sense of *coming to*, or *arriving at* a watering-place, though it may be used to say, explicitly, that the cattle *entered* the water, to drink, to swim, ford, or what not.

The verb *وَرَدُوا*, *they came to a watering-place to drink*, has for its idiomatic converse *صَدَرُوا*, *they left their watering-place after drinking*, whether the water be entered by them or not. In v. 53, the poet uses the verb *وَرَدَتْ* to speak of cares

coming and besetting him, as camels come to a watering-place. He uses the fourth form verb, أَصْدَرْتُهَا, to express the idea that he drives them away; literally, *I make them quit their watering-place*; just as though they were camels.

V. 3. Literally, three wild beasts are named. It might be imagined that Shanfarà, from disgust with man, had made those beasts his familiars—poetically, if not actually. But the two following distichs, 4 and 5, somewhat lift the veil from the tropical expression, while verses 6 and 7 complete the elucidation.

Beasts do not "*stretch forth hands towards provisions*," neither do they provide and carry food for their journeys.

The three beasts are, then, evidently, three confederates of the poet, of whom he considers himself the moral superior. Just such friends and confederates as Ta'abbata-Sharran and 'Umar son of Barrāq may be supposed to have been.

The "*chased beasts*" of v. 5 probably alludes to herds of camels which the confederates are to "*lift*," and which are guarded by their owners, or by the camel-herds.

V. 14 perhaps hints at a failing known to exist frequently among camel-herds, often mere slaves, of driving away the colts, and of themselves milking the mothers for their own use and delectation, when their dugs are left free, يَبْلُغْنَ, for their colts to suck.

At times, all four dugs of a she-camel are covered over, by the owner, with a kind of apron of leather or hide, to prevent the colts from sucking at all. At other times, one, two, three, or all four dugs are left free for the colts to suck; and each of these arrangements has its special name, its special verb.

The "*mock-bird*," الْكَاكِيَّةُ, mentioned in v. 16, is said to take a mischievous delight in deceiving shepherds and the like, by imitating human cries. I am sorry that I cannot state the technical name of this naughty bird.

The effeminate fellow of v. 18, "*who carries no weapon*," is of rare occurrence in a land where, as a rule, every man's hand is against his neighbour.

The sense of *يَسْمَاءٌ هَوَجَلٌ*, in v. 19, is doubtful.

The expression *مَنَاسِمِي*, *my hoofs*, of v. 20, is a poetical licence, perhaps for the sake of the metre; but it is also intensely expressive. The singular, *مَنَسِمٌ*, designates the peculiar cushion of the sole of a camel's foot, or, of each one of his toes. Thus, each foot has one, *مَنَسِمٌ*, or it has several, *مَنَاسِمٌ*, according to those two divergent views. The poet likens his own bare toes to the *مَنَاسِمُ* of a camel's foot.

In v. 21, the expression *وَسَطَائِلٌ* signifies what I have not been able to find a term for. It denotes the period of time elapsing between a creditor's asking for payment of the debt owing to him, and the term at which the debtor tells him to apply again.

The poet makes "hunger" his creditor, who presses for payment by the ingestion of food. The poet then puts off his hunger, saying: "Apply again in two or three hours' time," etc.; and he repeats this "putting off" until he "*kills his hunger*." Then he turns his thoughts to other matters, and forgets his dead creditor.

How many would be glad thus to kill hunger and forget it, instead of their hunger's killing them!

In v. 22, however, the poet admits that, to do this, he has to "*twist his intestines upon inanition, as a spinner lays his yarns*." Large stones are often tightly bound over the pit of the stomach by starving or fasting men, to quiet their pangs.

In v. 23, he licks up the dust like a medical powder, to appease the gnawings of his empty stomach; so as to be able to put on a good face, while declining assistance from some would-be succourer, to whom he has an aversion from laying himself under an obligation.

His becoming alternately poor and rich, in v. 27, must be understood, it would appear, as the effects of reciprocal robbery, or private warfare. When the poet is "raided" by his foes, he is left to starve; when he succeeds in "lifting" their cattle, he is a man of wealth. He has a wish, and he does not spare himself. Just like our own commercial and

financial sharks, "biting" others one day, "bitten" in turn the next.

V. 32 mentions the "distributer by lot of the joints of a slaughtered camel." Even this description of the little word *يَاسِرٌ* is inadequate. The camel must have been purchased for the purpose by a joint venture. Let us suppose ten men joining together in equal shares to buy a camel for slaughter. As they cannot all have the best joints, they draw lots. The camel is slaughtered and cut up into ten portions as fairly as the butcher's eye can judge, with no scales to assist him in the wild country. Those portions or joints are placed in a row or circle, as we should say, No. 1, No. 2, etc., to ten, with one extra share for the butcher's fee. He, or one of the party who knows the rules of the game, now produces the gaming arrows—headless, featherless shafts, distinguished in some special way from one another. The *يَاسِرٌ*—the distributer by lot—shuffles the arrows in his two hands, as the jaws of the hungry wolves chatter with torment. The sharers draw an arrow each, and so determine which portion each shall have, the butcher taking that which their lots leave to him.

V. 33 is differently explained in the *Chrestomathie Arabe*. Instead of spatulæ thrust into a hive to extract its honey, as is the usual course, De Sacy has imagined a young brood of bees swarming and migrating, the honey-hunter going to the futile trouble of setting up wands here and there, about the rocks, for the queen-bee to alight on; an utterly baseless supposition.

In v. 38, the expression "*all of them are busily intent on what the decent one keeps secret,*" is very recondite. The "*decent one*" is, most probably, the poet himself. What he keeps secret is his gnawing hunger. The poor wolves, going home breakfastless and famished, may well be all busily intent on the pangs they endure, though they remain quiet at last.

V. 40. The expression *شَمَرٌ مِّنِّي فَارِطٌ مُّتَمَجِّلٌ* is one the signification of which has to be guessed, the commentators,

as usual in difficult passages, being quite useless. The *harbinger*, *فَارِطٌ*, is well known; as is also the custom of tucking up one's sleeves, legs, or skirts, preparatorily to a brush of hard work or exertion.

V. 41. The idea of the "chins and breasts" of the sand-grouse "embracing the margin of the tank" as they alight, is very graphic and poetical. They run with rapidity; and, as their legs are short, their bodies are carried very close to the ground, the steps short and tripping. So say our modern ornithologists, unconsciously confirming what Shanfarā sang of the birds thirteen centuries ago.

The "Uhātza" of v. 44, and the "Et-hami rag" of v. 46, are not especially known or described.

V. 50. The "wolf-hyæna," a peculiarly bold creature, which I cannot attempt to identify, is supposed to be a cross between a he-wolf and a she-hyæna. The idea of wearing the armour (or the garment) of patience over something that may be like the heart of that beast, is an extremely artistic turn of thought. Perhaps, it is the poet's determination, his unflinching pertinacity, that is hinted at.

V. 51. That "assaults" should gamble (the same root with the designation of the "distributer by lot of the joints of the slaughtered camel" of v. 32) on the poet's flesh and death-shriek is also an artistic expression. But the true meaning of the word rendered "death-shriek," *عَقِيرَتُهُ*, is very doubtful. The commentators have coined an anecdote to explain it; which, as usual, fails.

V. 53. The *إِذَا وَرَدَتْ أَصْدَرْتُمَا* has been noticed in the explanation of the *صُدُورٌ* of v. 1.

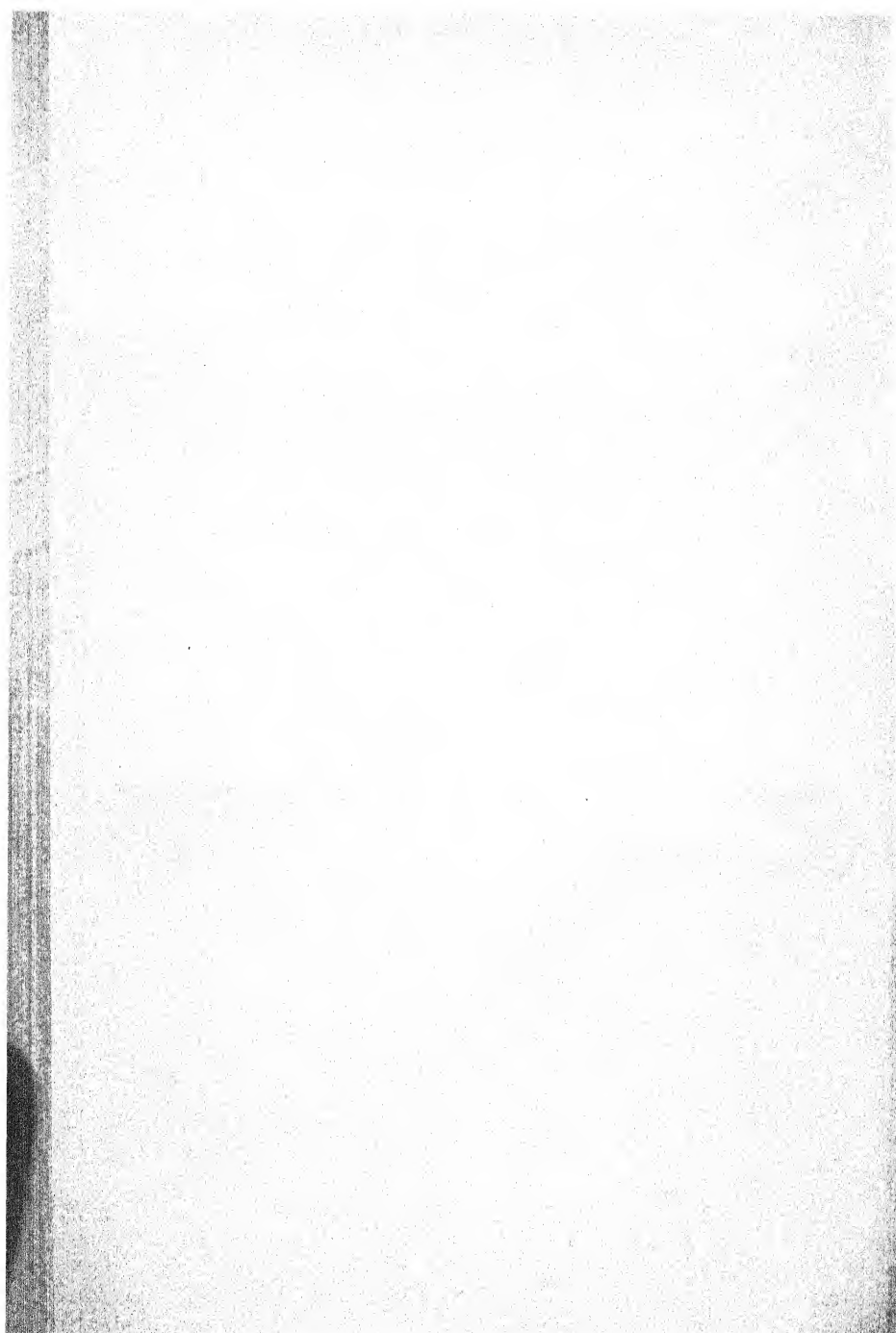
V. 55. The "bringing together the two ends" of a space journeyed over is a usual expression.

V. 63. *Gumaysa* *الْعُمَيْصَاءُ*, as the name of a place, is not particularly specified. I can imagine the word's meaning, in the distich, *the faint light of the dawn*; but this sense is in none of the authorities.

V. 66. That the *genii* can sometimes be very cruel is well known to every reader of the *Thousand and One Nights*.

We here bring our short notes to a close, in order to avoid prolixity. Almost every word and expression in the poem would bear a gloss or a comment.

The distichs of the poem are numbered for the sake of easy reference; and, to facilitate a comparison of the order now adopted, with those given by the India Office manuscript and by De Sacy, we have shown, in parentheses, the number of each distich as placed in their respective texts. The first of those numerals marks the place of the distich in the manuscript; the second, its position in De Sacy's version.



JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XIX.—*On the Andaman Islands and the Andamanese.*
By M. V. PORTMAN, Esq., M.R.A.S.

WITH the exception of a casual mention by one of the ancient historians, nothing appears to have been known by the outside world, of the Andamanese; until Lieut. Blair, of the Indian Navy, was conducting a survey of the Andaman Islands at the close of the last century. A settlement was during his time temporarily established, first in the present Port Blair, then called Port Cornwallis, and afterwards in the present Port Cornwallis. This was, however, abandoned in a short time, owing to the unhealthiness of the climate, and with the exception of the reports of the masters of vessels, who from time to time touched at the Islands, and described the aborigines as ferocious cannibals of hideous aspect, and smeared with clay, nothing more was known of them until Dr. Mouatt, by order of Lord Canning, then Governor-General of India, went down to see about establishing a convict settlement there, and his work on the subject is the first really reliable authority we have. It is, however, necessarily far from being correct, as in a hasty tour round the Islands much information could not be gained, and, as I have often found, the first information one receives of these people is generally wrong.

On the opening of the present penal settlement of Port Blair, however, the Andamanese were thoroughly taken in hand by the Rev. Mr. Corbyn. They were very difficult to deal with, being suspicious, treacherous, and not at all willing

to make friends with us. Several murders occurred, and in June, 1864, communication was broken off with them.

It was resumed by Mr. Homfray in November of the same year, and has continued up to the present time without a break.

By living himself amongst them, regardless of the malarious climate, and the danger of being murdered, Mr. Homfray managed to learn their language and gain their affection. A trade was established for them, weapons, curiosities, etc., being brought in and sold, the proceeds being used to defray the cost of tobacco and other luxuries, by which their hearts were won. The Government also granted 200 rupees per mensem, and a number of convicts were given, that by their labour gardens might be opened out, and the Andamanese taught to cultivate and make themselves useful. They were also trained as boatmen, and later on made to track the runaway convicts.

Mr. Homfray remained in charge of the Andamanese for nearly ten years, and during that time had established friendly relations with the inhabitants of the South and part of the Middle Andaman, also with the Archipelago Islanders. Homes for the aborigines, to which the outlying tribes could come and receive presents, were built at various out-stations, and affairs appear to have gone on smoothly for some time, until in 1874, when Sir Donald Stewart was Chief Commissioner of the Andamans, some of the aborigines at a distant home murdered the convict petty officers there, and all outlying stations were ordered to be closed. On account of this our communications were to a certain extent circumscribed, and though Mr. Man, then in charge of the aborigines, made occasional tours in the station steamer round the Islands, he was unable to remain long enough at the distant villages to establish a thorough friendship. No doubt, however, that these trips, and lavishments of presents on them, paved the way for after-success.

Mr. Man being prevented by his other duties from travelling about amongst the Andamanese, applied himself to the study of their language, and having thoroughly mastered the subject, intends, I believe, to give the world a grammar and vocabulary of it.

In July, 1879, I was appointed to the charge of the Andamanese, and at first applied myself to the study of their language and manners. I found that whilst the South and Southern half of the Middle Andaman had been explored by Mr. Man and Mr. Homfray, and their inhabitants brought into amicable relations, little was known of the North, Northern half of the Middle Andaman, and the Little Andaman, with the Jarawa tribes generally. It was to these, therefore, I determined to devote myself, and being allowed by Col. Cadell, the Chief Commissioner, to remain away for several weeks together, I was enabled to live in the jungles with the most distant tribes, and in consequence was able to report at the close of last year that all the aborigines of the Andamans, with the exception of the Jarawa tribes, were on friendly terms with us. My efforts were, however, to a great extent hampered owing to continued illness, brought on partly by the malarious climate, and partly by having had my head cut open in December, 1879, by one of the convicts.

I will now proceed to describe the Islands, and give some relation of the Great Andamanese.

The Islands are, the Great Andaman, divided into the North, Middle and South Andamans, which, almost one continuous piece of land, are just divided by narrow straits. The whole group indeed are so intersected by creeks as to be really only a conglomeration of small islands. They are hilly, a chain running from north to south, and sending out spurs in all directions. The average height is 800 feet, and the highest point, Saddle Peak, in the North Andaman, 2400 feet. In fact, it is a constant complaint of the Settlement officers, that with the exception of mangrove swamps, no level land is to be found. The breadth of this group is about eighteen miles at the widest, and the length 120 miles. Jungle of the densest description covers the islands completely to the water's edge, and the climate, from the constant decay of vegetable matter, and the great dampness, is malarious in the extreme.

Besides the above islands, are, the Archipelago, running

about S.E. from the Middle Andaman, and none of the islands of which are more than twenty miles distant from the mainland. The North Centinel on the West Coast, inhabited by an entirely distinct tribe, Interview Island, other *small* Islands on the same side, with the Labyrinth Islands on the S.W., Landfall Island on the N., and Rutland Island at the S. end, having on it a hill 1400 feet in height.

About forty miles further S. is the Little Andaman, which is low and swampy, about twelve miles in breadth, and twenty in length. It is inhabited by an extremely fierce people, of whom I shall speak presently.

Port Blair, the Penal Settlement, is on the E. coast of the S. Andaman, and being the centre of all the Andamanese work, we are naturally better acquainted with the inhabitants of this island than with the others.

The wretched little lean-to's they use as huts, their manner of painting themselves, and general appearance, my photos will show far better than I can relate. To a casual observer they appear repulsive, and it is only after long association that one can really appreciate their good qualities. I was on very friendly terms with them, and always found them affectionate, trustworthy, and kind. Having, however, short memories, and being altogether of a low type, people are apt to accuse them of ingratitude and unfeelingness, as well as many vices, which they do not possess.

To give you an idea of their general life in the jungle, I will describe what generally passed whilst I lived amongst them.

In the morning, on waking, the first thing was to blow up the fire and sit by it for a little, and then to finish whatever food might be lying about. Some of the men then took their bows and arrows and went out after pig, fish (which they shoot most cleverly), shellfish, or whatever they could find, whilst the women cleaned up the place a little, got firewood, fibre for bow-strings, and made up wreaths and ornaments. It is their duty also to tattoo the men, shave their heads and paint, or smear them over with coloured clay. The men who were left made bows and arrows, pots, or anything that was wanted. Between two and eight P.M.,

according to their luck, the hunters returned, and after a meal generally danced or told stories. If it was a big gathering, the dance sometimes continued all night.

It has been impossible to make them settle down and cultivate, as their habits, besides being nomadic, are very uncleanly, and on account of this it is impossible to stop in one place for long. They do not care, either, sufficiently for the produce gained to render cultivation worth their while.

They are quick-tempered, and when quarrels arise, murder is occasionally committed by them. They generally, however, content themselves with firing an arrow near their enemy, on which all the women rush away, and the chief or head man present quiets down matters. I have known, however, of several murders, and last year an Andamanese was hung (the first time on record) for his (to our knowledge) fifth murder. He, however, was a very bad character, and had previously spent two years in jail for the same crime.

They are unable to count above two, and can give no definite time, except by mentioning the season (or moon, if of recent occurrence). It is probably on account of this ignorance, and at the same time readiness to please and answer questions, that people have thought them more untruthful than they really are, as concerning matters with which they are really acquainted you can rely on their word implicitly.

Crying with them signifies reconciliation, or joy at meeting old friends and relations. I have known them howl for hours, and then finish the evening with dancing. They have many games which they play like children, but which are not worth describing. I have also found the most distant people perfect adepts at playing cat's cradle, and knowing far more combinations than I ever saw before. They have Andamanese names for each combination.

Their clothing I cannot mention, as they have none, the wreaths and ornaments I have here, being their sole apparel. Bones and skulls of their deceased friends are worn both as ornaments and as cures in cases of sickness, though their

reason for this they could never give me. The women, in addition to the wreaths, wear a leaf.

All the adults, with the exception of the Jarawa tribes, have their bodies tattooed, or rather scarified, by bits of glass or iron. Of this I shall speak further presently.

Their hair is usually shaved, either entirely bare, or leaving patterns on their heads. None of them have whiskers, and very few a moustache, of the most meagre description, of which, however, when they have it, they are very proud.

Their marriage system is extremely simple. After a boy and girl have developed a certain amount of affection for each other, they, with the consent of the parents, or chief of the tribe, sit apart during the day staring at each other. In the evening the girl is brought and made to sit down in a hut, the man makes a great show of unwillingness, runs off into the jungle, and after much time and resistance, is brought into the hut and made to sit down alongside of her. They then retire for the honeymoon. The wife has to perform all home and menial duties, whilst the husband makes canoes and weapons, and gets food when there are no unmarried people about, who, however, are made to work much harder than the married ones.

On the death of the husband the women are allowed to remarry, and I regret to say that the general tone of their morals is far from being correct. They are very fond of their children, and frequently kill them with overkindness.

These people rarely attain a greater age than 50, and are especially delicate as regards the chest. They have no real medicines.

Their food consist of pig, fish, shellfish, worms, or grubs, roots, nuts and jungle fruit, a kind of which, called "auropa," is delicious. They eat nothing raw, boiling the shellfish in their pots, and throwing the meat into the fire until burnt. A Nautilus shell is their drinking cup. They are also remarkably fond of honey, but will not touch oysters, which is remarkable, as formerly they used to do so.

Besides the marriage ceremony, they have a few others.

A child is not allowed to eat pork until a certain time, and may not touch turtle until he attains manhood, and the eating of turtle for the first time is accompanied by a peculiar dance, and many ceremonies. When a child, an Andamanese is called "Ligla," after eating turtle "Mar Guma," and when married and possessing a child "Maia," which is a token of respect.

On the occasion of death, also, they have two modes of disposing of the body. Sometimes it is placed up in a tree, which is hung with mourning streamers, and the mat, weapons, etc., of the deceased are placed with him. All his friends and relations daub their heads and bodies over with a thick coating of grey mud, and this remains on until the body of the deceased has completely decayed, when the bones are taken down and made into ornaments, a great dance is given, and all is over. On other occasions the body is put into the earth. This is usually done with women, to whom much attention is not paid, they being held in very low estimation.

Of their religion I can say very little. They appear to have some idea of a God, whom they call "Puluga." They do not identify God with the sun, like most savages. There are also the "spirit of the woods," called "Eremchangala," and the "spirit of the sea," called "Juruwinda," the first of whom gives sickness and earthquakes, and the latter cramp. They are both more demoniacal than anything else.

The ideas of the Andamanese, however, on this subject are very vague, and they have no form of worship, pay not the least attention to their Gods, and believe in no future state. I am well aware other officers have given different accounts of this, but, from what I can gather from the distant tribes, I am inclined to think that the accounts were merely the Christian religion, as taught in the Andaman Orphanage, and distorted amongst the Andamanese.

I say this, as whilst the South Andamanese have now traditions of a stone and a cave where the Deity was born, the Northern people, who have not been brought into contact with us, have no such legends. They are very much afraid

of earthquakes, and, on one occurring, I have known them take down their nets, string, etc., and hide them for fear that "Eremchàngala" should come and destroy them.

The present system of keeping men in the Home on Viper Island is managed thus :

Besides the large number of sick and convalescents constantly about, a certain quantity of people belonging to different tribes are kept for six months at a time, in order that by their labour in selling the produce of the gardens, diving for lost articles, rowing boats, etc., they may keep up the funds of the department, and they also become hostages for the good behaviour of the tribe to which they belong. They track all escaped convicts, and act, in fact, as a jungle police. The South Andamanese at the present time are rapidly becoming extinct, a natural result of such a primitive race coming in contact with civilization ; but I may describe them as really one tribe called Bojîngîjî, who speak the language of that name, and are all, more or less, known to each other.

This was sub-divided into various minor tribes, of which, however, few representatives are left.

About the Middle Straits this tribe merges into the Bojigeâb, the language of whom slightly differs, but whose manners and customs are the same.

Ila Jûrû, or the Archipelago, contains the Balawa tribe, whose language also differs a little, but merely as a dialect, not in its general intonation and form.

North of Homfray's Passage, however, we come to an entirely new people. The Aka Kêdês, a large and powerful tribe, resident in the E., N.W., and centre of the Middle Andaman, and also on Interview Island ; and the Aka Jawais, a smaller tribe on the W. coast, who form a connecting link with the Bojîngîjî. The language of these people is totally distinct, their bow of an entirely different shape, and I have observed that, as we go further N., the huts become larger and better finished, and the men's complexion takes a redder tint. These people have not been friendly long, but have in many ways shown their affection

to be firm. On one occasion, whilst pursuing some convicts who had escaped with a boat, the boat in which I was, got damaged in the surf about seventy miles from the settlement, at Amit La Têd, in the Aka Kêdê country; a village was close to the shore, and having an interpreter of the tribe with me, I took all my party there. Although none of the inhabitants had ever seen us before, they at once gave up their huts for our use, though it was raining hard, and busied themselves in preparing food for the party, and the next day did all they could to repair my boat and render her seaworthy. I was enabled to leave the following day and get some twenty miles nearer Port Blair; but, on my boat finally giving out at the village of Pich Lâkâ Châkkân, I was received by the chief, and although we were out of provisions, and had no presents for him, we were kept by him for five days, during which time help came. I need scarcely point out that twelve years ago very different treatment would have been met with by us.

The Aka Jawai tribe are making themselves very useful in cementing our friendship with the North Andamanese.

Of the N. Andaman we still know little. I can confidently state that they are all friendly, and are gradually coming to Port Blair to visit us.

About Stewart's Sound we met with the Aka Jaru tribe, whom I imagine to be few in number, and who inhabit the S. of N. Andaman. The upper half of this island is occupied by the Aka Châriârs, and the Aka Eris appear to be scattered about, down to the Middle Andaman. All these people speak a guttural language, their huts are larger, their cooking pots in the extreme N., of a V shape, not like those of all other Andamanese, whose are of a U shape; their bows are different and handsomer than the S. Andamanese.

Through the kindness of Col. Cadell, and the interest he has taken in this question, I have had every assistance afforded me for travelling about, and have lived many days at a time, both at Stewart's Sound and Cadell Bay, and would consider the northern people to be larger, finer made,

bolder, and fiercer than the S. Andamanese, in short a higher race.

The names of men and women amongst them differ too from the Bojîngîjî, as does also their manner of tattooing.

Leaving these people for the present, I will consider what are called by the Bojîngîjî the Jarawa tribes.

Of these two tribes, is one situated about five miles to the W., and the other the same distance to the S. of Port Blair.

Although so close, they have so studiously kept from contact with the Settlement, and when sought for hidden from us so much, that until last year, nothing was really known of them.

Col. Cadell in his report for 1880 says: "It is very wonderful that these aborigines should have lived so close to the Settlement and have succeeded in keeping so entirely aloof from us for upwards of twenty years, that their very existence 'was not only called in question, but ridiculed' by experienced officers, and that Mr. Man himself gave from hearsay a quite incorrect account of them."

In 1867, Mr. Homfray brought in a man and woman from the S. tribe, kept them a few days, but finding they pined, let them go again, and they have never been seen since. Mr. Man, having sent several expeditions to search for them, was once rewarded by a woman of the western tribe being brought in, but as her tribe followed her and attacked the Brigade Creek Home, she was released the next day loaded with presents.

I sent several expeditions after them, but without success, until in May, 1880, the western tribe having attacked the Bojîngîjî tribe at Port Campbell, Col. Cadell ordered me to go out and look for them. Taking a large number of Andamanese, I marched to the centre of the Jârâwâ country and camped there. At first nothing was found except huts, clay baskets, tortoise-shell knives, and wreaths; but on the third day an old woman was seen fishing for prawns in a stream, and caught without much resistance. She was brought to our camp, given plenty to eat, and numbers of

presents. After a short time she made herself thoroughly at home, elbowing my own people away from the fire, and stretched herself out to sleep by it very comfortably. The next day she was returned to her relations, of whom, however, we saw nothing. The language she spoke none of us had ever heard before. Her hair was white, a thing rarely seen amongst our friendly tribes, and, as is the custom with all Jarawas, not shaven. Her features were not unpleasing, and her skin of a red tint like the N. Andamanese. Clothing she had none, with the exception of a wreath round her waist, having a tassel attached to it, which all the Jarawa women use instead of the leaf of the friendly tribes.

A short time after this I left with eighty Andamanese, for the S. part of the western tribes country, just above Port Mouatt, and after being out a fortnight, captured an old man, three women, and six children. They lived with me a few days in the jungle on very friendly terms, and were then brought into Port Blair. After a short time, I was obliged to let them go, as otherwise they would have pined away.

During the time they were with me, I was able to collect some words of their language, which is entirely different from all others, and extremely nasal, and, as far as I can judge, they are part of the same tribe which inhabit the S. of the Settlement.

WORDS COLLECTED FROM THE TRIBES OF JARAWAS RESIDENT IN THE JUNGLE,
W. OF PORT BLAIR.

These words were collected by me from some of the Jarawas, whom I brought in, in June, 1880. The language is intensely nasal, and I have been able only to give the approximate pronunciation in English.

road	<i>isch-é-lé</i>	bird	<i>wainh</i>
sea	<i>é-ta-lé</i>	child	<i>usch-é-la-wé</i>
arrow (of reed)	<i>bartoye</i>	stick	<i>do-lé</i>
arrow (of iron)	<i>bartalé</i>	nose	<i>ee-na-má</i>
bow	<i>ah-ayi</i>	eye	<i>é-jam-má</i>
water	<i>eh-nu-lé</i>	ear	<i>eesh-wy</i>
iron	<i>tañ-ki</i>	tooth	<i>ahn-wy</i>
yes	<i>ing-é</i>	foot	<i>mon-gé</i>
hair	<i>enoy-dé</i>	pig	<i>au-long-é</i>

tail	<i>yow-u-gé</i>	beat (to)	<i>a-noi-da-heré</i>
hand	<i>mo-mé</i>	shoot (to)	<i>vai-la-wé</i>
nautilus	<i>ga-ai</i>	call (to)	<i>la-hon</i>
shell (for shaving)	<i>wu-gé</i>	eat (to)	<i>a-ha-ba</i>
string	<i>et-ai</i>	sit down (to)	<i>a-ta-un</i>
bucket	<i>uh-hoo</i>	get up (to)	<i>tō-han</i>
crab	<i>ha-gai</i>	sleep (to)	<i>ō-mō-han</i>
net	<i>bor-tai</i>	jungle	<i>al-u-wé</i>
axe	<i>dor-hn</i>	stone	<i>u-lee</i>
sky	<i>baing-a-ba</i>	stick	<i>a-ta-teer</i>
leaf	<i>bé-bé</i>	bamboo	<i>o-ta-lé</i>
fire	<i>tu-hā-wé</i>	navel	<i>ēn-quā</i>
drink (to)	<i>een-jo wá</i>	breast	<i>guñ-dé</i>
run (to)	<i>aha, bé-la-bé</i>		

I will now mention the other Jarawa tribes, and then proceed to compare their various weapons, utensils, and manners.

Of the tribe to the south of Port Blair I know little, but have their weapons, etc. They must be very few in number, as, though I have lived in their huts, and been all over their country, I have never seen one; and they appear to be timid, and always run away from any invader, destroying every hut I ever entered, a custom peculiar to the Jarawas.

I may here remark that the name Jarawa has been given to them by the Bojingiji, and what their real name is I have no idea. The tribe on Rutland Island I have only once been able to get near.

In November, 1878, Jemadar Ahmed and a party of Andamanese had gone to the Cinque Islands for shells, and whilst there observed a fire on the shore, which, on closer observation, was found to belong to a camp of Jarawas. No attempts were made to capture them, but various presents were left, and all taken away the next day. There is a chain of islands connecting the Great with the Little Andaman, and an idea was entertained of these people having come from the latter place. On account of the time of year I had my doubts, and hearing from Mr. Homfray that a tribe of Jarawas on Rutland Island used formerly to fight our friendly Andamanese there, I determined to explore it. My party

went ashore in the morning, I being too ill to accompany them, and during their absence bad weather came on, and the captain of the steamer moved into McPherson's Straits for shelter. On picking the party up next day, I found they had captured some Jarawas, but seeing the vessel had left, camped on the beach for the night, and let the people go again, for fear of being attacked by their tribe during the night, and the implements and weapons only were brought to me. The knives we suppose to have been manufactured from the iron left in the Cinque Islands in 1878. Their bows are different from those of any other tribe, being like the Little Andamanese in shape, but larger, and with ornaments like those of the Jarawa tribe on the mainland. Their language, of course, we could make nothing of; but their huts, ornaments, canoes, and manner of smearing themselves with yellow clay, absence of tattooing and shaving—in short, their general appearance—corresponds with that of the other Jarawa tribes.

The islands between Rutland Island and the Little Andaman are not permanently inhabited, but we find in the Cinque Islands, Sisters, and South Brother Island, traces of huts and fire, and suppose that the people come to these places for turtle, as the Port Mouatt tribe go to Termooglee. Nothing has been seen either on Passage Island or the South Centinel.

The tribe on the North Centinel I had heard of as being very fierce and numerous. Both Mr. Man and Mr. Homfray had passed the island, but never landed. Mr. Homfray's account of it was very alarming.

Colonel Cadell, being anxious to know something of this *terra incognita*, stopped there for a few hours on his first tour round the islands in January, 1880. We landed, found huts, small, and resembling those commonly in use by *all* the aborigines, and baskets, bows, arrows, and canoes exactly like those of the Little Andaman. No inhabitants were seen. The following February, however, I spent a fortnight on the island in order to establish friendly relations. Having heard such a bad account of this people, I went with a large

party, and fully armed, which proved a mistake. We met with the inhabitants, who were very timid; and after much trouble some children were caught, loaded with presents, and then let loose, but after a little while they dropped their articles, and ran into the jungle. A man, his wife, and four children were taken to Port Blair, where, owing probably to the new style of food and the excitement they must have been in, the old couple died. The children I got on very well with, but could make nothing of their language, and soon sent them back. This island has since been twice visited, but no traces have been seen of the people.

Whilst staying there I explored the island thoroughly, and from all observations imagine the people to be Little Andamanese lately separated from that island, as in everything they resembled them exactly.

We now come to the Little Andaman, which is, according to some, the head-centre from which the Jarawa tribes emanate. To explore it is very difficult, as with one exception there is no place where a European can land in safety, and a ship would not remain near it in stormy weather, on account of the reefs and bad anchorage. On the western coast there is a sort of bay, with a broad creek, over the bar of which the surf does not run very high, and this is the only place where one can really land safely. This creek is large, with many branches, and runs some distance inland. It is chiefly owing to this difficulty about the landing, and the distance the island is from Port Blair, that we know so little of it at the present time.

It being particularly these Jarawa tribes that I wish to bring before your notice, I will describe the various times this island has been visited.

1st. In 1867 an expedition was sent down to punish the murderers of the captain and boat's crew of the *Assam Valley*. On our side one lieutenant was drowned and two men were wounded. On their side several savages were killed and wounded. From the accounts I have heard of it, this expedition appears to have been mismanaged, and the savages were, if anything, victorious.

2nd. In 1873 Sir Donald Stewart visited the island, with the view of showing our intentions towards them were friendly. After leaving presents at several places, one of his parties was attacked at the mouth of the Western Creek, and being obliged to fire in self-defence, one of the aborigines was wounded, and died on being taken off to the ship.

3rd. Soon after this, Major Wimberley was sent down to chastise them for having murdered five out of seven of the crew of a Burmese craft which had touched at the island for water. He burnt six of their large huts, and being attacked by a great number of natives, several of the latter were killed, and two of our Sepoys wounded. One boy was brought back to Port Blair. Many attempts were made to learn his language, and the greatest kindness was shown him, but having one day seen his face in a looking-glass, he appeared to recognize something, probably imagining it to be one of his countrymen, and pined away. It was just after this occurrence that Mr. Homfray caught the man and woman of the South tribe of Jarawas above referred to, and as they allowed themselves to be brought in without resistance, some people imagined them to be the parents of the Little Andaman boy, and that they had come up from their country to search for him.

They were left to themselves after this until February, 1880. Colonel Cadell, on his way to the Car Nicobar, stopped a few hours there, and left some presents, but saw no one. He and I subsequently visited the island in March, and after exploring a large creek in the north, went to the one on the western coast. We rowed up it for some distance, seeing several canoes on the banks, and at one place a broad path, which probably led to their head-quarters. It was considered too dangerous to explore on land, and we went on during the day exploring the coast to the south, returning in the evening to the western creek. When leaving it to go on board we were surprised by thirty of the aborigines, in the same manner and in the same place as was General Stewart, the natives wading out on the bar at the mouth and firing at us. No one was hit, and the fire was not returned. The

people I saw were precisely like the Centinelese, smeared with yellow clay, their heads not shaven, and having bows and arrows precisely like those on the Centinel. Their canoes also resemble them exactly.

The summer of last year I spent among the Northern tribes, and I was not able to revisit the Little Andaman till October. This time I tried the eastern coast, where Major Wimberley had burnt their huts, and finding a large one in course of erection, landed at it. At first no one was seen, but after a time two or three people showed up, keeping at a distance in the jungle. I left a quantity of presents, and then skirted along the coast for a few miles. On a point which ran out a little, were some women catching fish, but on seeing us they ran round the corner. I followed, and found myself in a little bay, with many huts on the shore, from which, on our approach, the natives poured. The surf was very high, however, and prevented our landing, and I left the island.

Each visit I paid to the Little Andaman I also landed on the South Brother Island, and found that they constantly visited it for turtle. Had I remained longer in Port Blair I intended to make that island my head-quarters, and hoped to surprise a party there.

In November we again visited this island, and went up the western creek. There was a fresh hut about a mile to the north of its mouth, and on going close a few people appeared. Cocoa-nuts and other presents were floated ashore to them, and signs made for them to come off to us. My own people also swam quite close to them, and after a great deal of shouting and gesticulating, a few of them came into the water, dragging their bows and arrows (which they had never lost hold of) by their toes. More presents were thrown to them, when suddenly two or three commenced firing on us, and one of our Sikhs was hit in the mouth. The fire was not returned, and we proceeded up the creek. Many canoes were seen, and we were attacked at the mouth as before. About eighty men were counted.

We went on to the Car Nicobar, and on our return visited

the south-east coast. Here the hut I saw in course of construction was finished, and two or three men came out. We floated presents ashore, which they took. Then some more men came, and some women. The presence of the latter being always a sign of friendship amongst these people, I sent some of my Andamanese ashore with presents a little higher up the coast. The Jarawas saw them, and, dropping their bows and arrows, went up to them. The most friendly meeting ensued, and putting their arms round each other's necks, they capered about on the sand and shouted. We did not land for fear of alarming them, but watched the scene for about an hour, and then, recalling our men, went off to breakfast.

I was at last in the hopes that we had got a firm and friendly footing on the island, and we all congratulated ourselves on our success. At about 11 A.M. the boats were manned, and, taking a fresh load of presents, I went to a strip of sand a little below the hut and landed, whilst Col. Cadell lay off in another boat to guard me. Three of my men went on ahead to interview the Jarawas, whom we observed gradually coming towards us. They halted at the corner of a creek, owing to the high shingle bank of which we were unable to see them, and the next thing I saw was my three men running towards Col. Cadell's boat, followed by a shower of arrows. About thirty men darted out of the jungle close to me and commenced firing on my party. To retreat into our boat and get off out of range was the decision of every one, and we did it whilst deciding. One shot was fired at the Jarawas to cover our retreat, but no one was hit, and after waiting about a little, we returned to the steamer. This was the last visit that has been paid to this island.

With such an extremely savage and treacherous race communication becomes very difficult, and I am of opinion that until either a temporary settlement is established on the island, or regular visits are paid there of about a week in duration, and as often as once a month, nothing much will be done. To make friends with these people is important in the interest of shipwrecked crews, who would now be certainly

massacred. I have heard that formerly these people used to be kidnapped for slaves, which may possibly account for the great enmity they bear to strangers.

I will now compare the various Jarawa tribes.

The first point of connexion between them would naturally be their language, and of it our knowledge is sadly defective. The two I have heard, *i.e.* North Centinelese and that spoken by the Western tribe, do not resemble each other at all.

We will next take their weapons. The bows of the North Centinel and Little Andaman resemble each other exactly. After them come the bows of the Rutland Island tribe, which, though like the Little Andamanese, are larger, with a rise in the centre, which serves as a connecting link between the above-mentioned people and the tribes on the mainland. The bows of these latter are exactly alike, being of a better class of manufacture, and have a decided rise in the centre.

Of the arrows I can only say they are pretty much the same all over the Andamans. The tribes near the Settlement are gradually getting iron, as some of their arrows here will show. The cooking pots of all the tribes are the same, as is their Yolba bow-string.

The hut of the Little Andaman is a large structure, often as much as 30ft. in height, and Colonel Cadell has measured one 60ft. in diameter. An upright is placed in the centre, then from 6 to 8 round it, then another outer circle at about 6ft. distance, becoming shorter, and the roof sloping until the eaves reach the ground. Small holes are left for the inhabitants to creep in at. The thatch is like that in use at the North Andaman; and at several places in the Andamans, and more especially in the north, I have noticed huts resembling those of the Little Andaman, though smaller.

Places in these huts are portioned off by logs, which seem to serve as pillows, and upper ledges are built about 6ft. from the ground, on which their food, weapons, etc., are stored. I have also noticed these peculiarities amongst the other Jarawa tribes, and the North Andamanese.

The groundwork of huts all over the Andamans is the usual kitchen midden, or mound of shells and refuse, which

from its size would show that the sites of their villages are not often changed. The smaller huts are of the same pattern throughout the whole group, and are usually built in a circular village of five, in order to afford protection from all sides. The most extraordinary fact about these Jarawas is, that though they have resided on the mainland for some hundreds of years, in close contiguity with the Bojingiji, yet they have always been at enmity, avoiding each other's country, having totally distinct specimens of bows, and their language entirely different and unknown to each other. They are also much frightened of each other.

All the Jarawa tribes use a yellowish clay to smear over their bodies, whilst the other Andamanese use red and grey.

The canoes of the Jarawas are of a ruder construction, having no prow.

Their ornaments, however, are of a much neater make, and for beauty far exceed the others.

Their food is the same as that of the other Andamanese.

They use the same nets and baskets, but the latter are generally of a coarser make.

They wear the jaw-bones of their deceased relatives, but as far as I have seen, no other kind; in this differing from the Great Andamanese, who wear all kinds. Those I have here were brought from the North Centinel, and are very neatly made.

Many officers have thought the tribes living near the Settlement are a purely inland people. Now all the Andamanese are divided into two classes, the "Eremtagas" or jungle-dwellers, and "Aryawtos" or coast-dwellers, and these tribes certainly belong to the former, but a strictly inland tribe I should not call them, as they occasionally appear on the coast, and eat turtle.

The two tribes near Port Blair, I agree with Mr. Man in thinking have lately been in communication, and that probably the opening out of the country between Port Blair and Port Mouatt has caused them to divide. It is generally allowed, too, that at some former period they were much more powerful in the South Andaman, and extended

quite close to the harbour of Port Blair, as their kitchen middens have been found there. The traditions of the Andamanese also give accounts of great fights between the Bojingiji and Jarawas, both on Rutland Island and the mainland, which never occur now. Also, in the early days of the Settlement, a petty officer and file of convicts was surprised by the Southern tribe, made to deliver up all their iron implements and clothes, and then released. This is so entirely different from their present habits, that I can only conclude that they were then more numerous. I consider the Rutland Island tribe to be an offshoot of the Little Andamanese, as there is certainly no difficulty in coming along the chain of islands which connect the two places, in the calm weather of the north-east monsoon.

Now, although, therefore, classing all these Jarawas together, much of what I have said is deduced from observation of their manners, without knowing their language, and amongst them there are possibly many tribes at variance with each other, and speaking different languages.

Of the Great Andaman I class the inhabitants into two groups, determined by their bows, manners and languages, which latter, although differing in dialect occasionally, have two great bases.

1st. All those residing to the north of Homfray Passage, who use the same bow (of which specimens are shown here), and though comprising the Aka Chariar, Aka Eri, Aka Jaru, Aka Kêdê, and Aka Juwai tribes, have one common language, with mere tribal variations of dialect. Perhaps the Aka Juwais, with those people resident about Homfray's Passage, form more of a connecting link between the two great divisions, scarcely actually belonging to either. All this northern group are tattooed in one manner, namely, in three broad lines down the back, which are unmistakeable, and this is one feature which assisted me in classifying them.

2nd. The Bojingiji, which division comprises the Bojingiji, Bojigtab, and Balawa tribes, with other minor variations. They inhabit almost all of the Great Andaman south of Homfray's Passage, use one kind of bow, have the Bojingiji

language as a common basis, and are tattooed in patterns all over their bodies.

Now, in conclusion, I would point out the extraordinary fact, of so many small tribes, living together on a tiny group of islands, belonging undoubtedly to the same family originally, as shown by their dwarfed stature, black skin, and unlikeness to any other race in any country near them, and yet speaking different languages, having different classes of weapons, etc., and being not only at enmity with each other when they do meet, but until the Settlement of Port Blair was formed, being actually in many cases ignorant of each other's existence.

I consider before the opening of the Settlement, that the northern people were in the highest state of civilization. Then came the Southern Division, and lastly the Jarawas, who are the lowest, and from whom they have possibly all developed, but from whence they originally came, and who they really are, I dare not hazard a guess.

The Little Andaman has been noticed by every one who has been there to be extremely thickly peopled, but I see no reason to suppose that formerly the Great Andaman was not the same. Now, however, owing to the various epidemics introduced by civilization, most of the Southern Division have died. Although hospitals have been established, and every care taken to find out the sick and bring them in, yet they have diseases amongst them that no amount of care will ever eradicate, and which will in a few years certainly cause the race to become extinct.

The only thing we can do, therefore, is to be careful of those that remain, and find out as quickly as possible all about them, as otherwise they may all have died out before Science really has become thoroughly cognizant of them.

ART. XX.—*Notes on Marco Polo's Itinerary in Southern Persia (Chapters XVI. to XXI., Col. Yule's Translation).* By A. HOUTUM-SCHINDLER.

Chapter XVI.—Marco Polo travelled from Yazd to Kermán *viâ* Báfk. His description of the road, seven days over great plains, harbour at three places only, is perfectly exact. The fine woods, producing dates, are at Báfk itself. (The place is generally called Báft.) Partridges and quails still abound; wild asses I saw several on the western road, and I was told that there were a great many on the Báfk road. Travellers and caravans now always go by the eastern road *viâ* Anár and Bahrámábád. Before the Sefavíehs (*i.e.* before A.D. 1500) the Anár road was hardly, if ever, used; travellers always took the Báfk road. The country from Yazd to Anár, 97 miles, seems to have been totally uninhabited before the Sefavíehs. Anár, as late as A.D. 1340, is mentioned as the frontier place of Kermán to the north, on the confines of the Yazd desert.¹ When Sháh 'Abbás had caravanserais built at three places between Yazd and Anár (Zein ud-dín, Kermán-sháhán, and Shamsh), the eastern road began to be neglected.

It is strange that Marco Polo speaks of Kúbenán² only on his return journey from Kermán; on the down journey he must have been told that Kúbenán was in close proximity; it is, even, probable that he passed there, as Persian travellers of those times, when going from Kermán to Yazd, and *vice versa*, always called at Kúbenán.³

The distance from Yazd to Kermán by the present high road, 229 miles, is by caravans, generally made in nine stages; persons travelling with all comforts do it in twelve stages;

¹ In different histories, when speaking of Mubáriz ud dín's flight from Kermán on the approach of Qutb ud dín Nákrúz, A.H. 741.

² This in all histories I saw written Kúbenán, not Kúhbenán; the pronunciation to-day is Kóbenán and Kóbenún.

³ See History of Kermán, completed A.H. 584 (A.D. 1188).

travellers whose time is of some value do it easily in seven days.

Marco Polo speaks of Kermán as a kingdom; he does not give the name of the capital, which was Bardshír, an old name of the present town Kermán. I shall speak of this further on.

Chapter XVII.—The province Kermán is still rich in turquoises. The mines of Páriz or Párez are at Chemen-i-mó-aspán, sixteen miles from Páriz on the road to Bahrám-ábád (principal place of Ráfsinján), and opposite the village or garden called Gód-i-Ahmer. These mines were worked up to a few years ago; the turquoises were of a pale blue. Other turquoises are found in the present Bardshír plain, and not far from Mashíz, on the slopes of the Chehel tan mountain, opposite a hill called the bear hill (tal-i-Khers). The Shehr-i-Bábek turquoise mines are at the small village Kárik, a mile from Medvár-i-bálá, ten miles north of Shehr-i-Bábek. They have two shafts, one of which has lately been closed up by an earthquake, and were worked up to about twenty years ago. At another place, twelve miles from Shehr-i-Bábek, are seven old shafts, now not worked for a long period. The stones of these mines are also of a very pale blue, and have no great value.

Marco Polo's steel mines are probably the Parpa iron mines on the road from Kermán to Shíráz, called even today M'aden-i-fúlád (steel mine); they are not worked now. Old Kermán weapons, daggers, swords, old stirrups, etc., made of steel, are really beautiful, and justify Marco Polo's praise of them.

The fine falcons, "with red breasts and swift of flight," come from Páriz. They are, however, very scarce, two or three only being caught every year. A well-trained Páriz falcon costs from thirty to fifty tomans (£12 to £20), as much as a good horse.

There is some confusion with regard to the names of Kermán both as a town and as a province or kingdom. We have the names Kermán, Kuwáshír, Bardshír. I should say the original name of the whole country was Kermán, the

ancient Karamania. A province of this was called Kúreh-i-Ardeshr, which being contracted became Kuwáshir,¹ and is spoken of as the province in which Ardeshr Bábekán, the first Sassanian monarch, resided. A part of Kúreh-i-Ardeshr was called Bardshir, or Bard-i-Ardeshr, now, occasionally, Bardsir, and the present city of Kermán was situated at its north-eastern corner. The town during the middle ages was called Bardshir. On a coin of Qara Arslán Beg, King of Kermán, of A.H. 462, Mr. Stanley Lane Poole reads Yazdashir instead of Bardshir.² Of Al Idrísí's Yazdashir I see no mention in histories; Bardshir was the capital and the place where most of the coins were struck. Yazdashir, if such a place existed, can only have been a place of small importance. It is perhaps a clerical error for Bardshir; without diacritical points both words are written alike. Later the name of the city became Kermán, the name Bardshir reverting to the district lying south-west of it, with its principal place Mashiz. In a similar manner Mashiz was often, and is so now, called Bardshir. Another old town sometimes confused with Bardshir was Sirján or Shírján, once more important than Bardshir; it is spoken of as the capital of Kermán, of Bardshir, and of Sardsir. Its name now exists only as that of a district, with principal place S'aídábád. The history of Kermán, 'Aqd-ul-'Olá, plainly says Bardshir is the capital of Kermán, and from the description of Bardshir there is no doubt of its having been the present town Kermán. It is strange that Marco Polo does not give the name of the city. In Assemani's *Bibliotheca Orientalis* Kuwáshir and Bardashir are mentioned as separate cities, the latter being probably the old Mashiz, which as early as A.H. 582 (A.D. 1186) is spoken of in the History of Kermán as an important town. The Nestorian bishop of the province Kermán, who stood under the Metropolitan of Fars, resided at Hormúz.

Chapter XVIII.—Of Marco Polo's itinerary southwards I shall speak later on. Marco Polo's apples of paradise are more probably the fruits of the Konár tree. There are no

¹ See *Ferhang i Anjuman Ará*, *sab voce* Kuwáshir.

² *Journ. R.A.S. N.S. Vol. VII. 1875, p. 244.*

plantains in that part of the country. Turtle-doves, now as then, are plentiful, and as they are seldom shot, and said by the people to be unwholesome food, we can understand Marco Polo's saying that the people do not eat them. White oxen, with short thick horns and a round hump between the shoulders, are now very rare between Kermán and Bender 'Abbás. They are, however, still to be found towards Belúchistán and Mekrán, and they kneel to be loaded like camels. The sheep which I saw had fine large tails; I did not, however, hear of any having so high a weight as thirty pounds.

The magical darkness might, as Col. Yule supposes, be explained by the curious dry fogs or dust storms, often occurring in the neighbourhood of Kermán, but it must be remarked that Marco Polo was caught in one of these storms down in Jíruft, where, according to the people I questioned, such storms now never occur. On the 29th of September, 1879, at Kermán, a high wind began to blow from S.S.W. at about 5 p.m. First there came thick heavy clouds of dust with a few drops of rain. The heavy dust then settled down, the lighter particles remained in the air, forming a dry fog of such density that large objects, like houses, trees, etc., could not even faintly be distinguished at a distance of a hundred paces. The barometers suffered no change, the three I had with me remained in statu quo. In the following table will be seen a record of the meteorological observations taken at the time.

TIME. p.m. h. m.	HYGROMETER.		BAROMETER.	
	dry bulb.	wet bulb. Fahrenheit.		
5·30	70°	540·5	24"·35	thickest fog.
6·30	69°	570	24"·375	wind and fog greatly diminished.
7·0	—	—	—	wind ceased.
8·0	65°	58°	24"·39	clear and calm.
10·15	63°	57°	24"·40	" "

Chapters XVII. to XIX.—The itinerary from Kermán to Hormúz and back.

Only two of the many routes between Kermán and Bender

'Abbás coincide more or less with Marco Polo's description. These two routes are the one over the Deh Bekrí pass, and the one *viâ* Sárdú. The latter is the one I think taken by Marco Polo. The more direct roads to the west are for the greater part through mountainous country, and have not twelve stages in plains which we find enumerated in Marco Polo's itinerary. The road *viâ* Báft, Urzú, and the Zendán pass, for instance, has only four stages in plains, the road *viâ* Ráhbúr, Rúdbár and the Nevergún pass only six, and the road *viâ* Sírján also only six.

The Deh Bekrí route (Lieut.-Col. R. M. Smith, R.E., 1866) is as follows: six marches through plains to the top of the Deh Bekrí pass, two days' descent to Jíruft, six days' plain to the Nevergún pass, one descent, two days' plain to the sea; seventeen days' march in all.

The Sárdú route, which seems to me to be the one followed by Marco Polo, has five stages through fertile and populous plains to Sarvízean	5
One day's march ascends to the top of the Sarvízean pass	1
Two days' descent to Ráhjird, a village close to the ruins of old Jíruft, now called Shehr i Daqíanús	2
Six days' march over the "vast plain" of Jíruft and Rúdbár to Fariáb, joining the Deh Bekrí route at Kerímábád, one stage south of the Shehr-i-Daqíanús	6
One day's march through the Nevergún pass to Shamíl, descending.....	1
Two days' march through the plain to Bender 'Abbás or Hormúz.....	2

In all 17

The Sárdú road enters the Jíruft plain at the ruins of the old city, the Deh Bekrí route does so at some distance to the eastward. The first six stages performed by Marco Polo in seven days go through fertile plains and past numerous villages. Regarding the cold, "which you can scarcely abide," Marco Polo does not speak of it as existing on the mountains only; he says, "from the city of Kermán to this descent the cold in winter is very great," that is, from

Kermán to near Jíruft. The winter at Kermán itself is fairly severe; from the town the ground gradually but steadily rises, the absolute altitudes of the passes crossing the mountains to the south varying from 8,000 to 11,000 feet. These passes are up to the month of March always very cold, in one it froze slightly in the beginning of June. The Sárdú pass lies lower than the others. The name is Sárdú, not Sardú from sard, 'cold.'

The city Camadi, "of little consequence," was most likely the town Jíruft. Camadi is a contraction of Kahn-i-Muhammedí, the canal or watercourse of Muhammed. The principal place of the Urzú district at present is called Kanemedí, written Kahn-i-Muhammedí. In Jíruft and Rúdbár we often find names of villages with the word Kahn in them, we also find the diminutives Kahnú and Kahnúj. Marco Polo perhaps put up at a caravanserai or village close to Jíruft, and not at the town itself. It often happens that travellers put up outside of a town for the sake of good water, the resting place, be it caravanserai or village or suburb, being generally named after the watercourse running near or through it.

The Jíruft and Rúdbár plains belong to the germsír (hot region), dates, pistachios, and konars (apples of paradise) abound in them. Reobarles is Rúdbár or Rúdbáris.

Marco Polo's Conosalmi, where he was attacked by robbers and lost the greater part of his men, is perhaps the ruined town or village Kamasal (Kahn-i-asal=the honey canal), near Kahnúj-i-pancheh and Vakílábád in Jíruft. It lies on the direct road between Shehr-i-Daqiánús (Camadi) and the Nevergún pass. The road goes in an almost due southerly direction. The Nevergún pass accords with Marco Polo's description of it; it is very difficult, on account of the many great blocks of sandstone scattered upon it. Its proximity to the Bashakird mountains and Mekrán easily accounts for the prevalence of robbers, who infested the place in Marco Polo's time. At the end of the pass lies the large village Shamíl, with an old fort; the distance thence to the site of Hormúz or Bender 'Abbas (lying more to the west) is 52

miles, two days' march. The climate of Bender 'Abbás is very bad, strangers speedily fall sick, two of my men died there, all the others were seriously ill. The date *wine* with spices is not now made at Bender 'Abbás. Date arrack, however, is occasionally found. At Kermán a sort of wine or arrack is made with spices and alcohol, distilled from sugar; it is called Má-ul-Háyát (water of life), and is recommended as an aphrodisiac.

Grain in the Shamíl plain is harvested in April, dates are gathered in August.

Marco Polo's return journey was, I am inclined to think, *viâ* Urzú and Báft, the shortest and most direct road. The road *viâ* Tárum and Sírján is very seldom taken by travellers intending to go to Kermán; it is only frequented by the caravans going between Bender 'Abbás and Bahrámábád, three stages west of Kermán. Hot springs, "curing itch," I noticed at two places on the Urzú-Báft road. There were some near Qal'ah Asgher and others near Dashtáb; they were frequented by people suffering from skin diseases, and were highly sulphureous; the water of those near Dashtáb turned a silver ring black after two hours' immersion. Another reason of my advocating the Urzú road is that the bitter bread spoken of by Marco Polo is only found on it, viz. at Báft and in Bardshír. In Sírján, to the west, and on the roads to the east, the bread is sweet. The bitter taste is from the Khúr, a bitter leguminous plant, which grows among the wheat, and whose grains the people are too lazy to pick out. There is not a single oak between Bender 'Abbás and Kermán; none of the inhabitants seemed to know what an acorn was. A person at Báft, who had once gone to Kerbelá *viâ* Kermansháh and Baghdád, recognized my sketch of tree and fruit immediately, having seen oak and acorn between Kermansháh and Qasr-i-Shírín on the Baghdád road.

Chapters XX. and XXI.—The present road from Kermán to Kúbenán, is to Zerend about 50 miles, to the Sar i Benán 15 miles, thence to Kúbenán 30 miles, total 95 miles. Marco Polo cannot have taken the direct road to Kúbenán, as it took him seven days to reach it. As he speaks of waterless deserts, he

probably took a circuitous route to the east of the mountains, *viâ* Kúhpáyeh and the desert lying to the north of Khabís.

The name Tútíá for collyrium is now not used in Kermán. Tútíá, when the name stands alone, is sulphate of copper, which in other parts of Persia is known as Kát-i-Kebúd; Tútíá-i-sabz (green Tútíá) is sulphate of iron, also called Záj-i-siyah. A piece of Tútíá-i-zard (yellow Tútíá) shown to me was alum, generally called Záj-i-safíd; and a piece of Tútíá-i-safíd (white Tútíá) seemed to be an argillaceous zinc ore. Either of these may have been the earth mentioned by Marco Polo as being put into the furnace. The lampblack used as collyrium is always called Surmah. This at Kermán itself is the soot produced by the flame of wicks, steeped in castor oil or goats' fat, upon earthenware saucers. In the high mountainous districts of the province, Kúbenán, Páriz and others, Surmah is the soot of the Gavan plant (Garcia's goan). This plant, a species of *Astragalus*, is on those mountains very fat and succulent; from it also exudes the *Tragacanth* gum. The soot is used dry as an eye-powder, or, mixed with tallow, as an eye-salve. It is occasionally collected on iron gratings.

Tútíá is the Arabicised word dúdhá, Persian for smokes.

The Shems-ul-loghát calls Tútíá a medicine for eyes, and a stone used for the fabrication of Surmah. The Tohfeh says Tútíá is of three kinds, yellow and blue mineral Tútíá, Tútíá-i-qalam (collyrium) made from roots, and Tútíá resulting from the process of smelting copper ore. "The best Tútíá-i-qalam comes from Kermán;" it adds, "Some authors say Surmah is sulphuret of antimony, others say it is a composition of iron;" I should say any *black* composition used for the eyes is Surmah, be it lampblack, antimony, iron, or a mixture of all.

Texeira's Tútíá was an impure oxide of zinc, perhaps the above-mentioned Tútíá-i-safíd, baked into cakes; it was probably the East India Company's Lapis Tútíá, also called Tutty. The Company's Tutenague and Tutenage, occasionally confounded with Tutty, was the so-called "Chinese Copper," an alloy of copper, zinc, and iron, brought from China.

ART. XXI.—*Two Malay Myths: the Princess of the Foam, and the Raja of the Bamboo.* By W. E. MAXWELL, Esq., M.R.A.S.

IN the thirteenth century A.D. the Muhammadan religion spread from India to the Malay Archipelago. Many centuries before, the commerce which was carried on between India and the Eastern Islands had been the means of familiarizing the inhabitants of the latter with the tenets of Brahmanism. These had taken root among them, at all events, wherever monarchies were established on the Hindu pattern, and had, to some extent, modified the nature or demon-worship which had previously been the sole religion of the Malay tribes. When the religion of Muhammad was established in the western regions, from which commercial intercourse was carried on with the Eastern Archipelago, it made its way gradually eastward. The Hindu rulers of petty Malay States in Sumatra and in the Peninsula of Malacca became converts, and the movement spread thenceforward uninterruptedly. At the present day all the Malay communities in reasonably accessible localities have embraced the Muhammadan religion. Some have been Muslims for centuries; among others, the adoption of this faith has been a comparatively recent event. Some Malay races, like the Dayaks of Borneo and the Battaks of Sumatra, still cling to their primitive beliefs and customs.

Owing to their geographical position, Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula have always been peculiarly open to Indian influences, and they would naturally be early affected by any religious or political movement working from India eastward. Muhammadan civilization, therefore, in those countries dates from an earlier period than in regions further east. The Malays adopted the alphabet of Indian or Persian Muham-

madans (a modification in some respects of the genuine Arabic alphabet), and a fairly copious Malay literature exists written in this character.

Translations of Javanese romances, with accounts of the marvellous adventures of the heroes of the Râmâyana and Mahâbhârata, are of little interest. Still less attractive are modern translations of Hindi and Tamil stories, and of Arabic works on law and religion. Purely Malayan literature consists of a few short historical works, some codes of native laws, and a certain amount of anonymous poetry.

Malay historical works are valuable chiefly because they preserve some of the early legends which are current orally all over the Archipelago from Sumatra to the Philippines. They are the works of Muhammadan Malays, who, at the time they wrote, collected all the traditions current about the particular state or kingdom they were describing. They relate as historical facts, which they no doubt believed to belong to the history of their early kings, incidents and adventures purely mythical, the origin of which it is not difficult to trace in aboriginal traditions common to most Malay tribes. In this paper I propose to collect, for the purpose of comparison, a number of different versions of a myth which is very widely spread. The identity of the ideas underlying the rude legends of heathen islanders and the more ornate narratives of Muhammadan chroniclers will not, I think, be questioned.

Starting first with the more civilized Malay States of the north, I take the following narrative from a history of Kedah:¹

Kedah.—The early history of Kedah is found in a Malay chronicle called *Hakayat Marong Mahawangsa*, or *Hakayat Raja Ber-seong*, which has been translated into English.² Though evidently the work of a Muhammadan, it abounds with supernatural details, many of these being palpably of Hindu origin. The incident to which I wish to call atten-

¹ Sometimes (following the Portuguese orthography) spelt *Queda* and *Quedah*. The most northerly of the Malay States on the western side of the Peninsula of Malacca.

² Journ. Ind. Arch. vol. iii. p. 1.

tion occurs in the account of the reign of the sixth Kafir Raja of Kedah, Raja Pra-ong Maha Potisat.

"The Raja set out with his four ministers (*mantri*), and hunted as he travelled, securing an immense quantity of game. One day at noon they all stopped to rest themselves after the fatigue of hunting, and the King rested for a while on the elephant on which he was mounted. While thus seated he happened to see a house, which was inhabited by an old man and his wife, and he noticed that one bamboo¹ out of a number which were growing there was leaning against the side of the house. This bamboo was slender both at the bottom and at the top, but in the middle it was as thick as the body of a deer. The King ordered it to be cut down, and he took it back with him to his fort, greatly pleased with his acquisition. . . .

"The bamboo which has already been mentioned had been placed by the King near his own bed, for his affection for it was so great he could not bear to be parted from it. With every successive month its bulk increased, until at length one day, at an auspicious moment, it burst, and there came forth from it a male child of most beautiful form and features. Every one was struck with wonder and amazement at seeing a human child issue from the bamboo. Raja Pra-ong Maha Potisat at once took the child and ordered him to be carefully nourished and brought up, and treated him as his own son, assigning to him nurses and attendants. And he called him Raja Bentangan Betong.² . . .

"One day a very heavy flood swept down the Kwala Muda river, and the Queen-consort of Raja Ber-seong,³ on going down to the bank, saw a small hillock drifting down the stream from the upper reaches. It looked exceedingly beautiful as it approached, for it was quite white; but, when it came close, it was apparent it was not a hill, but a

¹ *Buluh betong*, a particular kind of bamboo.

² According to Col. Low's version, *Raja Buluh Betong*, Journ. Ind. Arch. vol. iii. p. 468.

³ "The tusked Raja," a nickname of Raja Pra-ong Maha Potisat. The Kedah capital, according to this narrative, was then at Bukit Mariam on the north bank of the Kwala Muda river.

mass of sea-foam. Then the Queen went down into the water and looked closely at it, and took hold of it with her hands. On doing this she found a female child in the midst of the foam, which she carried home to the palace. The child was named by the Queen '*Putri Bahana Kirana*,'¹ and she was brought up by the Queen as her own daughter, and nurses and attendants were assigned to her. Raja Pra-ong Maha Potisat was greatly pleased with the beauty of the child, which resembled that of *Indra* and of the *dewa-dewa*; and, when she was dressed by the Queen in apparel suitable for the children of kings, her loveliness was enhanced more and more."²

The chronicler afterwards, in describing the various events of the reign of Pra-ong Maha Potisat (who was the last pagan ruler of Kedah, his successor being converted to the faith of Islam), relates the marriage of these two supernatural persons, whose subsequent histories are by no means in keeping with the commencement of their lives. The princess is unfaithful to her husband, and disappears from the story after giving birth to an illegitimate son. Raja Bentangan Betong dies of wounds received in battle, leaving no children.

Perak.—The chief incidents in the foregoing narrative are found, *mutatis mutandis*, in the traditionary account of the founding of the kingdom of Perak.³ The following is a translation of the local legend current among the people of that state. It is not found in a written form:

"Baginda Dai reigned in Johor Lama.⁴ He despatched a trusted counsellor, one Nakhodah Kasim, to sail forth and look for a suitable place for a settlement, for there were plenty of willing emigrants. Nakhodah Kasim got ready a fleet of prahus and sailed up the Straits of Malacca, hugging

¹ In Col. Low's translation, *Putri Saloang*. *Kirana* as a proper name is borrowed from Javanese romances; see Van der Tuuk, Short Account of the Malay Manuscripts of the Royal Asiatic Society, p. 15.

² Translated from a MS. in my possession.

³ Perak is the second Malay State on the western side of the Peninsula counting from the north.

⁴ Johor Lama was the old capital of the State of Johor, which is the southernmost of the Malay States of the Peninsula.

the coast, till he reached Bruas (a district and river in Perak). While there, he saw that a brisk trade was being carried on between the coast and the interior, imported goods being despatched up the country and native produce brought down from the inland districts. He made inquiries and was told that there was a big river in the interior. His curiosity was now aroused and he penetrated on foot into the interior and discovered the Perak river. Here he traded, like the natives of the country, making trips up and down the river, and selling salt and tobacco¹ at the villages by the river-side. On one of these trips he reached Tumung in the north of Perak, and made fast his boat to the bank. After a few days the Semangs (Perak was not yet populated by Malays) came down from their hills to buy salt. They came loaded with the produce of their gardens, sugar-canes, plantains and edible roots and brought their wives and families with them.

"A Semang girl, while her father was bargaining at the boat, took up a sugar-cane and commenced to strip off the rind with a knife; in doing so she accidentally cut her hand. Blood issued from the wound, but what was the astonishment of all around her when they saw that its colour was not red but pure white! A report of this prodigy quickly spread from mouth to mouth, and Nakhodah Kasim landed from his boat to see it with his own eyes. It occurred to him that this was a family not to be lost sight of, he loaded the father with presents and, in a month's time, by dint of constant attentions, he had so far won the confidence of the shy Semangs that he was able to ask for the girl in marriage. The father agreed and Nakhodah Kasim and his wife settled at Kwala Tumung, where they built a house and planted fruit-trees.

"Now, the Perak river overflows its banks once a year, and sometimes there are very great floods. Soon after the marriage of Nakhodah Kasim with the white Semang, an

¹ Tobacco was first introduced into the Eastern Archipelago by the Portuguese at Malacca in the sixteenth century. Anachronisms of this kind are common in native histories.

unprecedented flood occurred and quantities of foam came down the river. Round the piles of the bathing-house, which, in accordance with Malay custom, stood in the bed of the river close to the bank in front of the house, the floating volumes of foam collected in a mass the size of an elephant. Nakhodah Kasim's wife went to bathe, and finding this island of froth in her way she attempted to move it away with a stick; she removed the upper portion of it and disclosed a female infant sitting in the midst of it enveloped all round with cloud-like foam. The child showed no fear and the white Semang, carefully lifting her, carried her up to the house, heralding her discovery by loud shouts to her husband. The couple adopted the child willingly, for they had no children, and they treated her thenceforward as their own. They assembled the villagers and gave them a feast, solemnly announcing their adoption of the daughter of the river and their intention of leaving to her everything that they possessed.

"The child was called Tan Puteh, but her father gave her the name of Teh Purba.¹ As she grew up the wealth of her foster-parents increased; the village grew in extent and population, and gradually became an important place.

"One day some Semangs were hunting at a hill near the river Plus, called Bukit Pasir Puteh, or Bukit Pelandok. They heard their dogs barking furiously, but, on following them up, found no quarry, only a large bamboo (*buluh bétong*), small at the top and bottom, and having one large thick joint, which seemed to be attracting the attention of the dogs. They split open the thick part of the stem and found in it a male child, whom they forthwith took to Nakhodah Kasim. The latter adopted him as his son, and when the two children were grown up they were betrothed, and in due time were married. The marriage was, however, merely nominal, for Tan Puteh Purba preserved her virginity, and Toh Changkat Pelandok, her husband, returned to his native district, Plus. Nakhodah Kasim at length died,

¹ *Teh*, short for *Puteh*, white; *Pūrba*, or *pūrva*, Sanskrit "first." This name is also given to the first Malay raja in the *Sajarah Malayu*.

leaving Tan Puteh mistress of the whole of Perak. As he lay dying he told her his history, how he had come from the land of Johor, of the Raja of which he was an attendant, and how he had been despatched to find a suitable place for a settlement. He declared the name of his master to be Sultan Mahmud of Johor, and with his dying breath directed that a Raja for Perak should be asked for from that country.¹

"Tan Puteh now called one of her ministers, Tan Saban, whom she had adopted in his childhood. He came of a noble family, and belonged to the district called *Tanah Merah* (Red Earth). A wife had been found for him by Tan Puteh, and he had two children, both girls. Tan Saban was commanded by his mistress to open negotiations with Johor, and this having been done, a prince of the royal house of that kingdom, who traced his descent from the old line of Menangkaban, sailed for Perak to assume the sovereignty. He brought with him the insignia of royalty, namely, the royal drums (*gandang nobat*), the pipes (*nafiri*), the flutes (*sarunei* and *bangsi*), the betel-box (*puan naga taru*), the sword (*chora mandakini*), the sword (*perbujang*), the sceptre (*kaya gamit*), the jewel (*kumala*), the '*surat chiri*,' the seal of state (*chap halilintar*), and the umbrella (*ubar-ubar*). All these were inclosed in a box called *Baninan*.

"On his way up the Perak river the new Raja stopped at Selat Lembajayan for amusement. One of his attendants happened to point out some fish in the water, and, in leaning over the boat's side to look at them, the Raja lost his crown, which fell from his head and immediately sank. His people dived in vain for it, and from that day to this no Sultan of Perak has had a crown. Near Kota Setia the Raja was received by Tan Puteh, Tan Saban and all the chief men of the country, who escorted him to Kota Lumut. Here he was formally installed as Sultan of Perak under the title of Ahamad Taj-uddin Shah, and one of the daughters of Tan Saban was given to him in marriage. It is this Raja to whom the Perak Malays popularly ascribe the political

¹ The portion of the legend with which we are chiefly concerned here, but I give the legend *in extenso*, as it has never before been published.

organization of the country under the control of chiefs of various ranks, each having definite duties to perform. After a short reign Ahamad Tajuddin Shah died, leaving one son about two years old.

"As soon as the Sultan's death was known in Johor, a nephew of his (who was afterwards known as Sultan Malik Shah) started at once for Perak. Having reached his late uncle's *cistana* (palace) at Tanah Abang, to which place the capital had been removed from Kota Lumut, he called for the nurses and attendants of the infant Raja and demanded permission to visit his young cousin. He was accordingly introduced into the prince's apartment, and seizing the child by violence broke his neck and killed him. He then seized the royal sword and other insignia and established himself as Raja under the title of Sultan Malik Shah. By degrees all the chiefs and people came in and accepted the usurper as their sovereign, with the single exception of Tan Saban, the grandfather of the murdered boy. His obstinate refusal to recognize Malik Shah led to a sanguinary war, which lasted for three years. Tan Saban was gradually driven further and further up the Perak river. He fortified numerous places on its banks, but his forts were taken one after another, and on each occasion he retreated to another stronghold. His most determined stand was made at Kota Lama, where he fortified a strong position. This was closely invested by the Sultan's forces, and a long siege ensued. During the siege an unknown warrior joined the Sultan's army. He came from Pagaruyong in Menangkaban and was the illegitimate son of the Great Sultan of that country, by a concubine. In consequence of his illegitimate birth he was driven forth from his native country, having for his sole fortune a matchlock (*istinggarda*)¹ and four bullets, on each of which was inscribed the words, 'This is the son of the

¹ Another anachronism. So, cannons are mentioned in several places in the *Thousand and One Nights*. See Lane's translation, vol. ii. p. 329, note 100. The *istinggarda* (Portuguese *espingarda*) is the old-fashioned matchlock, specimens of which may still be found in use among the Malays. In former times a bow and four arrows may probably have occupied the place given to the matchlock and bullets in this narrative.

concubine of the Raja of Pagaruyong; his name is Magat Terawis;¹ wherever this bullet falls he will become a chief.' Magat Terawis did not declare his name or origin to the Perak men, but served with them as an obscure soldier. At length, having selected an auspicious day, he asked one of the Sultan's followers to point out Tan Saban to him. This the man had no difficulty in doing, for Tan Saban was frequently to be seen on the outworks of his fort across the river dressed in garments of conspicuous colours. In the morning he wore red, at midday yellow and in the evening his clothes were green.² When he was pointed out to Magat Terawis, it was the morning, and he was dressed in red. Magat Terawis levelled his matchlock and fired, and his bullet struck Tan Saban's leg. The skin was hardly broken and the bullet fell to the ground at the chief's feet; but, on taking it up and reading the inscription, he knew that he had received his death-wound. He retired to his house, and, after ordering his flag to be hauled down, despatched a messenger to the opposite camp to call the warrior whose name he had read on the bullet. Inquiries for Magat Terawis were fruitless at first, for no one knew the name. At length he declared himself and went across the river with Tan Saban's messenger, who brought him into the presence of the dying man. The latter said to him, 'Magat Terawis, though art my son in this world and the next, and my property is thine. I likewise give thee my daughter in marriage, and do thou serve the Raja faithfully in my place, and not be rebellious as I have been.' Tan Saban then sued for the Sultan's pardon, which was granted to him, and the marriage of his daughter with Magat Terawis

¹ *Magat*, a Malay title of Sanskrit origin. *Māgadha* (Sansk.) = the son of a Vaiçya by a Kshatriya woman. In Malay *magat* is applied to a chief who is noble on one side only.

² A superstitious observance found among more than one Indo-Chinese nation. "Le général en chef doit se conformer à plusieurs coutumes et observances superstitieuses; par exemple, il faut qu'il mette une robe de couleur différente pour chaque jour de la semaine; le dimanche il s'habille en blanc, le lundi en jaune, le mardi en vert, le mercredi en rouge, le jeudi en bleu, le vendredi en noir, et le samedi en violet."—Pallegoix, *Description de Siam*, vol. i. p. 319.

Regarding the signification attached to various colours by the Turks and Arabs, see Lane's *Thousand and One Nights*, vol. ii. p. 326, note 78.

was permitted to take place. Then Tan Saban died, and he was buried with all the honours due to a Malay chief.¹ Magat Terawis was raised to the rank of a chief, and one account says that he became Bandahara.²

"Not long after this, the Sultan, taking Magat Terawis with him, ascended the Perak river to its source, in order to fix the boundary between Perak and Patani. At the foot of the mountain Titi Wangsa they found a great rock in the middle of the stream, from beneath which the water issued, and there was a wild cotton-tree upon the mountain, which bore both red and white flowers, the white flowers being on the side facing Perak, and the red ones on the side turned towards Patani. Then the Sultan climbed up upon the big rock in the middle of the river, and drawing forth his sword *Perbujang*, he smote the rock and clove it in two, so that the water ran down in one direction to Perak and in the other to Patani. This was declared to be the boundary between the two countries.

"On their return down-stream the Raja and his followers halted at Chigar Galah, where a small stream runs into the river Perak. They were struck with astonishment at finding the water of this stream as white as *santan* (the grated pulp of the cocoanut mixed with water). Magat Terawis, who was despatched to the source of the stream to discover the cause of this phenomenon, found there a large fish of the kind called *harnan* engaged in suckling her young one. She had large white breasts from which milk issued.³

"He returned and told the Raja, who called the river 'Perak' ('silver'), in allusion to its exceeding whiteness. Then he returned to Kota Lama."

¹ This legendary war of Tan Saban with the second king of Perak owes its origin probably to mythological accounts of the wars of Salivahana and Vikramaditya, which Hindu settlers, not improbably, brought to Malay countries. *Saban* is a natural corruption of Salivahana.

² *Bandahara*, treasurer (Sansk. *bhandagara*, treasure), the highest title given to a subject in a Malay State.

³ This recalls the account in Northern mythology of the four rivers which are said to flow from the teats of the cow Audhumla.

In a great many Malay myths the colour *white* is an all-important feature. In this legend we have the white Semang and the white river. In others white animals and white birds are introduced.

Palembang, Sumatra.—The "*Sajarah Malayu*," a Malay history of the Kings of Malacca, places the scene of the incident in Palembang, a district in the south of Sumatra. The following passage is translated from Dulaurier's edition of the Malay text:¹

"One day there drifted down the Palembang river from up-stream a mass of foam of great size, in which people observed a female child of exceeding beauty. News of the event was at once taken to the King, Sang Sa-purba, who directed his people to take her. She was named by the King 'Putri Tunjung Buih,'² and was adopted as his daughter and much beloved by him."

The princess mentioned here only appears once again in the narrative, when she is given in marriage by Sang Sa-purba to "a young Chinese of noble birth."

The same native work contains the bamboo myth, but it is introduced at a much later part of the narrative, and is localized on this occasion in Champa, an ancient Malay kingdom which once embraced the greater part of Cochin-China, the chief settlement being in the south-east corner.

Champa.—"There was a betel-nut tree near the palace of the Champa Raja, which blossomed and exhibited a large receptacle for fruit, but the fruit never seemed to ripen. The Raja then ordered one of his servants to climb up and see what was in the pod. He ascended accordingly, and brought down the pod, which the Raja caused to be opened, and saw in it a male child extremely handsome and beautiful. Of this pod's envelope was formed the gong named *jubang*; while a sword was made of its sharp ridge. The Champa Raja was greatly pleased at the circumstance, and named the child Raja Pogalang, and ordered him to be suckled by all the wives of the *rajas* and *paramantris*, but the child would not suck. The Champa Raja had a cow whose hair was of the five colours, and which had lately calved, and they suckled the child with the milk of this cow. This is the reason that Champa never eats the cow nor kills it.

¹ Collection des Principales Chroniques Malayes; Paris, 1849.

² "Princess Lotus-of-the-Foam."

Raja Pogalang grew up, and the Raja of Champa gave him his daughter Pobeia to wife. After a short time, the Champa Raja died, and Pogalang succeeded to the throne. After he had reigned for a considerable time, he founded a great city, which included seven hills within its bounds. The extent of the fort was a day's sail in each of its four sides with sails full distended with the breeze. The name of this city was Bal, which in a certain *cheritra* is named Metakah, the city of Raja Subal, the son of Raja Kedail."¹

West Coast of Borneo.—In Western Borneo kindred legends are current. The following extract is from a recent work,² the author of which quotes the authority of Vette, "Borneo's Wester Afdeling":

"Brawidjaja,³ of the royal house of Majapahit, suffered from an infectious disease, and to prevent contagion was domiciled in a floating house or raft. A violent tempest tore the raft loose from its moorings, and carried the prince far out to sea, where he was exposed to great danger. The current drifted him to the mouth of the Pawan river (called Katapan) on the west coast of Borneo. The prince benefited greatly by the sea-voyage, bathed daily in the river, a small fish, with the head of a cat, called '*adong*,' or '*blanguting*,' aiding materially his speedy return to convalescence by repeatedly licking his feet, while an alligator, called *Sarasa*, provided for his daily wants.

"When convalescent the prince went hunting with two dogs he had brought with him. One day the dogs, barking furiously, stopped before a thick bamboo stem, into which the prince, after a long scrutiny, stuck his spear. This being withdrawn, there sprang to view from the opening a

¹ Malay Annals, Leyden, p. 208.

² Jottings amongst the Land Dyaks of Upper Sarawak, Denison, Singapore, 1879.

³ *Brawidjaja* is the Dutch spelling. *Bra-vijaya* would be more correct according to our ideas. This is perhaps a corruption of Brahma-vijaya (*vijaya* Sansk. victory). It is noteworthy that the first sovereign in Ceylon history is Wijayo or Vijaya, and it would be interesting to ascertain if anything corresponding in any degree to this legend is to be found in Sinhalese chronicles. Unfortunately, no copy of Turnour's Mahawanso is at hand for reference in the remote State in the Malay Peninsula in which these lines are penned. Raffles mentions five sovereigns of Majapahit in Java named *Browijaya* (History of Java, vol. ii. p. 85, 2nd ed.).

beautiful princess, who, throwing herself at the feet of Brawidjaja, besought him to spare her and the bamboo.

"The prince bore Putri Butan (Betong?), as she was called, to his raft, imploring her to share his lot with him, and it may be inferred he had not long to sigh in vain. Brawidjaja had found no other sign of the presence of human beings, except that here and there wood had been cut. He therefore again ascended the river some days journey further up, but with the like result, till, at last, as he returned at a rapid pace, a water-flower shot up suddenly above the stream, from whence a whisper issued asking, 'Brawidjaja, what news bring you from the upper country?'

"Dropping his paddle the prince seized the flower with both hands; it opened, and the princess Lindong Buah (Buih?) stood before him. The same scene was now enacted as with Putri Butan; the prince obtained two wives, who appear to have lived together in peace without jealousy, sharing between them the proofs of his affection."

Banjarmasin, South-east of Borneo.—With certain changes in the names of persons and places, the same story is related in other parts of Borneo. According to a Malay manuscript belonging to the Academy of Batavia, the first prince of Banjarmasin was one Maharaja Surya Nata, who married Putri Jungjung (Tunjung?) Buih, a princess who had miraculously sprung from the waves. He obtained this nymph at the prayer of Limbong Mengkurat, whose father, Ampu Jat Maka, had established a Hindu colony on the river Negara or Bahan.¹

Current in a legendary form long before the days of written records, these traditions have kept their places in the minds of the Malays, ready, like most uncivilized races, to associate with the history of their earliest rulers all kinds of supernatural incidents. Comparison clearly proves their mythical character, and, as we examine their details, the film of history which thinly disguises them gradually disappears, and we recognize myths which have a larger application

¹ De Backer, *L'Archipel Indien*, p. 98; *Tijdschrift voor Ind. Taal*, 1860, p. 93, and 1863, p. 501.

than simple incidents in the history of an obscure Malay State could pretend to. The river-born damsel first demands attention.

Greek mythology, as well as that of India, has made us familiar with the myth of the goddess whose birth-place is the foam of the sea. If a faint reflex of the conception which originated Aphroditê and Lakshmi is before us in this Malay story, it must be admitted that it comes shorn of all poetical associations. The laughter-loving goddess of the Greeks and the beloved of Çiva, who gives prosperity to her worshippers, have nothing in common with the child of the Malay river except the place of their birth, the foam. The days when the ancestors of the modern Malays may possibly have worshipped Lakshmi, the favourite goddess of a sea-faring people, belong to a remote past, of which we have no records. In legends like these, however, it is not unreasonable to hope to find vestiges of a former faith and worship.

Two of the stories above quoted connect the lotus with the river-born princess; in the Palembang legend her name is *Tunjung-buih*,¹ "Lotus of the foam," and in the West Borneo legend she is described as springing from a "water-flower." These circumstances are strongly suggestive of the Hindu goddess Lakshmi, "who dwells in the water-lily."

The myth of the Princess of the river is altogether separate and distinct from that of the Raja of the bamboo, though the two are often found connected or confused one with the other. The Aryan origin of the former is supported by the fact that it is current only in the more civilized Malay States, which have undoubtedly been largely influenced by Brahmanism. The latter is much more widely extended, and is found among wild tribes who have been wholly unaffected by Hindu influences. It has originated from an ancient (Turanian) belief as to the mode of the creation of mankind.

The mythological account of the birth of Lakshmi presented to the Malays of Sumatra—who were probably

¹ *Tunjung*, lotus, is found both in Malay and Javanese.

the first to come in contact with Aryans—certain points of resemblance to their own legendary explanation of the origin of man; and, as the former gradually took its place among their beliefs, they confused it with the latter, and (as in the Kedah and Perak legends) often made the two personages man and wife. Borneo, as well as the Straits of Malacca, possesses the Aryan legend, the Sanskrit word *vijaya* in the name of the hero of the story sufficiently showing to what quarter it must be ascribed.

In the traditions to be hereafter quoted the bamboo myth alone appears. This conception, as above stated, originally explained the manner of the peopling of the earth by the human race;¹ in a later stage of development it became associated with the advent of particular Rajas. It appears in beliefs held by the wild tribes of the Malay Peninsula, who are known in different localities by different names,—Benua, Semang, Sakei, Jakun, Udai, Mantra, Besis, Alas, Akei, etc. It may be traced also in the traditionary accounts of the creation handed down by tribes in Sumatra and in islands as far east as the Philippines.

The Orang Benua of the Malay Peninsula.—A writer who made the wild tribes of the Peninsula the subject of scientific observation and study² gives the following abstract of the traditions of the Benua :

“The ground on which we stand is not solid. It is merely the skin of the earth (“kulit bumi”). In ancient times Pirmán broke up this skin, so that the world was destroyed and overwhelmed with water. Afterwards he caused *Gunong*, *Lulúmut*, with *Chimúndang* and *Béchuak*,³ to rise, and this low land which we inhabit was formed later. . . . After *Lulúmut* had emerged, a *prahu* of *pulai* wood, covered over and without any opening, floated on the waters. In this *Pirmán*⁴ had inclosed a man and a woman whom he

¹ “The idea of deducing the origin of animals and men from eggs or seeds is an obvious conceit, and so well suited to the infant state of philosophy that we can account for its origin and extension.”—Prichard, *Egyptian Mythology*, p. 169.

² Logan, *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. i. p. 278.

³ Mountains in Johor.

⁴ The Deity of the Benua.

had made. After the lapse of some time the *prahu* was neither directed with nor against the current, nor driven to and fro. The man and woman, feeling it to rest motionless, nibbled their way through it, stood on the dry ground, and beheld this our world. At first, however, everything was obscure. There was neither morning nor evening, because the sun had not yet been made. When it became light they saw seven *sindúdo* trees and seven plants of *rumpút sámbán*. They then said to each other, 'In what condition are we without children or grandchildren?' Some time afterwards the woman became pregnant, not however in her womb, but in the calves of her legs. From the right leg was brought forth a male and from the left a female child. Hence it is that the issue of the same womb cannot intermarry. All mankind are the descendants of the two children of the first pair. When men had much increased, *Pirmán* looked down upon them with pleasure, and reckoned their numbers."

Further on the supernatural origin of the ancient line of kings of the Benua is related:

"When *Pirmán* saw that the land abounded in men, he considered it necessary to send a king to rule over them. One day the sound of a human voice was heard to proceed from a bamboo. It was split open, and the 'Rajah Benua' stepped out."

The author adds, "The kind of invention or imagination displayed in the traditions respecting the origin of man and the advent of the Raja Benua is similar to that exhibited in traditions found in different parts of Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, and other islands of the Archipelago. The incidents are different, but the character of the inventions is the same."

Turning now to a locality sufficiently distant from the land of the Benua, a group of islands off the west coast of Sumatra, we find again the prominent characteristic of the same tradition, namely, the generation of human life from the interior of a closed receptacle. A Dutch official, who visited the Mantawe Islands in 1847 and 1849, gives the

following account of the belief of the inhabitants respecting their origin :¹

Mantawe Islands.—"When these islands were still waste and unoccupied by man, and served only as the haunts of evil spirits, it happened once that a *sinetu* (or malevolent spirit) went out to fish. Having cast his net into the water, he brought up from the deep, in one of his first hauls, a bamboo case closed on all sides. Curious to see the contents, he opened it, and to his amazement there emerged from it four small human forms, which exposed to the light of day immediately grew to the ordinary stature of mankind. Delighted with this unlooked-for acquisition, the spirit would have taken the four men with him, considering them as his lawful property. They, however, not relishing this, ran away from him, and so effectually hid themselves that he lost all trace of them. Tired with his fruitless search he fell asleep, his head still filled with his wonderful draught, no wonder then that he dreamt of it. He beheld, amongst other things, his four men busy at a certain place cleaning the high forest and turning up the ground, on which he presently saw all kinds of fruit-bearing trees and plants planted and flourishing. The four fugitives had dreamt the same dream, and on awaking were astonished to find all the fruits and plants of their dream-land lying beside them. For the spirit, who had soon awoke, by following the indications of the place given in his dream, had succeeded in tracing his runaways, and, while they were still asleep, had gathered and placed beside them all the fruits. The four wanderers, acting on the suggestions which had thus been made to them, set to work, and after they had planted and sowed, all the plants immediately became full grown and bore blossoms and fruit. To protect these from vermin the spirit changed himself into an iguana, without the four men being aware of it, and placed himself in one of the surrounding trees to keep his watch. It had not lasted long when a

¹ Rosenberg, "De Mantawei-eilanden en hunne Bewoners" (*Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, Jaarg. 1, Afl. vi. vii. 1853); Logan, *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. ix. p. 289.

very large monkey came out of the jungle, who, in spite of the presence of the iguana, eat up the greater portion of the fruit. The men on their return, finding their loss and seeing the iguana on a tree, asked him if he had done the mischief, when he told how it had happened. Two of the men, however, discrediting his story, seized, slew, and eat him. They had hardly finished their repast when they fell lifeless as a punishment for their disbelief and cruelty. Their corpses sank into the ground, and from the spot there sprang up the Ipu tree, from the leaves of which the Mantaweans afterwards learned to prepare the poison for their arrows. The two survivors, husband and wife, lived long and happily, and were the progenitors of the Mantaweans."

It is not necessary to dwell now on the details of this singular growth of fable; it is sufficient to show by the presence of the bamboo-myth in the Mantawe tradition a probable community of origin between the inhabitants of those islands and those of other Malay countries.

Lampung, S. Sumatra.—Further south, the people of Lampung, at the southernmost extremity of Sumatra, explain their origin in a similar way. They say that their first law-giver was a fugitive prince of the royal family of Majapahit, named Naga Bisang. Some declare themselves to be the descendants of this Naga Bisang and a *bidyadari* or nymph; others carry back their origin to an egg which was divided into compartments, each compartment containing a couple of each race known to them.¹

Among other points of similarity between the nations of the Philippine Islands and those of the inland parts of Sumatra (especially where they differ most from the Malays) noticed by Marsden,² the appearance of this same myth receives a share of attention. It is impossible not to agree with the author that "no doubt can be entertained, if not of a sameness of origin, at least of an intercourse and connexion in former times, which now no longer exists."

¹ De Backer, *L'Archipel Indien*, p. 39; *Tijdschrift, etc.*, 1856, t. ii. pp. 353, 358.

² *History of Sumatra*, p. 302.

Philippine Islands.—"The *Tagalas*," writes Marsden,¹ "say that the first man and woman were produced from a bamboo, which burst in the island of *Sumatra*; and they quarrelled about their marriage."

Another authority quoted by Marsden² gives a more detailed account of the Tagala belief just noticed:

"Their notions of the creation of the world, and formation of mankind, had something ridiculously extravagant. They believed that the world at first consisted only of sky and water, and between these two a *glede*; which, weary with flying about, and finding no place to rest, set the water at variance with the sky, which, in order to keep it in bounds, and that it should not get uppermost, loaded the water with a number of islands, in which the *glede* might settle and leave them at peace. Mankind, they said, sprang out of a large cave with two joints, that, floating about in the water, was at length thrown by the waves against the feet of the *glede* as it stood on shore, which opened it with its bill, and the man came out of one joint and the woman out of the other. These were soon after married by consent of their god, *Bathala Meycapal*, which caused the first trembling of the earth; and from thence are descended the different nations of the world."

Celebes.—The island of Celebes furnishes a parallel story. The following extract from a native history (the Galigas of the Bugis) is taken from Raffles' History of Java:—

"*Bitara Guru* was the eldest son of *Dewata Pitutu* by *Dewa Paleng'i*, and inhabited the seventh heaven. *Dewata Pitutu* had a brother called *Guru Reslang*, who held the rule of the region under the earth. *Dewata Pitutu* had nine children in all.

"When *Bitara Guru* was sent down upon earth by his father, *Dewata Pitutu*, he was provided with the following articles, viz. *Telating pèba*, *Siri ataka*, *Jelarsa*, *Wampung*, *Wanu*, *Chachu-bana*.

¹ Quoting an essay preserved by *Thevenot*, entitled *Relation des Philippines par un religieux; traduite d'un manuscrit Espagnol du cabinet de Mons. Dom. Carlo del Pezzo*.

² A. Dalrymple, author of the "Oriental Repertory."

"From these, which were scattered about, everything living and dead, in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, which are to be found in the country of *Lawat*, originated. Preparatory to this, *Dewata Pitutu*, having compounded a medicine, of which the juice of chewed betel was an ingredient, rubbed *Bitara Guru* all over with it, which immediately occasioned him to swoon. *Dewata Pitutu* then put his son into a hollow bamboo, and having rolled this up in a piece of cloth and caused the gates of the sky to be opened, he hurling sent down his son to earth amidst a tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, wind, and rain, which arose on that occasion. Having reached about half-way between the earth and sky, *Bitara Guru* (dreadfully alarmed at the situation he was in) threw abroad all the articles which had been given to him, agreeably to the instructions of his sire. After his arrival on the earth, *Bitara Guru* remained for three days and three nights shut up in the bamboo without food or drink. By his exertions, however, the bamboo at last burst, when getting out he wandered through the woods till he came to the side of a river, where he met with a king of the gods dressed in yellow. One night there arose a violent storm of thunder, lightning, wind and rain. On its clearing up there was seen a fine country, with a superb palace and forts, and houses, etc., of the most beautiful structure. In this beautiful country *Bitara Guru* sat himself down as sovereign and gave it the name of *Lawat*."

The following legend comes also from a district in Celebes :—

"Between the province of Makassar and that of Minahassa lies the state of Bolaang-Mongondoun.¹ Its population numbers about thirty thousand souls, and is composed of five races who acknowledge as their founder one Boudo Langin, supposed to have been of Hindu origin. Local tradition relates that he married a beautiful young girl named Sandilang, and had by her two children. The elder,

¹ The Dutch mode of spelling is preserved.

a daughter named Salamatiti, dreamed five times successively that she was about to become a mother, and truly enough one day she was delivered of a magnificent egg, in which were reflected all the colours of the rainbow. This egg was concealed close to a clear and transparent stream, and there issued forth from it one morning a young man skilled in the manufacture of weapons, and of the most enlightened intellect. He was called Mokododoudout.

"About the same time an old man heard a singular noise in the interior of a *buluh-kuning* (yellow bamboo); he split it open, and the beautiful Putri Bonia came forth from it. Mokododoudout met this lovely damsel in a wood, and took her as his wife. From this union sprang the race of the Orang Bolaang, a name which signifies 'men of beyond the seas.'"¹

Nusa-lant, Amboyna.—In a note appended to a vocabulary of peculiar words met with in the Malay dialect of Amboyna,² the author gives in Malay the history of the early settlement of Nusa-lant, an island of the Amboyna group, from the recital of a native chief. Here, again, the incident which seems to be inseparable from all aboriginal Malay traditions appears in a somewhat altered form. The following is a translated extract from Van Hoëvell's account:

"It happened once that the chief *Latoemanoe* descended from the mountain and went to the beach at *Amahoetai* to net fish. When he threw his casting-net into the salt water, he brought up no fish, but merely a cocoanut. This *Latoemanoe* took, intending to carry it back with him to his settlement, but he forgot it, and left it on the beach. On a subsequent occasion he again went down to the sea-shore to get some salt water, and he then found the cocoanut had become a tree on which were some green fruit. On looking up into the tree he saw a young male child sucking from one of the cocoanuts. He returned at once to the mountain

¹ De Backer, *L'Archipel Indien*, p. 88; *Tijdschrift voor Ind. Taal*, p. 267.

² *Vocabularium van vreemde woorden voorkomende in het Ambonsch-Maleisch*, door Van Hoëvell; Dordrecht, 1876.

Ama-oena, and having collected all his followers, he went down to the shore and took the child from the cocoanut tree, and carried him back to the settlement on the mountain. When the child grew up the people made him their Raja, and called him *Latoe Moetihoe*."

The Kayans of Borneo.—The only remaining kindred legends which I shall quote belong to the wild tribes of Borneo. At Bulugan, bounded on the east by the sea and on the south by the river Karan-Tigu, near the cape Jarum, a tradition states the god of thunder, Belaniyap, once created a man, Alang-Bilung, and caused to issue forth from a tree an egg which inclosed a woman, Suri-Lemloi. These two persons begot the race of Dayak-Kayan, whom the Segais attacked and brought under the sway of the chiefs of Bulangan.¹

The Dayaks of Borneo.—In the cosmogony of the Dayaks the earth is supported on the head of a snake called Nagapusai. Batu-Jumpa, son of the supreme deity Hatalla, saw upon the snake two eggs. He descended from heaven and broke them, and a man and a woman issued forth from them. These married, and had seven sons and seven daughters, from whom the inhabitants of the world, the sea, and the air are descended.²

Here, then, in the rude traditional beliefs common to the races of the Eastern Archipelago, a geographical expression including twenty-five degrees of latitude, we have the conception from which sprung the legends preserved to us by the Muhammadan historians of Malay States. In the latter, metaphysical ideas have altogether disappeared, and the main incident survives, incorporated in the history of human adventures. No longer accepted as a superstitious belief, it has been unconsciously retained as an historical episode.

It is interesting to notice that in Borneo, as in the Peninsula, the more civilized communities have both myths, while

¹ De Backer, *L'Archipel Indien*, p. 44; *Tijdschrift voor Ind. Taal*, 1855, t. i. p. 75.

² De Backer, *L'Archipel Indien*, p. 280; *Tijdschrift voor Ind. Taal*, 1846, t. iii. p. 133. This Dayak tradition resembles closely the belief of the Battaks of Sumatra.

the purely savage tribes have only that relating to the bamboo or egg. The Malays have their foam-born princess as well as their Raja of the *bukuh bétong*, but the wild Benua of the interior of the Peninsula own the latter only. So in Borneo, in ancient settlements on the coast, legends like that of Bra-vijaya are current, whereas the uncivilized Dayak and Kayan tribes (though the bamboo myth has a place in their traditions) know nothing of the more poetical legend of the princess who emerged from the foam or lotus. The limited diffusion of the latter conception tends to confirm and establish the theory which ascribes to it an Aryan origin. Its presence invariably denotes that Hindu civilization has penetrated to the locality in which it is found.

The sudden production of completely developed *life* from the interior of a closed cylindrical object is a conception very similar to, though quite distinct from, the ancient theory of the creation of the *world* from the divided portions of an egg. Both are found among Malay races, but the first is Turanian, and the second of Aryan importation. I have found in Perak in the writings of *Pawangs*, or medicine-men who practise a regular system of Shamanism, a legend approaching very nearly to that contained in the *Manek Maya* of Java. This work, which contains much of the ancient mythology of the Javanese, describes how Sang Yang Wisesa (the all-powerful) existed before the heavens and earth were created. He saw a ball suspended over him, and on his laying hold of it, it separated into three parts; one part became the heavens and earth, another became the sun and moon, and the third was man.¹

The archetype of this fable is found in Hindu mythology, the resemblance of which in this particular respect to certain beliefs of Grecian and Egyptian antiquity has been long since pointed out.²

¹ Raffles, Hist. of Java, vol. ii. Appendix H.

"In the egg the great power sat inactive a whole year of the Creator, at the close of which by his thought alone he caused the egg to divide itself.

"And from its two divisions he framed the heavens above and the earth beneath; in the midst he placed the subtle ether, the eight regions and the permanent receptacle of waters."—Sir W. Jones, Institutes of Menu.

"The production of the organized world was compared by some to the

I will conclude this paper with a translation of the tradition of the Perak *pawangs*, or Shamans, regarding the creation of the world. As may be supposed, it is inconsistent with the teachings of orthodox Muhammadanism, the secret science of these men, though firmly believed in by the Malays, being acknowledged to be heretical and sinful:¹

"It is said that in the days of the earliest *pawang*, in ancient times, GOD was not yet called ALLAH, the Prophet was not yet called Muhammad, the sky, earth, light, darkness, the throne of God, the sun, the moon, the stars, the clouds, heaven, hell, the world, and the firmament had not yet taken visible form; spirits and mankind, the devil and the angels had not yet appeared; but the first and greatest was Pawang Sadia,² who was wrapped in contemplation of all within himself and without himself. (From him has descended the practice of *tilik*, divination.) In his abstraction were revealed to him all those things which have been enumerated (the sky, the earth, etc.), even as they are at the present day.

"And Pawang Sadia was exceedingly desirous of seeing these things in a visible form. Pawang Aşal³ was then created and he went into the presence of Pawang Sadia in the form of an *unggas*.⁴ And Pawang Sadia spake to the *unggas*, using a sign which is called *Kata awal pawang* (the word of the earliest *pawang*), and said, 'O! *unggas*, who am I?' And the *unggas* said, 'I do not know.' Then said Pawang Sadia, 'I am Pawang Sadia, thou art Pawang Aşal, from thee is the origin of all *pawangs*, and from thee is the

germination of seeds, an idea which occurs in the Institutes of Menu and in some of the representations of the Grecian schools. Hence also the celebrated fiction of the Mundane Egg, or the egg produced spontaneously in the womb of Erebus, containing in itself the elements which were afterwards distributed into the various departments of the world."—Prichard, Egyptian Mythology, p. 297.

¹ The *Teyy*, or Manual, from which this extract is translated, belonged to Raja Haji Yahya, of Blanja in Perak. It contains all kinds of *mantra*, forms of spells or incantations for the propitiation of various classes of evil spirits, and instructions and explanations as to their use. It opens with the tradition here quoted, which is introduced in order to show the antiquity of the *pawang*'s profession. It is a curious jumble of aboriginal superstition and Hindu mysticism, with a veneer of Muhammadan nomenclature.

² Sanskrit *sādhya*, "accomplishment," "perfection."

³ Arabic *aşl*, "origin," "extraction."

⁴ Malay *unggas* and *ungkas*, a bird.

origin of the earth and its contents, and from thee proceeds the creation of spirits (*jin*) and mankind, and from thee originates the creation of the demons (*sheitan*) and the Devil (*Iblis*), and from thee proceed all evils and remedies, and from thee is the source of the candle and the incense, the rice and the *bertih*, the *tepong tawar* and *pemolih*, the *ambar-ambar* and the *gagawar*.¹

"Now at that time there was a *Baluh Zat*,² which, after a time, burst asunder in the middle, and *Pawang*s say that it was not until after the *Baluh Zat* had broken that there were heaven and earth, land, fire, water, and air, and that the world then first took substance.

"After the breaking of the *Baluh Zat* the sky was formed and the vault of heaven was set up, and the earth and the mountains of *Kaf* became solid.

"Then *Pawang Sadia* ordered the *unggas* to go and watch the progress of the world, and to see what there now was. So the *unggas* flew from the north to the south, and from the east to the west, and returned immediately and came before *Pawang Sadia*. Then said *Pawang Sadia*, 'O! *Pawang Asal*, what have you seen?' And the *unggas* replied, 'There is nothing except a thickening in the midst of the sea, but when I stepped upon it behold it was fluid as water. Its name I do not know.' And *Pawang Sadia* said, 'That

¹ "Bell, book and candle." The articles mentioned in the text are indispensable to the *pawang*'s trade. By means of them he divines secrets, prophesies future events, combats evil spirits, and wards off misfortune.

Bertih is rice parched in the husk till it bursts forth from it with a slight report. It is scattered about during all magic ceremonies. In Ceylon precisely the same article is used by the professors of demon-worship, there called "devil-dancers." It is called in Ceylon *porri*, which is identical with *puri*, the Malay name of a cake made of *bertih*.

Bertih, perhaps from Sanskrit *varti*, a magic ball?

Tepong tawar is the name of the liquid and the bunch of leaves (often of seven selected kinds) which are used in sprinkling places or objects which it is desired to disenchant or disinfect.

Pemolih (from *polih*), a remedy, any kind of vegetable medicine.

Ambar-ambar, a term which includes all the elements used by *pawang*s to counteract and render inefficacious, or harmless (*ambar*, or *tawar*), the spells or machinations of demons, such as rice, incense, *bertih*, etc.

Gawar-gawar, or *gagawar*, leaves suspended to a horizontal cord stretched across a path or doorway as a token that passage is forbidden.

² *Baluh Zat*, "Cylinder of the Essence." *Baluh* is the hollow wooden cylinder of a native drum. *Zat* means "nature," "essence," "substance."

is the solidification of the earth.' The *unggas* continued, 'One other thing I saw, and that was a border encircling it.' And Pawang Sadia said, 'That border is Bukit Kaf; go thou and sprinkle it with *tepong tawar*, and thence go on and do the same where the solid earth is forming, and apply *ambar-ambar* to all that is in the water, and after that, wherever thou findest solid matter on the surface of the water hang up *gagawar*.'

"And the *unggas* went away and did as was directed by Pawang Sadia, and after six periods returned. Then Pawang Sadia asked, 'What has been accomplished?' And the *unggas* said, 'The border has become like a wall of a bright green colour, and the solid formation was spread out smooth and clean, but, when the *ambar-ambar* touched it, it took a variety of colours. There is an opening in one place, for the border does not extend all the way round. At this place I have suspended *gagawar*.'

"Now the use of the *gagawar* was to restrain the wind and the moving water from entering for seven days, so that the earth might consolidate. And after six days had passed, and the seventh day had arrived, the whole earth was solid."

ART. XXII.—*The Epoch of the Guptas.* By EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S.

IN the year 1848, I read before a Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society one of my earliest Essays on Indian Antiquities, relating to "the Dynasty of the Sáh kings of Surashtra."¹

I have lately had occasion to go over much of the ground then covered,² and I propose to review, in this article, the present state of our knowledge of the period, and the influence exercised by the Imperial Gupta monarchs, with whom the semi-Republican Satraps of Surashtra³ had more or less direct international relations.

My leading authority then, as now, consisted of the revelations on Indian eras contributed by Albírúni. But in regard to his avowedly indeterminate date of Srí Harsha, B.C. 457, I have, for a long time past, seen that I was in error in applying its test to the epoch of the Sáh kings—whose priority to the Guptas necessarily formed one of the prominent points of my argument in those days.

Mr. Newton, late of the Bombay C.S., who had, for many years, made the Numismatic history of the Sáh kings his special study, arrived at the conclusion that the series of figured dates found on their coins referred to the era of Vikramáditya (B.C. 57). I myself had then some doubts upon this subject; but pending further inquiry, I am now much more inclined to accept Mr. Newton's theory. I subjoin therefore (in a foot-note) his latest summary of the general bearing of the evidence on the question.⁴

¹ J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. o.s. p. 1.

² Archaeological Survey of Western India, by James Burgess, 1874-5, pp. 18-70. Mr. Trübner afterwards issued a small edition of this essay, under the title of "The Dynasty of the Guptas in India," folio, London, 1876, pp. 64, with an Autotype Plate of thirty-three coins.

³ J.R.A.S. Vol. I. n.s. p. 458.

⁴ "It is an interesting result of this inquiry, that it places Nahapana very near the commencement of the era of Vikramáditya, which on entirely distinct

There is also a specific indication as to the probable epoch of these Satraps which has lately come to light, in the decipherment of the legends of the introductory coins of the series, which are discovered to be *tri-lingual*, expressed severally in imperfect but still legible Greek, Bactrian-Páli and Indo-Páli. An estimate may perhaps hereafter be formed from these and associate data as to the ultimate or extreme

reasoning I inferred in 1862 to be that in which the Sah coins are dated (Journ. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc. vol. ix. p. 30).

Did the Samvat era originate with Nahapana? it may be asked. I see no sufficient reason for supposing this, though his influence and renown must manifestly have been great throughout the western portion of the continent. Rather it seems to me that as in other matters so here, his successors consulted and deferred to the sentiments of their Hindoo subjects in adopting the era which dated from the defeat by Vikramáditya of their enemy and his—the Scythian.

I must close with a few very brief remarks on the extent to which our previous knowledge of the Sah dynasty has been affected by the issue of this inquiry.

The dates of the nineteen kings enumerated in my paper of 1862 remain the same, extending as then stated from A.D. 30 or 40 to 240 or 250. We have now however to add six kings to the list, which will therefore stand as under :

1. Nahapana, B.C. 60 or 70.
2. The unknown king whose coin is given as figure 10 of the plate.
3. Chastana, son of Syamotika, B.C. 10 or 20.
4. Jaya Dámá, son of Chastana.
5. Jiva Dámá, son of (Dámá?) Shri, A.D. 38.
6. Rudra Dámá, son of Jaya Dámá.
7. Rudra Sinha, son of Rudra Dámá, A.D. 45-47.
8. Rudra Sáh, son of Rudra Sinha.
9. Shri Sah, son of Rudra Sáh.
10. Sangha Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh.
11. Dámá Sáh, son of Rudra Sinha.
12. Yasa Dámá, son of Dámá Sáh.
13. Damajata Sri, son of Rudra Sáh, A.D. 97.
14. Vira Dámá, son of Dámá Sáh.
15. Isvara Datta.
16. Vijaya Sah, son of Dama Sah, A.D. 115.
17. Damajata Sri, son of Dama Sah.
18. Rudra Sah, son of Rudra Dama, A.D. 131, 141.
19. Visva Sinha, son of Rudra Sah, A.D. 143.
20. Atri Dama, son of Rudra Sah, A.D. 153, 157.
21. Visva Sah, son of Atri Dama, A.D. 160, 168.
22. Rudra Sinha, son of Svami Jiva Dama, A.D. 173 or 213.
23. Asa Dama, son of Rudra Sah.
24. Svámi Rudra Sah, son of Svámi Rudra Dama, A.D. 223, 235.
25. Svámi Rudra Sah, son of Svámi Satya Sah.

Where specific dates are given in this list for the kings subsequent to Chastana, they are taken from the coins on the supposition that the era was that of Vikramáditya.

I see no reason to modify in any respect the results arrived at in my paper of 1862 as to the succession of the Guptas to the Sâhs, the Valabhi kings to the Guptas, and the Indo-Sassanians to the Valabhi line.

The limits of the Gujarat sovereignty in Nahapana's time must now be extended beyond the territories which I was enabled in the paper above referred to to assign to the dominion of the Sâhs."

limit of the period of the survival of the two former alphabets in the peninsula of Gujarát.

The test coins bearing on the subject may be described as follows :

Nahapana.

Silver; weight 31 gr. *Unique*, trilingual. Mr. Newton.

Obverse. King's head to the right, with rough hair, in free Scythic fashion, bound with a fillet. Very coarsely executed.

Legend, in imperfect Greek, with traces of the title—*τυΠΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ*.

Reverse. A crude spear, with an axe on the side, and a quasi-Indian definition of a thunderbolt?

Legend, in Bactrian-Páli characters, reading from the right, commencing below the point of the spear, 𑀅𑀲𑀭𑀸𑀓 *Nahapanasa*, following which, reading from the inside, but in the reverse direction, in Indian-Páli letters, नहपनस *Nahapanasa*.

Chashtana.

Silver; weight 23 gr. Legends, in *three* different characters.

Obverse. King's head to the left, with flat cap and well-executed profile. The prototype of the Sáh Mint device.

Legend, in imperfect Greek, with visible portions of the word—*τυΠΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ*.

Reverse. A *chaitya*, *tope* or tumulus, composed of superimposed arches, with a demilune capital. Serpent below; above a well-defined boldly-rayed sun to the right, with a corresponding moon to the left.

Legend in Indian-Páli रञ्ज महचक्रपस . . . तिकपुत्रस

Rajno mahakshatrapasa [*Syamo*] *tikaputrasa*

चष्टनस	}	repeated in	{	𑀅𑀲𑀭𑀸𑀓
<i>Chashtanasa</i>		Bactrian Páli.		<i>Chastanasa</i>

Mr. Burgess informs me, that a coin of the father of Chashtana has lately been found. The name appears in its archaic form as 𑀲𑀺𑀭𑀸𑀓𑀲𑀺𑀭𑀸𑀓 *Syamotika*. I conclude that the s has been placed below the y for the convenience

of conjunction, an option often exercised in the Indian-Páli Inscriptions.¹

As the Journal Asiatique of 1844 may be inaccessible to many of our readers, I quote in M. Reinaud's own words the entire passage regarding Indian eras contributed by Albirúni:²

"On emploie ordinairement les ères de Sri-Harscha, de Vikramáditya, de Saka, de Ballaba, et des Gouptas . . . L'ère de Vikramáditya est employée dans les provinces méridionales et occidentales de l'Inde. On pose 342, qu'on multiplie par 3, ce qui fait 1026; on ajoute au produit ce qui s'est écoulé du schadabda, mot par lequel on désigne le samvatsara sexagésimal. . . . L'ère de Saka, nommée par les

¹ In : $\dot{\bar{\bar{J}}}$ *Isyá* in the Delhi column, J.A.S.B. vi. 577, 584, the letters are otherwise placed, but $\dot{\bar{\bar{J}}}$ = *vy* is frequent; Girnár, viii. 1, ix. 8. The \square - $\bar{\bar{J}}$

Bāhmana, Girnár, viii. 3, ought to dispose of any doubt on the subject.

² Abū Rihān *Muhammad bin Ahmad al Birūnī al Khwārizmī* was born about A.H. 360, A.D. 970-1. He was an astronomer, geometer, historian, and logician, under which latter claim he obtained the sobriquet of "*Muhakkik*" or "the exact," on account of the rigorous precision of his deductions. Abū-l Fazl Baihaki, who lived about half a century after Al Birūnī, says, "*Abū Rihān* was beyond comparison superior to every man of his time in the art of composition, in scholar-like accomplishments, and in knowledge of geometry and philosophy. He had, moreover, a most rigid regard for truth." And Rashīd-u-d dīn, in referring to the great writer from whom he has borrowed so much, says, "The Master *Abū Rihān al Birūnī* excelled all his contemporaries in the sciences of philosophy, mathematics, and geometry. He entered the service of Mahmūd bin Subuktigin, and in the course of his service he spent a long time in Hindustan, and learned the language of the country. Several of the provinces of India were visited by him. He was on friendly terms with many of the great and noble of that country, and so acquired an intimate knowledge of their books of philosophy, religion, and belief. The best and most excellent of all their books upon the arts and sciences is one resembling the work of Shaikh Rais Abū 'Alī ibn Sinā (*Avicenna*). It is called *Bātakal*, or in Arabic *Bātajal*; this book he translated into Arabic. From this work also he extracted a great deal which he made use of in his *Kānūn-i Mas'ūdi*, a work upon mathematics and geometry, named after the Sultān Mas'ūd. All that the sages of India have said about numbers, ages, and eras (*tiwārikah*), has been exactly given by *Abū Rihān* in his translation of the *Bātakal*. He was indebted to the Sultan of Khwārizm for the opportunity of visiting India, for he was appointed by him to accompany the embassies which he sent to Mahmūd of Ghazni. Al Farābī and Abū-l Khair joined one of these embassies, but the famous *Avicenna*, who was invited to accompany them, refused to go, being, as it is hinted, averse to enter into controversy with Abū Rihān, with whom he differed on many points of science, and whose logical powers he feared to encounter. On the invitation of Mahmūd, *Abū Rihān* entered into his service, an invitation which *Avicenna* declined. It was in the suite of Mahmūd and of his son Mas'ūd that *Abū Rihān* travelled into India, and he is reported to have stayed forty years there. He died in A.H. 430, A.D. 1038-9. (Sir H. Elliot's *Historians of India*.)

Indiens 'Sakakála,' est postérieure à celle de Vikramáditya de 135 ans. Saka est le nom d'un prince qui a régné sur les contrées situées entre l'Indus et la mer. Sa résidence était placée au centre de l'empire, dans la contrée nommée Aryavartha. Les Indiens le font naître dans une classe autre que celle des Sakya; quelques-uns prétendent qu'il était Soudra et originaire de la ville de Mansoura. Il y en a même qui disent qu'il n'était pas de race indienne, et qu'il tirait son origine des régions occidentales. Les peuples eurent beaucoup à souffrir de son despotisme, jusqu'à ce qu'il leur vînt du secours de l'Orient. Vikramáditya marcha contre lui, mit son armée en déroute, et le tua sur le territoire de Korour, situé entre Moultan et le château de Louny. Cette époque devint célèbre, à cause de la joie que les peuples ressentirent de la mort de Saka, et on la choisit pour être principalement chez les astronomes. . . .

"Ballaba, qui a donné aussi son nom à une ère, était prince de la ville de Ballaba, au midi de Anhalouara, à environ trente *yodjanas* de distance. L'ère de Ballaba est postérieure à celle de Saka de 241 ans. Pour s'en servir, on pose l'ère de Saka, et l'on en ôte à la fois le cube de 6 (216) et le carré de 5 (25). Ce qui reste est l'ère de Ballaba. Il sera question de cette ère en son lieu. Quant au Gouptakála (ère des Gouptas), on entend par le mot *goupta* des gens qui, dit-on, étaient méchants et puissants; et l'ère qui porte leur nom est l'époque de leur extermination. Apparemment, Ballaba suivit immédiatement les Gouptas; car l'ère des Gouptas commencé aussi l'an 241 de l'ère de Saka. L'ère des astronomes commence l'an 587 de l'ère de Saka. C'est à cette ère qu'ont été rapportées les tables Kanda Khátaka, de Brahmagoupta. Cet ouvrage porte chez nous le titre de *Arkand*. D'après cela, en s'en tenant à l'an 400 de l'ère de Yezderdjed, on se trouve sous l'année 1488 de l'ère de Sri-Harscha, l'an 1088 de l'ère de Vikramáditya, l'an 953 de l'ère de Saka, l'an 712 de l'ère de Ballaba et celle des Gouptas." . . . Albírúni goes on in effect to say:

"Déjà je me suis excusé sur l'imperfection de ce qui est dit ici, et j'ai averti que les résultats que je présente offraient

quelque incertitude, vu les nombres qui excèdent celui de cent."—*Journal Asiatique*, 4me série, tom. iv. (1844).²

Objections have been taken as to the intrinsic probability of Albirúni's statement in regard to any conceivable system of reckoning from the date of a king's death. But the author was no novice, when he wrote his *Tárikh-i-Hind*. Some thirty years previously he had examined in detail all analogous instances and parallel conditions within his reach—of which the following is his own outline:

"As regards the well-known date of his (the Prophet's) death, people do not like to date from the death of a prophet or a king, except the prophet be a liar, or the king an enemy, whose death people enjoy, and wish to make a festival of; or he be one of those with whom a dynasty is extinguished, so that his followers among themselves make this date a memorial of him, and a mourning feast. But this latter case has only happened very seldom, e.g. the era of Alexander the Founder is reckoned from the time of his death, he having been considered as one of those from whom the era of the kings of the Chaldæans and the western kings was transferred to the era of the Ptolemæan kings, of whom each is called *Ptolemy*. . . Therefore, those to whom the empire was transferred, dated from the time of his death, consider-

¹ Albirúni, in another part of his work, attributes many of the complications and obscurities imported into Indian texts, to the prevailing system of reducing everything into verse, for the sake of the obvious facility of learning by heart, so often to the entire detriment of the sense of the original; he adds, "J'ai reconnu, à mes dépens, l'inconvénient de cet usage."—Reinard, *Mem. sur l'Inde*, p. 334. Perhaps one of the most instructive expositions of the gradations of the process, under which the Indian art of memory was forced and matured, is to be found in Professor Haug's paper, presented to the Oriental Congress of London in 1874, p. 213. See also Caldwell, *Dravidian Grammar*, p. x: who concludes his observations, "If they would cease to content themselves with learning by rote versified enigmas and harmonious platitudes," etc.

² M. Reinard's translation here quoted was based upon a confessedly imperfect transcript of the then unique but faulty Constantinople MS. of the *Tárikh-i-Hind*. It has frequently been called in question by those Indian commentators to whom its data came as a revelation from within their own citadels. As I had to a great extent accepted the value and importance of the information it conveyed, I sought the earliest opportunity of confirming or correcting its terms by the text of the new and more perfect manuscript of M. Schefer, which has been entrusted to Professor Sachau to aid his undertaking of a revised English translation of the work for the Oriental Translation Fund, which desirable object has been further encouraged by the grant of a sum of £300, for the publication of the original Arabic Text, on the part of H.M.'s Secretary of State for India. A full list of the variants obtained from this new MS. will be found in Mr. Burgess's Report, p. 29.

ing it as a joyful event. It is precisely the same in the case of the era of Yazdajird ben Shahryár. For the Magians date from the time of his death, because when he perished, the dynasty was extinguished. Therefore they dated from his death, mourning over him, and lamenting the downfall of their religion."—*Albírúni*, "Chronology of Ancient Nations," Prof. Sachau's Oriental Translation Fund edition, 1879, p. 35.

As a fit supplement to the statements of Albírúni, I quote an instructive remnant of local tradition which comes to us from the Western coast. The tradition may be imperfect,¹ as such old-world tales are liable to become, but it contributes, from independent sources, curious confirmation of otherwise obscure portions of the history rescued from oblivion by the Muhammadan author. It further indicates the course of the immediate transfer of power, combined with an incidental reference to the conventional practice of Imperial delegation of authority to a son over outlying provinces, and likewise furnishes us with a statement of the length of the reigns of two kings, to be found nowhere else.

"The bards relate that Váḷá Ráma Rájá, son of Váḷá Warsingji, reigned at Junágadh and Vanthalí. . . . Ráma Rájá was of the Váḷá race. It is said in Sauráshṭra that, previous to the rise of the kingdom of Junágadh-Vanthali, Valabhinagar was the capital of Gujarát. The rise of Valabhi is thus told by the bards. 'The Gupta kings reigned between

¹ As Professor Bhāṇḍarkar has criticised certain items of this tradition, I desire to let him speak in his own words:

"But the tradition itself, though interesting as giving the truth generally, cannot be considered to be true in the particulars. For, in the first place, it makes Chakrapáni the son of Prándat, who is certainly the Chakrapálita son of Parnadatta of the Junágadh inscription (*Journ. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. vii. pp. 122, 123, *supra* p. 4), viceroy of the father of Kumára Gupta, and grandfather of Skanda Gupta, while the inscription represents Parnadatta as Skanda Gupta's viceroy, and Chakrapálita as governor of a certain town, appointed to that place by his own father. Again, Skanda Gupta is represented as a weak king in the tradition; while his inscriptions, magniloquent though they are, do show that he must have been a powerful monarch. Lastly, Bhatárka is mentioned as having assumed the title of King, while the Valabhi copper plates speak of him as Senápati, and represent Droṇa Sinha, his second son, to have first assumed that title (*Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. iv., Mr. Wathen and an unpublished grant of Guhasena). The tradition, therefore, is not entitled to any reliance as regards the particulars. It simply gives us what was known before, that the Valabhis succeeded the Guptas."—*Indian Antiquary*, 1874, p. 202.

the Ganges and Jamna rivers. One of these kings sent his son Kumára-pál Gupta to conquer Sauráshṭra, and placed his viceroy Chakrapáni, son of Prándat, one of his Amirs, to reign as provincial governor in the city of Wámanasthalí (the modern Wanthali). Kumára-pál now returned to his father's kingdom. His father reigned twenty-three years after the conquest of Sauráshṭra and then died, and Kumára-pála ascended the throne. Kumára-pál Gupta reigned twenty years and then died, and was succeeded by Skanda Gupta, but this king was of weak intellect. His *Senápati*, Bhaṭṭaraka, who was of the Gehlotí race, taking a strong army, came into Sauráshṭra, and made his rule firm there. Two years after this Skanda Gupta died. The *Senápati* now assumed the title of King of Sauráshṭra, and, having placed a governor at Wámanasthalí, founded the city of Valabhinagar. At this time the Gupta race were dethroned by foreign invaders. The *Senápati* was a Gehlot, and his forefathers reigned at Ayodhyá Nagará until displaced by the Gupta dynasty. After founding Valabhi, he established his rule in Sauráshṭra, Kachh, Laṭ-desh, and Malwá."—Major J. W. Watson, *Legends of Junágadh*, *Indian Antiquary*, Nov. 1873, p. 312.

The next item, in our preliminary evidence, is the determination of the date of the Valabhis' assertion of supremacy, which is contributed by a standard local inscription in the following terms:—

"INSCRIPTION IN THE DEVANAGARI CHARACTER, IN PUTTUN SOMNATH, ON THE COAST OF THE SAURASHTRA PENINSULA, FIXING THE ERA OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF *Balabhi*, THE *Balhara Kings of Nehrwalla*.

"Adoration to the Lord of all, to the light of the universe (the sun-god Bál?), etc., etc. In the year of Mohummud 662, and in that of Vicrama 1320, and that of Srimad Balabhi 945, and the Siva-Singa Samvat 151, Sunday, the 13th (*badi*) of the month of Asár."—*Tod's Annals of Rajputana*, vol. i. p. 801.

Col. Tod goes on to say, "The importance of the discovery of these new eras has been descanted on in the Annals. S. 1320—945, the date of this inscription, = 375 of Vicrama for the first of the Balabhi era; and 1320—151 gives 1169 for the establishment of the *Siva-singa* era—established by

the Gohils of the island of Deo, of which I have another memorial, dated 927 Balabhi Samvat."¹

The bare outline of the genealogy of the Gupta family has been singularly well preserved, considering the limited range of their own proper inscriptions, and the persistent oblivion to which their successors would, perhaps, designedly have consigned them.²

The earliest of these epigraphs, in point of time, is the Allahábád manifesto of Samudra Gupta, the fourth in succession of an ancestry claiming little pretension to local position or ancient renown, and the second only, in the order of kings, who attained anything beyond restricted celebrity. This first heir to an imperial father took advantage of a ready prepared monolith to supplement, in the writing current in his day, an account of his own rise, in the form of a quasi-palimpsest,³ subjoined to the original contemporary palæograph in the old square *lüt* character, in which Aśoka, in the twenty-seventh year of his reign (B.C. 232), had proclaimed unwittingly—on the same stone—his undeveloped Buddhistic tendencies, and his advocacy of the more simple traditional Jaina doctrines of mercy to animals, the preservation of animal life and the alleviation of animal woes.⁴

The second record of the Gupta succession, likewise perpetuated on stone, may be seen in the brief Mathurá inscription found in the Katrá mound of the old city, wherein Samudra's parentage is apparently repeated in accordance with the tenour of the earlier monument.⁵ The genealogy of the family is further extended in the inscription on the

¹ Prinsep incidentally remarks, "The Balabhi era . . . from its locality and connection with the Samvat [Vikramāditya], must have been of the same construction, merely dating from a newly assumed epoch."—*Useful Tables*, p. 158.

² "Le silence des Brâhmanes l'est encore moins. C'a été leur manière de se venger d'un souverain et d'une dynastie qui en somme leur furent hostiles, que de n'en pas parler du tout."—M. A. Barth, *Révue Critique*, 1874, p. 311.

³ *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. iii. p. 105; vol. vi. p. 978; *Journ. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.* (revision by Bhau Daji), vol. ix. p. cxvii; Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. i. p. 233.

⁴ "The Early Faith of Asoka," *J.R.A.S.* Vol. IX. p. 191; *Ancient Indian Weights*, *International Numismata Orientalia*, London, 1874, p. 27.

⁵ General Cunningham's *Archæological Report*, vol. iii. plate xvi. No. 24, p. 37.

From these inscriptions the recognized line of kings may be restored after the following order :

The Gupta Kings.

1. *Mahārāja Śrī Gupta.*
2. *Mahārāja Śrī Ghaṭotkacha.*
3. *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandra Gupta.*
4. " *Śrī Samudra Gupta.*
5. " *Śrī Chandra Gupta II.*
6. " *Śrī Kumāra Gupta.*
7. " *Śrī Skanda Gupta.³*

The dated Inscriptions of the race, either directly bearing upon their contemporary sovereignty or their posthumous era, may be arranged in the following order :

¹ Cunningham's *Archæological Report*, vol. i. pl. xvii. p. 38, and pl. xxx. p. 94; *Journ. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.* 1871-2, p. 59; Bhau Daji's revised reading; also Rajendralāla's remarks, *J.A.S.B.* 1866, p. 271.

² Journ. As. Soc. Beng. 1836, p. 661; Prinsep's Essays, vol. i. p. 240.

³ The family tree, originally reconstructed by Dr. Mill (J.A.S.B. vol. iii. p. 344), may prove of importance in the present inquiry, as showing the moderately advanced position of the early members of the so-called regal line:—

“1 Gupta.

2 Ghatotkacha. Lichhavi, a private Rájput,
whose daughter was

3 Chandra Gupta—+—Kumára Devī, Sanhārikā, an independent princess,
wife of the king. whose daughter was

4 Samudra Gupta } { —+—⁽¹⁾ A Queen, name unknown,
Rāja and Sovereign } { —+—⁽²⁾ Devī, daughter of Mahā-
daitva.

5 Chandra Gupta II.

6 Kumāra Gupta.

7 Skanda Gupta.

Royal issue expected at the date of this inscription."

See also my extracts from the Vishnu Purāṇa, etc., p. 25, Burgess's *Archæological Report on Western India for 1874-5*, together with the foot-notes, pp. 25 and 36. See further Vishnu Purāṇa, Mr. Hall's edition, vol. iv. notes, pp. 222, 224. "Rulers fallen from their castes or Sūdras will be princes of Saurāshtra, Avanti," etc. This information accords with Major Watson's tradition above quoted.

No. A. Inscription of Chandra Gupta II.¹

The short inscription at Udayagiri contains the name of Chandra Gupta under the title of "*Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhi[rāja]*," and the date of *Samvatsare* 82 [in figures] 11th of the bright half of Śrāvana.

No. B. Inscription of Chandra Gupta II.²

The inscription on the eastern gate at Sanchi, near Bhilsa, commences, "To all respected Śramanas, the chief priests of the *āśvathā* ceremonial . . . The son of Amuka, the destroyer of his father's enemies, etc., . . . obtaining the gratification of every desire of his life through the favour of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Chandra Gupta . . . has given, etc., as an act of grace and benevolence of the great emperor Chandra Gupta, generally known among his subjects as Deva Rāja (Indra). . . .

"*San* 93 [in figures], Bhādrapada 10th."

No. C. Translation of an Inscription on the Monolith of Kuhaon, in the Gorakhpur division, N. W. P., India.³

There has been a good deal of controversy as to the correct interpretation of this record, of which it may be necessary to give a general summary.

The earliest translation of the recovered text of this inscription was made in Calcutta by Kumalā Kānta, in A.D. 1837. The local Pandits in those days were naturally undisturbed by more recent Indo-Germanic doubts, and rendered their interpretations by the same laws of grammar as, we may suppose, had served the original inditers on their own soil. His version of the opening passage was to the effect:

¹ Cunningham, Bhilsa Topes, p. 151, plate xxi.; Archæological Report, vol. x. plate xix. p. 50; Prinsep's Essays, vol. i. p. 247; and Mr. Hall's note, J.A.S.B. vol. xxvii. (1858) p. 226.

² Journ. As. Soc. Beng. vol. vi. p. 455, plate xxv.; Prinsep's Essays, vol. i. p. 246; Bhilsa Topes, p. 152, plate xxi.

³ Journ. As. Soc. Beng. vol. vii. p. 37; Prinsep's Essays, vol. i. p. 250; Journ. As. Soc. Beng. 1861, p. 3; 1863, p. 429; 1874, p. 364; Bhāu Dājī, in the Journ. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc. article "Kalidasa," p. 31, and his revised translation of the inscription itself, Journ. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc. 1871, p. 59; General A. Cunningham in his Archæological Report for 1861-2, p. 92, gives a carefully corrected transcript of the original record, pl. xxx.

"In the month *Jyaistha*, in the year 133 after the decease (*Shanteh*, of the repose, *i.e.* death) of SKANDA GUPTA, the chief of 100 kings, . . . born of the royal race of the GUPTAS,"¹ etc., etc.

Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall, while he held the appointment of Superintendent of the Educational Department in the Saugor and Nerbudda Division—took considerable interest in the antiquities of that section of Central India, and studied this inscription with more than usual care. His first impression of the tenour of the text led him to translate it as, "The month of *Jyeshtha* having arrived, in the hundred and forty-first year; the empire of Skanda Gupta² . . . being quiescent," etc. This version he afterwards modified into, "The month of *Jyeshtha* being current, the empire of Skanda Gupta—the floor of whose audience chamber had been swept by gusts from the bowing of the heads of kings by hundreds; sprung from the line of the Guptas . . . being extinct for the hundred and forty-first year,"³ etc. To this revision he added a note to the distinct effect, "I now accede to the view that the Kuhaon inscription is dated from the overthrow of the Guptas, of whom Skanda Gupta was the last."

Professor Dowson, in analyzing Mr. Hall's interpretation and criticizing his reading of other passages,⁴ concludes, "The words [of the text] may therefore be rendered: In the year 141 since the kingdom of Skanda Gupta was humbled (by us), which is much the same thing as saying that it was taken possession of and occupied."

On the other hand, the late Dr. Bhau Dâji, in his paper on Kalidasa, recorded his opinion that the Kuhaon inscription

¹ Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. vii. p. 37, James Prinsep, for whom this translation was made, adverts to the enigmatical way in which the total of 133 is expressed, and admits his doubts about the correctness of the resulting figures. He adds, "It does not appear who succeeded him [Skanda Gupta], or whether the Gupta dynasty there terminated." This version of the inscription was reproduced, with a portion of his commentary, in my edition of Prinsep's Essays, vol. i. p. 250.

² Journal of the American Oriental Soc. vol. vi. p. 530.

³ Journ. As. Soc. Beng. vol. xxx. 1861, p. 3. In his comments on this inscription (p. 4) Mr. Hall remarks, "On collation of the wording of Hastina's grants with that of the Kuhaon pillar, we thus discover no trifling corroboration of the statement derived from the Arabian traveller [Albiruni]; and his language, in passing, will endure no alternative construction."

⁴ J.A.S.B. vol. xxxii. 1863, p. 430.

was "dated in the hundred and forty-first year of the Gupta dynasty, in the reign of Skanda Gupta, and not after his decease."¹

Bábu Rajendralála in 1874² reviewed the whole question, comparing the conflict of interpretation of his predecessors, attacking, needlessly, General Cunningham's misprints in the Arabic passage of Albiruni, as reproduced in his "Bhilsa Topes" (p. 139), and adding a commentary of Dr. Blochmann's on the "corrupt" original text—which need scarcely detain us, as the latter concludes by saying, "As it is, I can see no fault in Reinaud's translation" (p. 368). The Bábu then enters upon a critical examination of the disputed passages, in the palæographic original, and arrives at the following result (p. 371): "Accepting the above arguments as correct, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that Skanda Gupta was a reigning sovereign when the Kuhaon monument was put up." In this position he considers himself fortified by the tenour of a new inscription of Skanda Gupta [No. D. of the present series] from Anupshahar on the Ganges, which he translates as, "In the year one hundred and forty-six . . . of the thriving and invincible kingdom of his most noble majesty . . . Skanda Gupta." But, with all this, he gives me exactly what I require in another direction, in expressing his own conviction that the Chandra Gupta inscription at Sanchi [No. A.], the Skanda Gupta inscription at Júnágarh, etc., etc., are "all dated in the Śaka era, which, being current and well known, needed no specification" (p. 372). It will be seen, hereafter, in the Table of the Dynasty that we have already recorded dates of Skanda Gupta in the identical year one hundred and forty-one, and I may add that I have, for years past, contended that the Śaka was the only era applicable to these figures,³ so that this inscription evidence, however adjudicated, may be made to serve two masters.

Our latest native authority on Indian Palæography—a re-

¹ P. 31n.

² J.A.S.B. 1874, pp. 363-374.

³ J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. (1848) p. 5, note; Burgess, Archaeological Report, W. India, 1874-5, p. 70.

presentative student who has done good service towards the Archæology of his own nationality—Paṇḍit Bhagwánlál Indrajī, has recently re-examined the original text on the pillar itself, and now pronounces that Mr. Hall's "first version" is the most accurate of the whole series of interpretations. The Paṇḍit's improved rendering runs: "To the perfect one! He the floor of whose is swept, etc., in this Skanda Gupta's peaceful reign in the year one hundred and forty-one," when the month of Jyeshṭha was come.¹ But his own individual impressions are not very clearly defined in the English reproduction of his vernacular Gujārātī report.

*No. D. Translation of an Inscription of the time of Skanda Gupta, on a copper-plate grant found at Indor, near Anupshahar on the Ganges.*²

The document opens with a stanza in praise of the sun-god, and refers to the obligations of a guild of oil-sellers to supply the temple of the sun, etc., etc. The date is rendered as follows by the translator.

"In the year one hundred and forty-six, in the month of Phálguna, the — (?) of the thriving and invincible kingdom of his most noble majesty, the supreme sovereign of great kings, the auspicious Skanda Gupta, for the promotion of prosperity in the possession of the owner of Sarvanága in Antarvedi (or the Doáb of the Ganges and Yamuná)."

*No. E. Inscription of Skanda Gupta on the Northern face of the Gírnár rock.*³

"To the Perfect One! Vishṇu, who snatched from Bali for

¹ Indian Antiquary, May, 1881, pp. 125-6. An independent facsimile of the inscription is given with the Paṇḍit's paper. He adds, *inter alia*, "The pillar we know from the sculptures on it to have been Jaina." On the western side of the base of this pillar is also a naked figure of *Pārṣvanátha*, the snake being coiled up behind him in the fashion usually represented in Jaina sculptures, and the text confirms its dedication by one Madra "to the five principal originators" or specially favoured Tirthaṅkaras of that sect.

² Journ. As. Soc. Beng. 1874, p. 363. This translation, with an extended commentary attached, is from the pen of Bábu Rajendra Lála. His position has not, as far as I am aware, been as yet subjected to any criticisms.

³ Originally translated for Dr. Bhau Dajī, by Bhagwánlál Indrajī, Journ. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc. vol. vii. p. 121. This translation has been revised by Prof. Eggeling, and reproduced with a facsimile of the inscription itself, in Mr. Burgess's Arch. Report for Western India, 1874-5, p. 136.

the happiness of Indra," etc. "The asylum of kingly qualities, he, the far-famed Skanda Gupta, of great wealth, who on his father's attaining the friendship of the Devas (i.e. *on his father's death*), humbled his enemies by his might, and possessed himself of the earth" . . . (the text goes on to detail Skanda Gupta's difficulties in the selection of a fit ruler for Surāshṭra and his ultimate choice of) "Parnadatta" . . . (who delegates his authority to his son) "Chakrapālita." . . . "Afterwards, when in the course of nature the rainy season arrived, after the hot season, it rained copiously and continuously for a long time, whereby the Sudarṣana burst (its embankments?). When a century of years *plus* thirty (six?) passed, on the sixth day of Bhādrapada, at night, counting from the era of Gupta" (*Guptasya kāla*).

(Some time seems to have elapsed before its repairs were either commenced or fairly advanced, when a record appears) "for the benefit of the king and of the city, in a century of *samvatsaras* (years) *plus* thirty *plus* seven" having passed " . . . *Chaitra*" (month).

The concluding division of the inscription proclaims the completion of the undertaking, in the construction of a (memorial) temple to the discus-holding Viṣṇu, by Chakrapālita, when, "from the (*kāla*) era of the Guptas [*Guptānān kāla*] a century of years *plus* thirty-eight (having passed)."

Up to this time, I have been disposed to question the validity of the above interpretation in respect to the use of the term *Gupta kāla*. I have now had an opportunity of comparing Messrs. Westergaard and Jacob's facsimile, published in the *Journ. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.* with Sir G. Le Grand Jacob's own eye-transcript in MS., and the improved version of the original, undertaken for Dr. Bhau Daji, by Pandurang Gopāla Pādhye. I can have no hesitation in accepting the latter as the most intelligent reproduction; it brings out in perfect form letters that were before merely fragmentary; it seldom conflicts with, yet constantly improves what were previously little beyond chaotic signs and symbols in the copies of Messrs. Westergaard and Jacob.

This specific date of 130-(136), and onwards, has hitherto been claimed by the advocates of a special contemporary Gupta era, as a complete triumph and a distinct contradiction of Albiruni's suggestion of a post-dated method of reckoning from the close of an extinct dynasty.

Of course it may be, *primâ facie*, admitted that, at some period, represented by the words and the implied figures, Skanda Gupta was lord-paramount in Surashtra.

Now, as it seems to be in a measure conceded that the Vikramâditya era was in previous and comparatively free currency in that peninsula, or even if it merely survived in a popular sense, so as to find a refuge in the extreme southern promontory of Diu so late as 1320 of its own system—all the presumed difficulties may be reconciled by supposing that a new and foreign mode of calculating by the contrasted Solar (Śaka) system impinging upon the Luni-Solar year of Vikramâditya of local recognition, rendered it necessary to define the exotic dates of the Guptas, more deliberately by *their* distinctive designation. The resulting date fits-in absolutely with the limited group of the authentic dates of the dynasty obtained from other sources embodied in the general table (p. 549). So that we have only to concede that the Guptas in their conquering course brought their method of reckoning with them to the western coast, and that it was there employed in public documents during their sway, without entering into the question, in this place, as to the initial date of *the* era itself.

No. F.

The modifications that have been proposed in the translation of the opening passage of the joint inscriptions of Hastina are instructive. Of course the text, taken without the commentary of Albiruni and the confirmatory local tradition, involved uncertainty, as it was difficult to understand how grants came to be dated from the subversion of a race of kings.

Prof. Wilson, who first furnished us with a translation,

interpreted the text as, "In the 163rd year of the occupation of the kingdom by the Gupta Kings."¹

In 1861, Mr. Hall submitted to the Asiatic Soc. Bengal² an article on "Two Land Grants issued by King Hastina, bearing date in the years 156 and 163 after the subversion of the Guptas." Availing himself of the indications furnished by Albiruni, he produced the following version of the introductory passage: "In the year 156 of the extinction of the Gupta kings, in the year Mahāvaiśāka."³ The second grant is phrased in nearly parallel terms as "163 years after the domination of the Guptas had been laid to rest."

Prof. Dowson in volume xxxii. of the same journal,⁴ took objection to some of the details both of Wilson and Hall's translations, and proposed as an alternative: "In the year 156 of (my dynasty's) possession of the realm of the Guptas," an emendation, I may remark, which would equally point to the downfall of the race.

No. G.

Gen. Cunningham, in his *Archæological Report* for 1875, vol. ix. issued in 1879 (p. 2), has anticipated the publication

¹ Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. i. p. 251.

² J.A.S.B. vol. xxx. pp. 1-12. It is necessary, in producing evidence for or against the ultimate import of these figures, to say that Professor Hall submitted the context of the passage embodying this date to Bāpū Deva Śāstrin, a Benāres mathematician, with a view to an opinion as to its concurrence with the Vikramāditya era or that of Śaka. The gist of the reply was, "it conforms to the era of Vikramāditya, and does not conform to that of Śalivāhana."—*Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* 1861, pp. 15-139. But with all respect for our Benāres calculator, we require to be told whether he has seen and met Colebrooke's objections to the effect that "the eclipses mentioned in the [later] grants do not appear reconcileable with their dates," and that "it seems difficult to account for this disagreement of the dates and eclipses in any other way than by impeaching the inscription, the authenticity of which there is not otherwise any reason to question."—(*Essays*, vol. ii. p. 245.) See also p. 357 for a possible explanation of the faulty results, in the introduction of "*Rahu* as an eighth planet, and as the immediate cause of eclipses." Prof. Whitney, in his latest essay on "the Lunar Zodiac" (*New York*, 1874), ruthlessly exposes the imperfection of Indian astronomical knowledge and local methods of observation, which he climaxes by quoting one of their tests, in the prediction of a total instead of a partial eclipse for February 6, 1860 (p. 368). Perhaps the most natural solution of the difficulty is that suggested by Prinsep, who observed, "The Muhammadans are generally very particular in their dates, and so are the Hindus when they inscribe a deed on brass; in this case they frequently allude to some eclipse or full moon, the act of donation being more pious for its occurrence on a religious festival."—U.T., J.A.S.B. (1836), p. 84.

³ The 12 year cycle.

⁴ 1863, p. 427.

of the full text of some inscriptions with new dates, during the sway of Rájás Hastina and Sankshobha, in which reference is again made to the Gupta era. He prefers to take the meaning of the term *Gupta nripa rájya bhuktau*, in concurrence with Rajendralála, as "during the peaceful sway of the Guptas." The new dates are 191 and 209. But I see that in the translation of the former grant he himself admits the words "one hundred and ninety-one years of the enjoyment of sovereignty of the Gupta kings having passed." As for the "peaceful sway" of the Guptas, their aggressive conquests and the reputation they seem to have left behind them scarcely fall-in with such a definition. It does not seem to have occurred to General Cunningham that these advanced figures conflict gravely with the probabilities of the position he assumes, in the matter of the average duration of life and length of kings' reigns. It was quite an open question to attempt to identify the Gupta dates on the Hastina grants with the corresponding entries on the coins, so long as their totals only ran-up to a reasonable period beyond the latest date engraved on the latter. But 191 and 209 take us to 45 and 63 years beyond the latest given date of Skanda Gupta's formal records, namely, 146.¹ This alone would show that the earlier as well as the later Hastina grants must be assigned to some modified or posthumous era of the Guptas, the terms of which they did not follow themselves.

Since the previous pages have been in the printers' hands, General Cunningham's Archæological Report, vol. x. Calcutta, 1880, has reached me. The most interesting novelty, bearing upon the present series of documents, has been discovered in No. 10, or the "Jaina Cave," at Udayagiri, "high up in the N.W. end of the hill in a not very easily accessible" position, which, the "inscription inside declares to have been dedicated to Páraswanáth, whose image was placed at the mouth of the cave."

¹ General Cunningham, Arch. Report, vol. ix. p. 21. This was General Cunningham's latest date, as it was mine. He now claims to have discovered a coin date of 149.

“The inscription is engraved on the face of the rock in one of the northern rooms. It is in perfect order . . . in eight lines, which I read as follows” (in transliteration). “For the present translation, I am again indebted to the kind offices of . . . Rāja Śivaprasād (whose version commences): ‘Salutation to the Siddhas! The glorious sea of merits, the family of the Gupta (were) good kings. During the very prosperous reign of these kings, in the year one hundred and six, on the fifth day of the waxing moon, in the month of Kārttika, at the mouth of the cave, the statue of Pārswa Jina (Pārasnāth), serene, grand, and great, was set up by Sangkara.’ ”

The value of the evidence contributed by this Inscription, in the absence of the name of the ruling monarch, is somewhat negative for the purposes of the present inquiry, and there is an apparent inconsistency, or halting, in the translation itself, in the insertion of the word “were” in brackets, and the allusion to “during the very prosperous reign of these kings,” which may reasonably imply a *post-facto* or memorial execution of the inscription itself—without at all derogating from its essential authenticity.

In an appendix to vol. x. General Cunningham investigates at length a new method of determining the true place in historical time of the epoch of the Guptas. The test in this instance is supposed to be found in the coincidences of the periods of the twelve-year cycle, where years were named after the months, with those of the corresponding cycle of *hundreds* entered in the same document. I must confess I have but little faith in the process. Many years ago Mr. C. P. Brown, of the Madras C.S., for so long a leading authority on the “methods of reckoning time”¹ in Southern India, wrote: “The Hindus also use a religious cycle of twelve years, called Pushcaram; but it is not of any chronological use.” In Vol. I. N.S. of our Journal, Professor Whitney exposed, in a masterly manner, the inconsistencies of

¹ Carnatic Chronology, London, 1863, p. 26. So also the Śūrya-Siddhānta itself says, “The *māna* of Jupiter is (used here) for knowing the 60 samvatsaras, and the other *mānas* are not always (used).” Calcutta edit. 1861, p. 91.

the so-called "Indian astronomy."¹ And in a paper on the Lunar Zodiac published by the American Oriental Society² he further examined the subject and pronounced the Vedic *Jyotiṣha* to be "a delusive phantom," and, following out the suggestion first put forward by Colebrooke, he proved to demonstration, that "the Hindus borrowed the foundations of their astronomy from the Greeks," and that the former was only fully developed so late as A.D. 560, or "the initial point of the sphere" of the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*. Professor Whitney further remarked, that, even then, "their science is not a science of observation," but to be deduced "from given data, in the closet." Professor Whitney had previously³ summed up all the marked shortcomings attributable to the Hindus, in regard to these defective methods, to the effect, "They did all that could be expected of them, with their means and habits of mind, towards reconciling and adjusting the trying differences of solar and lunar time; and with all the success which was needful for their purposes."

General Cunningham's position is this: because Śrī Hastina's grant is dated both in 156, and in the corresponding year of the Jovian cycle *Mahā Vaisākha*, he proceeds to argue, "To apply this cycle for the determination of the Gupta era, it is only necessary to find all the possible dates on which the year Mahā Vaisākha, or 156 of the Gupta era, can have fallen" . . . He then goes on to say, "On calculation I find that the year 474 A.D. (or 318+156 of the Gupta era) was Mahā Phālguna, instead of Mahā Vaisākha," and hence he infers that Albīrūnī's "initial point of the Gupta era in the Śaka year 241, or A.D. 319," was altogether wrong, and that the Gupta kāl could not have any reference to that specific date. After what has been stated above, this criterion, even if valid in itself, seems to be very vague ground upon which to oppose all other available data and reasonable probabilities.

¹ J.R.A.S. Vol. I. n.s. p. 316.

² 1874, pp. 341-421. See also Colebrooke's *Essays*, Prof. Cowell's ed. 1873, pp. 125 *et seq.* and Prinsep's *Essays*, U.T. p. 154.

³ J.R.A.S. Vol. I. n.s. p. 331.

I myself, as will be seen hereafter, am not so clear on the point of the local princes in the Eastern provinces ever dating directly from Śaka 241 (or A.D. 319), as I find a competitive epoch in the death of Skanda Gupta, and its more direct coincidence with the extinction of the Imperialism of the Guptas in their ancient seats of authority. But one circumstance has to be noticed, in this place, as apparently removing the period of the Śrī Hastina line of kings from that of the Gupta proper dynasty, *i.e.* that the latter, as far as extant evidence extends, did not on any occasion date their inscriptions in the duplex form adopted by their successors.

No. H.

The date on the Morbi Copper-Plate grant has also an important bearing on the general question of the deferred use of the Gupta era. The tenour of the text proceeds: "Five hundred and eighty-five years of the Guptas having elapsed (गौत्रे ददावदो नृपः), the king granted this when the disc of the sun was eclipsed," repeated, in *figures*, Samvat 585, 5th of the bright half of Phālguna. Sign manual of Jāinka." Engraved by Deddaka, the son of Śankarā.¹

The practical survival of the method of dating from the extinction of the Gupta rule has lately received confirmation from a most unexpected quarter. The evidence to this point is fully open to criticism, in its novel application, but I myself see no reason to distrust it. Those of our readers, who care to refer back to the earlier volumes of our Journal, will find in Vol. IX. (1846), p. 177, a paper of mine, on the "Hindu Kings of Kābul." In the illustrative Plate accompanying that article, on the surface of coins Nos. 2 and 3, in front of the horse on the *reverse*, may be traced certain vague lines, the purport or meaning of which Numismatists have hitherto been unable to fathom. My own impression was, from the first, that these enigmatical flourishes would prove to be *dates*, but I scarcely expected to find—amid the ruling Hindi

¹ Indian Antiquary, September, 1873, p. 258, translated by Prof. R. G. Bhāndārkar.

legends, on both sides of the coins—that these dates were couched in Arabic figures. Such, however, now proves to be the fact, a matter which will excite less surprise, when we come to consider the influence the Muhammadans already exercised over closely proximate territories, and that their attesting word عدل ‘just’ [weight or value], in a later form of Kúfic, occupied a prominent position on the surface of some of the coins of the earlier members of the Hindu dynasty (No. 24, Plate). I have now ascertained that the Hindí letters in front of the horse’s head, leading up to the three figures of the date, often express in various degrees of legibility, the words गुप्त *Gupta*, गुप *Gup*, and, latterly, the contracted form of गु *Gu*, which ultimately is so obscured in its straggling definition as to lose its individuality, even to its attachment to the sequent figures; and beyond this, I further discover that the conventional Arabic date may be unhesitatingly interpreted as ٦١٧ = 617.¹

Now it is a very singular and suggestive fact that A.D. 319, the era of the Guptas, plus this same 617, is equal to A.D. 936—a date within a single year of that which I originally suggested upon other evidence for the rise of Samanta.²

Sir Edward Bayley considers that he can extend the series of the dates of the family from some better-preserved specimens of the coins. For myself, I can see nothing beyond the oft-recurring 617, in various degrees of degradation, figures representing what I suppose to have been *the* dynastic date commemorating the uprising and success of the Brahman kings over the previous rulers of the Turki race.³

¹ See also the examples, Nos. 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, in pl. xix. *Ariana Antiqua*; and Prinsep’s *Essays*, pl. xxv. figs. 2, 4, 6, 7; *Journ. As. S. B.* vol. iv. pl. xxxvii. figs. 2, 4, 6, 7.

² “A.D. 935.”—*J.R.A.S.* Vol. IX. p. 179.

³ “Le dernier roi de cette dynastie fut Laktouzeman. [کتوران *Katuran* Sháh Kutour, etc.] Ce prince avait pour vizir un brahmane nommé Kalhar des (Syala?). Ce vizir était favorisé par la fortune, et il trouva dans la terre trésors qui lui donnèrent de la force et accrurent sa puissance. . . . Ensuite le vizir se laissa aller à la tentation d’être maître unique. . . . Il s’empara donc du trône et eut pour successeur le Brahme Samanta.”—Albiruni, *Reinaud*, p. 153.

GUPTA COINS.

The coinage of a rising race of kings naturally precedes the inscription manifestations of their advanced success, and such seems to have been the law with the Gupta kings.

In India it was the rule that outlying cultivators should be left comparatively undisturbed by the movements of hostile armies, but the cities with their guilds, though they surrendered the peasant to the tender mercies of local money-changers for their daily exchange, or for the values of their old hoards—demanded a fixed monetary standard upon which to base their own commercial dealings. So that the first duty of a conqueror, on his accession, involved the issue of a typical coin of definite value, usually emblazoned with his adopted symbols and devices, and, so to say, signed or stamped on its surface with his name and titles.

The Gupta gold coinage, in its initial phase, under Gatotkacha, closely follows that of the antecedent Indo-Scythian family of Vāsudeva, etc.¹

The change in the leading devices, though sufficiently marked, really amounts to little beyond the substitution of a rather elegant standing figure of Párvatí, with the exotic *cornucopia*, in the place of the counterpart seated goddess, who, however, soon re-appears in the former posture. The former device seems merely to have been an imitation of the standing form of the earlier *ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ* (*Ard-Ugra*), which happily superseded the odious combination of Śiva half-feminine (*Arddha-nāriṣwara*), where Śiva, man or woman, is represented as leaning on his *Vāhana* (or special vehicle) the bull *Nandi*.²

The monarch, however, in these cases retains the self-same attitude of casting incense into the conventional Mithraic altar on his right, while in the golden figure of

¹ J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. o.s. Plate VI. Fig. 12, and IX. n.s. pp. 11 and 212; *Ariana Antiqua*, plate xiv. figs. 19, 20, pp. 416, 425; J. A. S. Beng. 1836, pl. 12; Arch. Rept. W. India, pp. 35, 36.

² *Ariana Antiqua* 350. "The figure in many instances appears by the breasts and protuberant hips to be female; but it is not invariably so, and is sometimes, what it probably always should be, an androgynous outline."

the sun, which surmounts the standard pole on his left, he seems to affect a solar descent.

In the legends themselves, all obscurity of fading Greek is definitively abandoned, in favour of the current largely-improved form of the Lāt character which is characteristic of the Eastern Inscriptions of the family.

The preliminary style and titles of the king on the obverse are indistinct, on the limited number of specimens available, but we are able to say that the term *Mahārdjādhirāja* is not to be found in the record—but his name, or a portion of it,

is clear in $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{क } ka \\ \text{च } cha \end{array} \right\} \text{ under the left arm.}$

On the reverse, on the other hand, he proclaims himself सर्वराजोच्छेत्त *Sarvarājochchhetta*, “exterminator of all Rajas.” a title which appears in a more fully-defined form, on the pillar in Kumāra Gupta’s Inscription at Bhītari, which commences सर्वराजोच्छेत्त *Sarvarājochchhettra*,¹ a reading that seems to accord more nearly with Prinsep’s first interpretation of “Overshadower of all Kings.”²

This is, in a manner, what Ghatot Kacha says about himself and his pretensions to royalty—we need not, in this place, follow the gradual developments of the titular claims of his successors, until we come to Chandra Gupta II., who designates himself on his coins, as *Sri Vikrama*, *Vikramāditya*, and *Sinha Vikrama*.³

It is here important to note, that Wilford, who dug-out so much of the Indian old-world knowledge, and so patiently followed up the local traditions current in the land, during the earlier days of European contact with the unadulterated Native—who still retained intact his reverence for the legends and folklore of his race—in his essay on the subject, divided his prominent sections of the historical calendar, or the better

¹ Gen. Cunningham’s Arch. Rept. vol. i. 1871, pl. xxx.

² J.A.S.B. vol. v. p. 645.

³ J.R.A.S. XII. o.s. Plate V. Figs. 18, 25, 27, 30a, p. 75; Plate VI. Fig. 18; Plate VII. Figs. 1, 6, 7, 9; Prinsep’s Essays, Plates xxiii. xxix. xxx. the same figs.; vol. i. p. 383; Journal As. Soc. Bengal, vol. iv. pl. xxxix.; vol. v. plates xxxvi. and xxxviii. the same figs. pages 360, etc.

defined eras, into four divisions; his third era happens to be fixed in A.D. 191, and is designated as that of Rāja Vikrama.¹

Of course, it may prove to be a mere chance coincidence, but it is not the less strange, that this same period should so nearly correspond with the attainment or consolidation of imperialism by Chandra Gupta II. under the ordinary test of the Śaka era, of 14 March, 78 A.D.

In the subjoined Table, which is unaltered since its first publication,² except in the matter of the insertion of new data within itself, Chandra Gupta II. is ranged by his own epigraphic tests as reigning from about 161 A.D. to 200 A.D. So that his claim to be *the* Vikramāditya of A.D. 191, if ever such a king existed, can hardly be contested, and with it, must follow the acceptance of the Śaka era as that employed in the contemporary annals of the Guptas.³

The Gupta currencies, in the lands once held by the Indo-Scythians, followed their established standards in gold and less directly in copper. As the empire extended, they wisely adopted the silver medium of exchange, and the incidental types of the coinage of the several conquered provinces. It is in one section alone, however—that of the central division—that we discover consecutive *figured* dates,

¹ Wilford, As. Res. ix. (1807). "In these different lists, the principal *Eras* are, the accession of *Mahā Bala* to the imperial throne, 355 years B.C., his death in 327, the massacre of the Imperial family in 315, and finally the expiation of Chánakya, 312 years B.C., and of these remarkable events I took particular notice, in my essay on the Gangetic provinces" [ix. pp. 100-101].

"The next remarkable era is that of Śalivāhana and the eldest Vikramāditya. . .

"The third epoch is that of king Śuraka, called also Aditya, and Rāja Vikrama, who began his reign in the year 191.

"The fourth era is that of Vikramāditya the son of Gandharupa, whose reign began in the year 441" (pp. 138-9).

"The third epoch in my list, and most of the lists in the eastern parts of India, is that of Śuraka who was succeeded by his brother Krishna, according to the Purāṇas. He began his reign in the year 191, and was also considered as a Vikramāditya, or rather a *Samvatika*, or author of a civil period" (ix. 142). "The second Vikramāditya is the same with Śri Kārṇa Deva, called also *Sudraka* and *Suraka*. . . It seems that he attempted to establish an *era* of his own, which however did not last long. . . These new *eras* were soon doomed to oblivion" (147).

² Burgess, Arch. Report, Western India, p. 70.

³ It is curious that Jacobi, Buhler (Ind. Ant. vii. 80, and ix. 253), and Cunningham (ix. 19) should each, in their turn, have advocated an approximation to the year A.D. 194 for the commencement of the Gupta era. So that now we have a *third* alternative to debate upon. General Cunningham has, however, deserted this position in vol. x. p. 126, where Chandra Gupta II. is placed in A.D. 230 to 260.

which coincide almost identically with the more formal returns of the same nature embodied in the engraved lithic and other Inscriptions.

These two sources of information combined enable us to construct the following table of dates, covering the reigns of three kings, and ranging compactly from 82 to 146, which figures, estimated by the Śaka era, which I still adhere to, correspond with the period of A.D. 161 to 225.

ABSTRACT OF THE RECORDED *Gupta Dates*.¹

Names of Kings.	Inscriptions.	Coins.	Tradition.	Result, A.D., derived from the Śaka Era.
1. Gupta				
2. Ghaṭot Kacha				
3. Chandra Gupta I.				
4. Samudra Gupta				
5. Chandra Gupta II.	{ 82 93 }	90		160-1 169 172
			Reigned 23 years after conquest of Saurāshtra.	
6. Kumāra Gupta	96	{ 90 the unit is illegible. 121		?
	126	129		200
	{ 130 136 138 140 141	{ 130	Reigned 20 years.	208 209
7. Skanda Gupta				217
		144		220
		145		223
	146		Senāpati Bhāṭṭaraka, two years before Skanda's death.	224 224-5
Vallabhīś				319

The first even nominal *Mahārāja* of the Valabhis in the irregular dynastic lists is the third *Senāpati*. The seventh ruler, in the same family order, seems to have been the earliest monarch of any real pretensions.

¹ The New Inscriptions Nos. 3, 4, 6, 8, are quoted from General Cunningham's reports.

One of the weak points of the combination suggested in the above Table undoubtedly consists in the fact, that according to native epigraphic testimony, Skanda Gupta's death, in or about Śaka 146 (A.D. 225),¹ constituted, with some sections of the surviving community, a memorial epoch of well-defined import. Whereas Albîrûnî's date of Śaka 241 or 318-9 A.D., some ninety-four years later, is stated to mark the simultaneous eradication of the Guptas and the initial date of the Valabhis. It is true that Albîrûnî speaks doubtfully (كأنه *ka'anna*, as if, as though)² about the absolute identity of the two systems of reckoning; but the continuity of the use of the self-same Śaka era by the Valabhis, as attested by the second Dharasena's inscriptions of 252=330 A.D.³ and 272=350 A.D.,⁴ is very weighty evidence of the dominance of the *serial* era, at whatever point the dividing-line may be placed. We have, then, only to conclude that the Western assertion of power was delayed until it reached a certain stage of abiding security, which might not be far removed from the fixed point of 319 A.D. This supposition receives a certain amount of confirmation from the recent discovery of a grant of Dhruvasena I. dated approximately in Śaka 216, or A.D. 294, when the "Valabhi kings [confessedly] were not entirely independent."⁵

¹ General Cunningham speaks of a coin of Skanda Gupta with the later date of 149. Arch. Report, x. p. 112.

² The qualifying word is omitted in M. Shefer's MS.

³ Mr. J. F. Fleet, C.S., "Valabhi grant of Dharasena II.," I.A. Nov. 1879, p. 305.

⁴ Prof. Bhandarkar, Ind. Ant. 1872, p. 45. In this instance the writer has, seemingly, no more doubt about the universality of the use of the Śaka era, than the native authority in Calcutta already referred to, p. 540 *ante*. See also his remarks on the genealogy of the early members of the family at p. 17, Jan. 5, 1872. Dr. Buhler adds the date of 310 for Dhruvasena II. as well as 286 and 290 for Śilāditya I. Ind. Ant. 1880, p. 238. See further Burgess, Rept. W. India, p. 80.

⁵ Dr. Buhler, who has paid great attention to the history of the Valabhis, after translating a grant of King Dhruvasena I., illustrates this point in a more direct manner, in his commentary on the text. An abstract of the tenour of the grant under its genealogical aspect, is to the following effect: "Hail . . . (there lived formerly) the illustrious Senāpati Bhaṭarka, who obtained an empire through the matchless power of his friends, etc. . . . His son (was) the illustrious Senāpati Dharasena. . . . His younger brother (was) the illustrious Mahārāja Drona Siṃha . . . His younger brother (was) the great feudatory prince, the great chamberlain, the great general, the great Kārdikritika, the Mahādāja, the illustrious Dhruvasena . . ."

On the other hand, the unchanged retention of the date of Skanda Gupta's death, amid the minor divisions of his Eastern empire, and especially among the less-powerful survivors of the family, was only natural, and to them the rise and culmination of the distant sovereignty of the Valabhis was comparatively a matter of unseen and unfelt importance.

Perhaps, after all, as suggested above, the survival of the era, either by the name of Gupta, or that of Valabhi, was largely due to the joint terminal and initial years chancing to constitute a fixed epoch and a convenient subdivision in the better established and more widely-spread system of calculation by the Śaka era of earlier date, so largely employed by the astronomers: such as would naturally coincide with a combination of the 60 year cycle or $60 \times 4 = 240$ completed years of the Jovian *Samvatsaras*, with the leading test of the initial point of 14th March, 78 A.D.¹

"My own sign manual. On the 3rd lunar day of the dark half of Māgha, Samvat 216."

Dr. Buhler continues: "The value of the grant lies in its great age. None among the published plates go further back than to Dharaśena II., the great-grandson of Bhatarka, while here we have a document proceeding from his third son. Its date, I think, disposes of the theory that the plates, being dated according to the Śaka era (I. A. i. 45, 60, and iii. 235, 303), the beginning of the Valabhi era, 318-19 A.D., coincides with the coronation of Dronasimha. For, as the first two signs of this grant 21(0), are perfectly certain, if dated in the Śaka era (even allowing the last figure to be a 9), it could not be older than 297 A.D. Hence it would be dated twenty-one years before the Valabhi era. I refrain, therefore, for the present from any positive suggestion on the *questio vexata* to what era the dates of the grants really refer. Another interesting fact which this grant reveals is that up to Dhruvasena's time the Valabhi kings were not entirely independent, but that they continued to acknowledge some other sovereign as lord paramount. No independent ruler would assume the titles of Śāmanta, Pratihāra, and Daṇḍanayaka. It would seem that Dronasimha's coronation had not cut off the connexion of his house with the supreme power, but only altered its name."—I. Antiquary, 1875, p. 107.

¹ p. 528, note on p. 542, and Mr. Fergusson's article, J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. n.s. pp. 271-276.

ART. XXIII.—*Two Chinese-Buddhist Inscriptions found at Buddha Gayâ.* By the Rev. S. BEAL.

THESE inscriptions were found among the rubbish surrounding the Great Temple at Buddha-Gayâ ; this rubbish had accumulated during the progress of the alterations and improvements carried out by the Burmese deputation who visited the Temple in 1877. Quoting from p. 65 of Dr. Rajendralâla Mitra's work on Buddha Gayâ we learn "that certain Burmese gentlemen, deputed by his Majesty the King of Burmah, arrived at Buddha Gayâ at the beginning of 1877, and with the sanction of the Mahant, who is the present owner of the Great Temple and the surrounding ground, carried on demolitions and excavations round the temple, which in a manner swept away most of the old land-marks. The remains of the vaulted gateway in front of the temple had been completely demolished and the place cleared out and levelled. The stone pavilion over the Buddhapad had been dismantled and its materials cast aside on a rubbish mound at a distance. The granite plinth beside it had been removed. The sites of the chambers brought to light by Major Mead had been cleared out. The drain-pipe and gargoyle which marked the level of the granite pavement had been destroyed. The foundations of the old buildings noticed by Hiouen Thsang around the Great Temple had been excavated for bricks and filled up with rubbish. The revetment wall round the sacred Bodhi tree had been rebuilt on a different foundation on the West. The plaster ornaments on the interior facing of the sanctuary had been knocked off and covered with a coat of plain stucco, and an area of 250 feet by 230 feet levelled and surrounded by a new wall. It is much to be regretted that the attention of the authorities was not drawn to the subject when the Burmese gentlemen first came to the place, and no means

were devised to control and regulate their action. Had this been done, advantage might have been taken of their excavations to trace and identify most of those temples, topes and other structures mentioned in Buddhist writings and in the travels of the Chinese Pilgrim, and thereby to throw much new light on the history of Buddhism and Buddha. The opportunity has now been lost. The Burmese gentlemen were, doubtless, very pious and enthusiastic in the cause of their religion, but they were working on no traditional or systematic plan. They were ignorant of the true history of their faith, and perfectly innocent of all knowledge of architecture and the requirements of archæology and history, and the mischief they have done by their misdirected zeal has been serious."

So far, according to this writer, with respect to the Burmese mission to Buddha Gayâ. We should recollect, however, and be grateful whilst recollecting, that as the Great Temple at Gayâ was founded by a King of Ceylon for the entertainment of Southern Buddhist priests, so the Southern Buddhists of Burmah have, from time to time, paid attention to the preservation of the building, and it is to them, probably, we owe the existence of the temple as it is. If the Northern Buddhists had done as much for Nâlanda—and it was for their convenience this monastery was founded—we should not now have to regret the destruction and almost entire disappearance of this once famous establishment.

But anyhow the occasion of these demolitions or restorations was not allowed to pass by wholly unimproved. General Cunningham accordingly, in the summer of 1880, began a search among the rubbish surrounding the Great Temple, and it was under some twelve feet of this, that the Chinese inscriptions which are here given (or the longer of the two, for I have no exact information as to the earlier and shorter one) were found.

The first and shorter rubbing gives us the name of Chi-I, a priest of the Great Han country, presumably the writer of it. It states that Chi-I, having first vowed to exhort or encourage thirty thousand men to prepare themselves by

their conduct for a birth in heaven, also to distribute in charity thirty thousand books relating to a heavenly birth, and himself to recite as many books, then, in company with others, set out to travel through India, and arrived at Magadha, where he gazed upon the Diamond Throne, and other sacred vestiges of his religion; after this, in company with some other priests, he further vowed to continue his travels through India, apparently for the same purpose. Amongst the priests referred to, there are three named, the first Kwei Tséih, the second Chi-I, the third Kwang Fung.

Beyond this I am unable to find anything important in the inscription. The forms of the characters may possibly be as ancient as the Han dynasty. But as the inscription has nothing to do with the figures of the seven mortal Buddhas, and the Bodhisatwa Maitreya sculptured above it, it is possible that the figures may have been executed after the inscription was placed *in situ*, and possibly much of the inscription itself erased.

There is barely a doubt whether the Great Han country refers to China. There is a record noticed by Klaproth in his *Annales des Empereurs du Japon* (p. 6, n.) concerning a country called Ta Han, somewhere to the eastward of China. As Klaproth gives no Chinese symbols, we cannot say whether the country so named is the same as that in the inscription. But if it is so, there is just a doubt whether these missionary priests were not Coreans or belonging to the Ta-han country of Klaproth.

The vow to convert the world was not an unusual one with Buddhist priests. Many of the missionaries who came to China from India were prompted to do so by this desire for the conversion of men; and we may understand that the same desire urged many Chinese priests to visit the parts of their own country bordering on India, whence they might easily advance into India itself. This might have been the case with Chi-I and his companions. If the inscription belong to the time of the Han dynasty in China, it must claim an antiquity of not later than the end of the second century A.D.

The second inscription dates from the *Tien-hi* year of the

reign of Chên Tsung of the Sung dynasty, i.e. 1022 A.D., and is to the effect that a priest, Ho-Yun, went to Buddha Gayâ with a view to worship the sacred relics of the place. While there, he carved a stone pagoda, with a surmounting pinnacle and a square base, thirty paces to the north of the Bodhi Tree, in honour of the thousand Buddhas. He would have also inscribed an entire *Sûtra* if his funds had been sufficient, but in place of that he left behind him the record before us, which is a hymn in praise of the three bodies of Buddha and the three thrones they occupy.

The three bodies, according to the inscription, are, the FA-SHIN (*Nirmānakāya*), the Po-SHIN (*Sāmbhōgākāya*), and the FAH-SHIN (*Dharmakāya*). In relation to the first, which represents the human body, it is described as compassionate, ready and able to deliver men from the midst of the fire. The second is the body which has appeared in various forms through countless ages, ever aiming to prepare itself for the final manifestation as Buddha, when its aim would be accomplished. The third body, or the *Dharmakāya*, is said to be: "Co-extensive with the universe, inhabiting all time, with excellences as innumerable as the sands or grains of dust, beyond all human character and transcending all human language."

The three seats or thrones are, first, that at Gayâ, which is the centre of the earth, springing from the depth of the golden circle, on which all the Buddhas have overcome the armies of Māra with their lion voice.

The second is co-extensive with the three worlds, reaching above the heavens, renewed even after the destruction of the world.

The third is without beginning or end, unaffected by time or circumstance, imperishable as the body (of the Law) itself.

The inscription continues in the same laudatory terms, and ends with the statement that in the year above named, viz. A.D. 1022, two men, called I-tsing and I-lin, were sent from the Eastern capital with a *Kashaya* garment in a golden case, which they hung above the Bodhi Tree, and

which fact is recorded as supplementary to the hymn of praise of Ho-Yun.

With respect to this inscription, which has little historical value, I may simply remark that the altars or thrones at Sanchi seem to represent the first described, whilst those at Amaravati seem to point to the second, "co-extensive with the three worlds."

I will now add a restoration of the inscriptions, for which I am indebted to Mr. Douglas, of the British Museum, who procured it through the Chinese Embassy. I fear the characters have been mistaken in many cases in these transcriptions. I have only ventured, however, to change them in one or two cases, leaving a more complete restoration for scholars in China who may take an interest in the subject.

The discovery of these inscriptions has led to the supposition that they are in some way connected with Fa-hien or Hiouen Thsang. It will be well to remember therefore that many Chinese pilgrims besides these two visited India during the early centuries of our era.

For instance, we have the record of I-tsing, contained in his work *Nan-hae-k'i-kwei-niu-fä-ch'uen*, of fifty-six priests who visited India from China and neighbouring countries during the middle and end of the seventh century A.D. As some of these records are of interest, I will briefly allude to them.

With respect to I-tsing himself, or, as he was called in full, Shih-i-tsing (the symbol Shih (Śākya) is a contraction for Shih-tseu, i.e. a Śākyaputra, or disciple of Śākya), we read in a work *Ku-kin-shi-king-t'u-ki*, that he was a man of Ts'i-chau (in Shantung). His family name was Chang, his private name was Wen. He became a disciple when very young, and at fifteen years of age resolved to visit the western world, like the unpretending Fa-hien or the famous Hiouen Thsang; and so, in the second year of *Hien Heng* (A.D. 671-2), he came with thirty-seven others to Kwang-fu (Canton), and of these, ten set out with him on his travels, but these all got away from the ship and left him



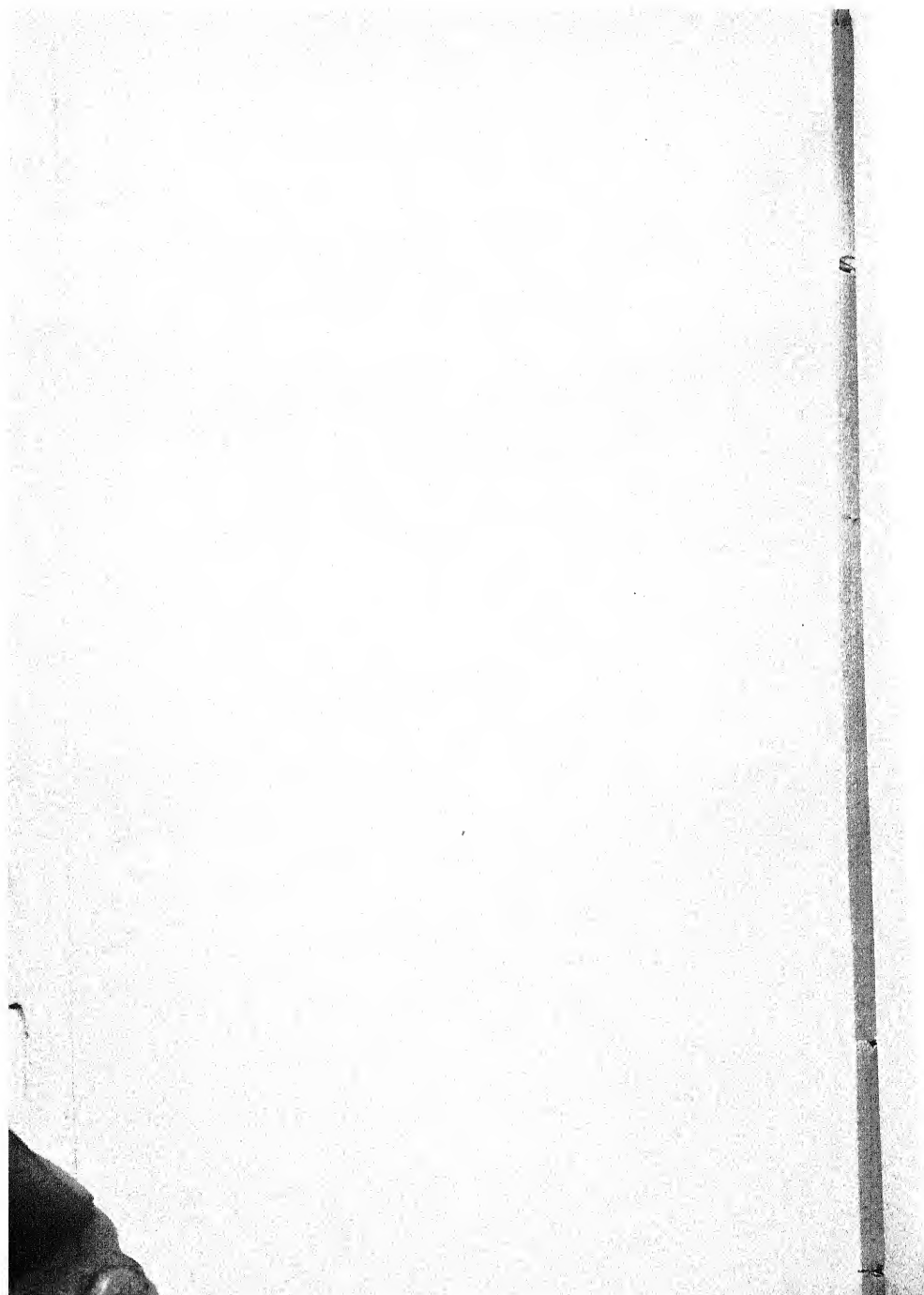
W. Griggs, Photo-lith. London.

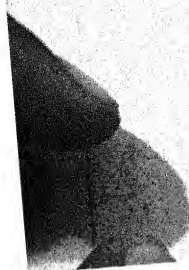
按宋史載有沙門
洪蘿潭州長沙人
真宋在蜀時嘗
以葯方謁見

懷法神各見禪書
按宋真宗天禧五
年歲次辛酉明年
壬戌改元乾興是
刻猶作天禧殆遠
別帝鄉不知改元
故耳

大宋因傳經講論西河僧可蘊述贊佛身座記可蘊述別
瞻佛境既觀異跡靈蹤寧無福善欽讚者乎可蘊遂竭餘資
樹北三十餘步刻鐫千佛石塔一口所選標之會安足之方
不足以寫心法施刻恭而傾腹聊申荒句以讚無生讚竟座
目大雄口氏悲物留異雖無空法然有靈神群邪啓仰動
親口千年久月而長新又讚曰四八觀無盡威顏衆好
山盤碧玉目海透青蓮万字句金聚雙眉毫雲纏奇哉神異
體絕塵烟四口影體脩讚其身佛身有三一一具讚讚化身
悲深月而真曾救火中人爲子留醫法繫珠作支親三車開
五教拂迷塵懊惱沈淪日不逢物外身讚報身曰万行
滿凡出愛關根塵周淨穢相好納江山佛佛身無礙心
永拋三有海自利體閑閑讚法身曰竟原周法界妙
塵湛湛無生滅冥冥絕果因居凡時不俗在聖處非真我讚
竭始逢清淨身三身既讚座亦須揚讚化身座曰五天有
六合內中生深透金輪底高昇地面平塵勞終不雜水火
時殄魔軍力安然師子鳴讚報身座曰座高三界外
天居劫火終雍刻世工豈易摸花王各異遠妙竟道堪都
沙數長生遍太靈讚法身座曰無始無生滅蹤橫絕
然含五趣寐靜納災般若偈潛演勞悲障密摧雖經百万
離塵埃我將有相之荒詞用讚無生之妙理似持蚊駘揆
豈知高下微表歸仰之懷今將讚誦三身抄善兼及刻鐫
點並用奉福我本國明王遐資聖壽大宋皇帝伏願
池之水滔滔而無滅無增福如神嶽之山岌岌而唯高唯峻
更願此地當來位繼懷法之位他方後世名標月蓋之名
異跡靈蹤脩錄口記時大宋天禧年歲次壬戌乙巳月
耳同扎佛鄉僧東京右街典教祥院義清義
同持金襴袈裟一條於摩河菩提佛座上被掛已訖寄
古記之

大漢國僧志義支發願勸三十万人修上生行施三十
經自誦三十万卷如口德迴迴普陀今至摩竭國聖金
口口口歸寶与諸大德等同發願往普陀口三万人中





alone. And so with earnest resolve and unattended he went on, and after many dangers and delays came to the borders of India. He studied the languages of all the countries he passed through. Deeply he revered the sacred spots on the Vulture Peak, and the Cock-foot Mount; gladly he advanced to the Jetavana and the Deer Park, and then, taking a circuit, rested in the Nālanda College and worshipped at the Bo Tree. He studied under eminent masters, both the Little and Great Vehicle. After visiting more than thirty countries, he returned homewards, having been away some twenty years, and arriving at the river Loh (in Honan, a tributary of the Yellow River), [he disembarked]. He brought home with him nearly four hundred distinct volumes of original copies of the Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma (scriptures), comprising 500,000 verses. He also brought one picture of the Diamond Throne and three hundred fragments of *sarīras* (body-relics). The Heavenly Queen (*Tin-hau* or *Wu-hau*, the empress), in her reverence for religion (the law), accompanied by her family and friends, went forth from the eastern gate to meet him and his sacred treasure. His dark-clad companions bore flags; music was heard on every side as he advanced to the Shan-ki Temple. Here he rested and began his work of translation. During the years 700-703 A.D. he translated, first with (a priest) of Khoten, and afterwards by himself, in the Fuh-sien Temple of the Eastern capital, or in the Sai-ming Temple of the Western capital, twenty volumes. Afterwards, in the first year of the *Shên Lung* cycle (705), he translated in the inner precinct of the Eastern capital the following work in three chapters, "The Chant of the Peacock-rāja" (*Mayūra rāja dhāraṇī*), and in the Ta-fuh-sien Temple three other works.

Altogether, from the first year of the cycle *Kin-she* (under the rule of the Empress *Wu*) till the second year of the cycle *King Yün* (under the rule of the Emperor Jui Tsung) [700 A.D. to 712 A.D.], he (with others co-operating) translated fifty-six distinct treatises (*P'o*), including altogether

I-tsing in his narrative speaks of two routes to India from China, commonly adopted in his time; one by the Southern Seas, *i.e.* from Canton to Condore (*Kun-lun*) and thence to the straits of Malacca, Quedah, Pegu and Tamralipti: the other by the old route through the Sandy deserts to Khoten and North India, or through Tibet and Nepal to Cashmere. Confining my remarks for the present to the Southern route, I find I-tsing (*Kiouen* I. p. 7 *op. cit.*) referring to two priests of Corea, their names unknown, who starting from *Chang'an* and taking ship along the coast proceeded to the Southern Sea. Having arrived at *Shi-li-fo-shai* (Sribhōja), they proceeded westward to the coast of *Po-lu-se* and there died. We know with some certainty that the country of *Po-lu-se* is Sumatra.¹ We may therefore place *Fo-shai* (Sribhōja) to the eastward of Sumatra.

I-TSING² next refers to a priest of *Yih-chau*³ named HUI-NING. He left China by sea for the south in the year 665 A.D., and passed three years in the country called *Ho-ling*.

The next notice is to the life of a priest called WAN-KI of Kiau-chau (in Chili?), who spent ten years in the Southern Sea and was very learned in the language of *Kun-lun* (Condore) and partly acquainted with Sanskrit. He afterwards retired to a lay life and resided at *Shi-lo-fo-shi* (Sribhōja).

Another priest called MOCHA-DEVA, a Cochin Chinese, went to India by the Southern Sea route, and having visited all the countries of that part, arrived at the Mahâbodhi Temple, where he adored the sacred relics and died æt. 24.

KWEI-CHUNG, another priest of Cochin China, went by the Southern Sea to Ceylon, afterwards in company with a priest called HÜN-CHIN he proceeded to the Bodhi Tree, and afterwards to Râjagriha, and being taken sick in the Bamboo garden (Veluvana) he died there aged thirty years.

We next read of a priest of the Mahâyana school called TANG or "the lamp" (*dipa*), who went with his parents when

¹ Compare Bretschneider, "*The Knowledge possessed by the Ancient Chinese of the Arabs*," etc. p. 16n.

² K.T. p. 11. l.

³ Yih Chau in Chili.

young to the land of *Dvārapati* (Sandoway in Burmah) and there became a priest. He returned with the Chinese envoy to the capital. Afterwards he went by the Southern Sea route to Ceylon, where he worshipped the tooth; and then proceeding through South India and crossing into Eastern India, arrived at *Tamralipti*: being attacked by robbers at the mouth of the river, he barely escaped with his life; he resided at Tamralipti for twelve years, having perfected himself in Sanskrit, he then proceeded to Nālanda and Buddha Gayā, then to Vesāli and the Kusi country, and finally died at Kusinagara, in the Pari Nirvāṇa Temple.

We next read of two priests of Kao-tchaing (Turfan) going in company with a Chinese envoy through the southern seas. They died, however, on board ship. Their books (the *Yoga Śāstra* and others) I-TSING remarks are still at SHI-LI-FOU-SHAI.

I-TSING at the beginning of the second part of his treatise alludes to a priest called TAOU-LIN of King-chau (in Hupeh) whose Sanskrit name was SILAPRABHA, who embarked in a foreign ship and passing through the copper-pillars stretched away to LANKA (Kamalanká), and then, keeping along the Kalinga coast (*i.e.* the coast of Pegu), they came to the country of the naked men. The king of this country behaved well to the pilgrim and he remained there several years. He then proceeded to Tamralipti, where he passed three years learning the Sanskrit language. After visiting the Vajrāsana and worshipping the Bodhi Tree, he passed to NĀLANDA, where he studied the *Kośha*, and after a year or two went to the Vulture peak, near Rājagriha, and finally proceeded to South India; and going through the Marāṭhā country in Western India he studied a work called the *Ta-mung-chan*, in Sanskrit the *Vedī dhāva pīṭaka*. The current tradition is that this work was in 100,000 ślokas, which, in a Chinese translation, would represent 300 chapters (*kiouem*), but that a great portion is lost—and that, after the death of the great Holy One, the spirit of the verses was preserved by ARYA NĀGĀRJUNA.

TAO-LIN after this proceeded to Kaśmir and the country of

UDYĀNA, and dwelt in KAPISA, where he adored the skull-bone of Buddha. He then returned by sea¹ to Quědāh (Kie-c'ha). He was here informed by some Northern Tartars (*hu*) that there were two priests in their country agreeing in description with some friends of his; he returned, therefore to North India, where he died aged fifty years or so.

Another priest called TAN-KWONG, of the same district in China, went to India by the Southern Sea route, and having arrived at A-LI-KI-LO (Arakan?), he was reported to have found much favour with the king of that country, and to have got a temple built and books and images; in the end, as was supposed, he died there.

HWUI-MING, another priest from the same district, set out to go to India by the Southern Sea route, but the ship being baffled by contrary winds put in at TUNG-CHU (copper pillars) in Ma-yuen, and after stopping at SHANG-KING returned to China.

HWUI-TA, a priest of Kung-chow, and the district of Kiang Ning, was a man of high family. He appears to have accompanied an envoy in a Persian ship to the Southern Seas. Having arrived at Fo-shai (Sribhōja) he remained there six months studying the *Sabdavidya*; the king was highly courteous, and on the occasion of his sending a present to the country of *Mo-lo-yu* (Malaya) HWUI-TA proceeded there, and remained two months. He then went on to Quědāh, and then at the end of winter went in the royal ship towards Eastern India. Going North from Quědāh, after ten days or so they came to the country of the naked man. For two or three *lis* along the Eastern shore there were nothing but cocoa-nut trees and forests of betel vines. The people, when they saw the ship, came alongside in little boats with the greatest clamour; there were upwards of one hundred such boats filled with cocoa-nuts and plantains; they had also baskets, etc., made of rattan; they desired to exchange these things for whatever we had

¹ The Southern Sea route.

that they fancied, but they liked nothing so much as bits of iron. A piece of this metal two fingers length in size would buy as many as five or ten cocoa-nuts. The men here are all naked, the women wear a girdle of leaves; the sailors in joke offered them clothes, but they made signs that they did not want any such articles. This country, according to report, is south-west of Sze-ch'uan. The country produces no iron, and very little gold and silver; the people live on cocoa-nuts and some esculent roots, but have very little rice or cereals. Iron is very valuable; they call it *Lu-a*. The men are not quite black, of middling height, they use poisoned arrows, one of which is fatal. Going for half a month in a north-west direction we came to Tamralipti, which is the southern district of East India. This place is some sixty stages or more from Nālanda and the Bodhi Tree. Meeting the priest called "Lamp of the great vehicle" (*Mahāyana dipa*) in this place, they remained together there one year, learning Sanskrit and practising themselves in the *Śābda-śāstra*. They then went on with some hundred or so merchantmen towards Central India. When about ten days journey from the Mahābodhi, in a narrow pass, the road being bad and slippery, Hwui-ta was left behind and attacked by robbers, who stripped him and left him half dead in a ditch. At sundown some villagers rescued him and gave him a garment. Going on north he came to NĀLANDA, and after visiting all the sacred spots in the neighbourhood he remained at Nālanda ten years, and then going back to TAMRALIPTI, he returned to Quēdāh, and with all his books and translations, amounting in all to 500,000 ślokas, enough to fill 1000 vols.: he remained at Śribhōja.

SHEN-HING, a priest of Sin Chow, also went to Śribhōja, where he died.

The priest LING-WAN having gone through Annam came to India, and erected under the Bodhi Tree a figure of MĀITREYA BODHISATWA one cubit in height, and of exquisite character.

SENG-CHI, a priest and companion of the former, went to India by the Southern Sea route, and arrived at SAMOTATA.

The king of that country, named HARSHA VARDHANA, a Upāsaka, greatly revered the three objects of worship, and devoted himself to his religious duties; he had made, day by day, above 100,000 figures of Jemma; had read through the Great *Prajña*, consisting of 100,000 ślokas, and was most punctual in his acts of worship, etc.

A priest, CHI-'sz, is mentioned who went to the South and resided at SHANG-KING, near Cochin China. He then went south to Sribhōja, and afterwards proceeded to India.

A priest, WOU KING, in company with the last, left Hainan with an easterly wind; after a month he arrived at Sribhōja. He then went in the royal ship for fifteen days to Malaya, in another fifteen days to Quědàh, then waiting till the end of winter; going west for thirty days he arrived at NAGA-VADANA (Nagapatam?), whence after two days' sea voyage he came to Sinhapura (Ceylon). He there worshipped the sacred tooth, and then going N.E. for a month arrived at the country of O-li-ki-lo (Arakan). This is the eastern limit of East India. It is a part of the country of Champa (Siam). Staying here one year he moved towards Eastern India with his companion, CHI-'sz. This place is about 100 stages from Nālanda. After this he proceeded to the Mahabodhi Temple in the Mung country (i.e. the Temple of KHARDEH). Having rested here, he again returned to Nālanda and studied the *Yoga*, *Kosha*, and other works. Moved with a desire to find copies of the *Vinaya*, he again repaired to the Khardeh (*kie-lo-'ha*) temple. About two stages from this he speaks of a saintly artisan who by practising the rules of the Bodhisatwa CHANNA, expected to obtain the power of entering the dim caverns of earth. In the end he died at Nālanda.

FA-SHIN also started by the southern route, and after passing Shang-king (Saigon), Ku-long, Kaling, and Quědàh, he died.

Putting together the notices to be found in I-TSING's works we may conclude that the sea-route between China and India in the early years of the TANG dynasty was by way of Java, Sumatra, the straits of Malacca, the coast of Burma and

Arakan, to Tamralipti, or else by the more adventurous way of Ceylon from Quēdāh. It seems that the Condore Islands were a centre of trade, and that the language of the natives of these islands was used generally through the Southern Seas; at least I-TSING speaks of himself as interpreting the language at Sribhōja.

We have one or two points of some certainty in the itinerary of these pilgrims. For instance in the *Si-yu-ki* Hiouen Thsang (iii. 82) says that to the N.E. of SAMOTATA is the country called ŚRIKSHETRA, to the S.E. of this is KAMALANGKA, to the east of this is DĀRAPATI (read Dvārapati). This country has been identified by Captain St. John (*Phoenix*, May, 1872) with old Tung-oo and Sandoway in Burmah, lat. 18° 20' N. long. 94° 20' E., it is in fact the "door land" between Burma and Siam; this latter being called Champa or Lin-I. Hiouen Thsang remarks that to the S.W. of *Lin-I*, or Siam, in the country of the YAVANAS, or, as they are called in his text, the YEN-MO-NA. We do not read of this country in I-TSING; it may, probably, represent Cambodia.

I now turn to a brief consideration of the other pilgrims named by I-TSING who reached India by the northern route.

1. The Shaman YUAN-CHIU, a native of SIN-NANG in TAI-CHAU, went to India, leaving KIN-FU, crossing the desert of drifting sands, passing through the Iron gates, Tukhāra and Tibet, he arrived by degrees at Jālandhara, where he remained four years. Being in favour with the MUNG king he studied with him the Sanskrit language and the Buddhist *Sūtras* and the *Vinaya*. Going southwards he came to the Mahābodhi, where again he passed four years visiting the sacred relics of the Holy One and looking up with reverence to the features of Maitreya, which were carved there. He then went to Nālanda, where he remained three years, and made the acquaintance of a priest called *Shin-kwong*. He also met here a noted priest of Ceylon, from whom he received a copy of the *Yoga* and other sacred books. Going north along the Ganges he remained in the SIN-TCHE and other temples for three years and then returned to China; passing through Nepal and Tibet, where he met his old

friend, WEN-SHING-KUNG, he arrived by way of Western Tibet and Eastern Hia. Again (664 A.D.) he returned to India through Tibet, accompanied by a Brahman he had met at Loyang, called LOKAYATA; travelling towards the Marâthâ country, he passed through Tukhâra, and in the course of a year came to the NAVA-VIHÂRA, where he saw the water-pitcher of Tathâgata and other sacred relics; he then went on to KAPISA, where he worshipped the skull-bone at NAGARAHARA, and took an impression of it to see whether he would be fortunate or no. Then passing through Sindh he came to the Ra-ta (Marâthâ) country; he here found the Mung King and remained with him four years, then travelling through South India he arrived on his return journey at the diamond seat at Gayâ, whence he went on to the Nâlanda temple, where I-TSING saw him; after further travels, finding it impossible to return by way of Nepal, and the way through Kapisa being now held by the TA-SHI, *i.e.* the Arabs,¹ he returned to the Amaravati country, where he sickened and died, æt. 60.

2. TAO HI, a Doctor of the Law, a man of the district LIH-SHING, of the department Ts'ai-chau (Shantung?), his Sanskrit name ŚRIDEVA. He was a man of noble descent. Having gone through India, visiting the sacred places, he came to the Mahâbodhi, where he remained several years, and then proceeded to Nâlanda. He likewise visited the country of Kusi (Nagara). The Mung king of the AMARAVATI country greatly respected him. Whilst remaining at Nâlanda he studiously applied himself to the Great Vehicle. He resided also in the Chu-po-pun-na (the Garden of the Cremation, the Temple of the Nirvâna), and studied the *Vinaya pitaka* and the *Śabda vidya*. Whilst in the Ta-hsio Temple (the Mahâbodhi) he engraved a memorial tablet in the Chinese language. He left more than 400 Chinese vols., *Sûtras* and *Sâstras*, at Nâlanda. I-TSING did not meet him

¹ In Bretschneider (*Arabs, etc.*), p. 8, we read that the King of the Ta-shi, by name *Han-mi-mo-mo-ni*, in the year 651 sent for the first time an envoy with presents to the Chinese court, and at the same time announced in a letter that the house Ta-shi had reigned 34 years and had had three kings.

(he fell sick in the Amaravati country, and died, aged fifty years or so), but he saw his chamber.

3. SSE-PIN, Doctor of the Law, a man of Ts'AI-CHAU, went after HUAN-CHIN through North India, and then through Western India, till he came to AMĀRAKUVA. He there dwelt in the Royal Temple, in high favour with the King. Here he met TAOU-HI, a fellow townsman. After remaining here one summer, he sickened and died, æt. thirty-five years.

4. ARYAVARMA, a Corean, in the middle period *Chêng-kwan*, 638 A.D., left Chang'an and came to Nālanda, where he engaged himself in copying many *Sūtras*, and was deeply versed in the *Vinaya* and *Abhidharma*. After going eastward and visiting the Cock-foot Mountain, and bathing in the Dragon-pool to the westward, he died at Nālanda, æt. about seventy.

5. HWUI-NIEH, a Doctor of the Law, a Corean, in the middle of the *Chi-kwan* period, 638 A.D., went to the West and dwelt in the Bodhi Temple, where he adored the sacred relics, and then went to Nālanda, where he dwelt for a long time, reading and studying. I-TSING, when arranging some Chinese books, suddenly saw under the title this record: "Whilst dwelling under the Tooth-brush Tree, the Corean priest HWUI-NIEH wrote this record." On inquiry at the Temple, the priests said that he died there the same year, about sixty years of age. The Sanskrit books he wrote were preserved at Nālanda.

6. YUAN TA'I, a Doctor of the Law, a Corean, called by the Sanskrit name of Sarvajnanadeva. In the year *Yung-hwei* (650 A.D.) he went by the Tibetan road through Nepal to Mid-India; he there worshipped the relics at the Bodhi Tree. Afterwards, going to the Tukhâra country, he met TAOU-HI, with whom he returned to the Ta-hsio Temple, Mahābodhi. Afterwards he returned to China, and was not heard of again.

7. YUAN-HAU, a Doctor of the Law, a Corean, went with YUAN-CHIN, in the middle of the *Chêng-kwan* period, to India, and reaching the Ta-hsio Temple, he died there.

8. BODHIDHARMA, a man of the Tukhâra country, of great

bodily size and strength, came to China, and became a priest. He wandered through the nine provinces begging as a religious mendicant. Afterwards going to India to adore the sacred vestiges, I-TSING met him at Nālanda; afterwards he went to North India and died when fifty years old or so.

9. TAOU-LIH, a Doctor of the Law, of Ping-chau, went by way of the Sandy desert and the Tsih rock to Nepal, and afterwards came to the Ta-hsio Temple, where he remained several years; he then returned to Nepal, where he still is.

10. TAOU-SING, a Doctor of the Law, of Ping-chau, called in Sanskrit CHANDRADEVA, in the last year of the *Chêng-kwan* period (649 A.D.), went by the Tu-fan road to Mid India; he arrived at the Bodhi Temple where he worshipped the Chaityas; afterwards going to Nālanda, he was there much honoured by the king on account of his youth. After that, going twelve stages to the eastward, he came to the King's Temple, where they study only the Little Vehicle. He remained here many years, learning the books of the *Tripitaka* according to the Hinayāna. Returning to China through Nepal, he died.

11. SHANG-TIH, a contemplative priest, of Ping-chau. He longed for the joys of the Western Paradise, and with the view of being born there he devoted himself to a life of purity and religion (reciting the name of Buddha). He vowed to write out the whole of the *Prajña-Sūtra*, occupying 10,000 chapters. Desiring to worship the sacred vestiges, and so by this to secure for himself the greater merit with a view to a birth in that heaven, he travelled through the nine provinces, desiring wherever he went to labour in the conversion of men, and to write the sacred books. Coming to the coast he embarked in a ship for Kalinga. Thence he proceeded by sea to the Malaya country, and thence wishing to go to Mid India he embarked in a merchant ship for that purpose. Being taken in a storm the ship began to founder, and the sailors and merchants were all struggling with one another to get aboard a little boat that was near. The captain of the ship being a believer and anxious to save the priest called out to him with a loud voice to come aboard

the boat, but SHANG-TIH replied, "I will not come—save the other people." And so he remained silently absorbed, as if a short term of life were agreeable to one possessed of the heart of Bodhi. Having refused all help he clasped his hands in adoration, and looking towards the West he repeated the sacred name of AMITA, and when the ship went down, these were his last words. He was about 50 years of age. He had a follower unknown to me, who also perished with his master, also calling on the name of Amita Buddha.

12. MATSINHA, a man of the capital; his common name being *Wong-po*. This man accompanied the priest SSE-PIN, and arriving at the middle land dwelt in the Sin-ché Temple. Finding his progress little in the Sanskrit language, he went to Nepal, and died on the way there, æt. 40.¹

13. YUAN-HWUI, a Doctor of the Law, son of a general, according to report. Leaving North India he dwelt in Kāśmir and took charge of the Royal Elephants. The King of this country delighted day by day in going to the different Temples, the Dragon-Lake Mountain Temple, the Kung Yang Temple. This is where the 500 Rahats received charity. Here also the venerable MADYANTIKA, the disciple of ANANDA, converted the Dragon King. This priest exhorted the King of Kāśmir by a great exercise of Royal clemency to remit the punishment of more than 1000 persons who were condemned to death—the king in consequence let them go. Having remained here some years he went southwards and came to the great Bodhi Temple, where he worshipped the Bodhi Tree, beheld the Lake of "Mu-chin" (Muchhalinda) ascended the Vulture peak, etc. After this he went back to Nepal and died there.

14. Again, there was a man who accompanied the envoy by the Northern route to the Tukhâra country, and there lodged in the Nāva-vihâra. In this establishment the principles of the Little Vehicle were taught. Having become a priest he took the name of CHITTAVARMA. Having received the precepts he declined to eat the three pure things, on

¹ Nepal has a poisonous medicine which kills many.

which the master of the convent said, "Tathâgata, our Great Master, permitted these five things as food, why do you object to them?" He answered, "All the Books of the Great Vehicle forbid them; this is what I formerly practised; I cannot now bring myself to change." The Superior answered, "I have established a practice here in agreement with the three sacred collections, and you follow your own interpretation, which is contrary to mine; I cannot permit this difference of opinion, I cease to be your Master." Chittavarma was thus reluctantly obliged to yield. Then having learned a little Sanskrit he returned by the Northern route. I know no more about him.

Again, there were two men who lived in Nepal, they were the children of the wet-nurse of the Duke-Prince of Tibet (Tu-fan). They both were ordained, but one went back to lay life. They lived in the Temple of the Heavenly Kings. They spoke Sanskrit well and understood Sanskrit books.

15. LUNG, a Doctor of the Law, I know not whence he came. In the *Chêng Kwan* period, 627-650 A.D., he went by the Northern route to North India, wishing to visit the sacred spots. In Mid India he got a Sanskrit copy of the *Fâ-hwa* (Lotus of the Good Law), and having gone to Gandhâra he died there.

16. NING-YUEN, a man of Yih-chau, a Doctor of the Law, whose Sanskrit name was CHINTA-DEVA. He embarked in a ship of Cochin-China, and came to the KALINGA country, and thence to Ceylon. Whilst the king was engaged in worship, this priest, concealing himself in a private chamber, tried to steal the tooth relic with a view to bring it to his own country and worship it. He had it concealed in his hand, and was taking it away, when by careless exposure of it he was detected, and driven disgracefully away. He went to South India, and it was related that he was going towards the Mahâbodhi, but then, losing all power of digestion, he died on the road where he had rested. I know not what his age was.

They now keep this tooth relic carefully guarded in a

high tower, it is locked up and sealed by five officers, and when opened great uproar (of music?) is made through the town and outskirts. It is worshipped every day with flowers and incense, when taken out it is placed on a golden flower, and its brilliancy is everywhere diffused. A tradition says that if the relic were lost then the RAKSHAS would devour (it?). There is also a tradition which says that some day it will be taken to China, but this must be by Divine interference, and not by human contrivance.

17. I-LONG, a priest of Yih-chau, well versed in the *Vinaya Pitaka*, and in the interpretation of the *Yoga*, set forth from Chang'an with a priest Chi-ngan, of his own province, and an eminent man called I-huan, and after travelling through the Southern Provinces came to NIAU-LUI, and there embarked on board a merchant ship. Having arrived at Langkia (Kamalanka?) Chi-ngan died. I-LONG, with his other companion, went on to Ceylon, where they worshipped the Tooth, and having obtained various books, returned through Western India. It is not known where he is now residing. He has not been heard of in Mid India.

18. SIN-CHIU, a Doctor of the Law, his country not known. His Sanskrit name CHARITA-VARMA. Taking the Northern route, he arrived in the Western country, and lived in the Sin-ché Temple. In an upper room of this Temple he constructed a sick chamber, and left it for ever for the use of sick brothers. He himself died here. Some days after his illness, in the middle of the night, he suddenly exclaimed: "There is Bodhisatwa, with outstretched hand, beckoning me to his lovely abode;" and then, closing his hands, with a long sigh he expired, æt. thirty-five.

19. SANGHAVARMA, a man of Samarkand, when young crossed the Sandy Desert and came to China. Afterwards, in company with the Envoy, he came to the Great Bodhi Temple and the Vajrāsana, where he burnt lamps in worship for seven days and seven nights. Moreover, in the Bodhi Hall, under the Tree of Asoka, he carved a figure of Buddha and Kwan-tseu-tsai Bodhisatwa. He then returned to China. Afterwards, being sent to KWAI-CHAU (Cochin-China), there

was great scarcity of food there. He daily distributed food, and was so affected by the sorrows of the fatherless and bereaved orphans, that he was moved to tears as he visited them. He was on this account named the weeping Bodhisatwa. He died shortly afterwards from infection caught there, which soon terminated fatally, æt. about sixty.

20. WAN-YUN, a Doctor of the Law, of Loyang, travelling through the Southern parts of China, came to Cochin-China, thence went by ship to Kalinga, where he died.

21. HWUI-LUN, a Corean, otherwise called Prajñavarma, came from his own country to Fu-chau, and thence to Chang'an. Being sent to follow the priest YUAN-CHIU, he arrived in the Western countries and dwelt for some time (ten years) at Amarāvati, in the Sin-ché Temple.

He afterwards went through the Eastern frontiers, and came to the Temple of the Tukhâra priests. Originally this was built by the Tukhâra people for their own priests. The Temple was called Gandhârasanda. *Hwui-Lun* dwelt here, and perfected himself in Sanskrit. All priests who come from the North dwell in this Temple. To the west of the *Ta-hsio* Temple is the Temple of the Kapisa country; this is also a rich and large establishment, for the diffusion of the Little Vehicle. Priests from the North also dwell here. The Temple is called *Gunacharita*.

Two stages to the north-east of the *Ta-hsio* is a Temple called *Kiu-lu-kia*,¹ because a king of the Southern country, called *Kiu-lu-kia*, had long ago built it. This establishment, though poor, was very strict in its teaching. Recently a king, called *Sun-Army*,² built by the side of the old Temple another, which is now newly finished. Priests of the South coming to this part occupy this Temple.

All parts of the world have their appropriate temples, except China, so that priests from that country have many hardships to endure. Eastward, about forty stages following the course of the Ganges, we come to the Mrigasikavana Temple. Not far from this is a ruined establishment called

¹ Chalukya? *Charaka* according to *Eitel* and *Stas. Julien*.

² Adityasena (*Burgess*).

the Tchina Temple. The old tradition says that formerly a Mahârâja called Śrigupta built this for the priests of China, At this time some Chinese priests, about twenty men or so, came from Sz'chuen to the Mahâbodhi Temple to pay worship to it, on which the king, seeing their piety, gave them as a gift this plot of land. This is about 500 years ago. The land now belongs to the King of Eastern India, whose name is Devavarma.

The Mahâbodhi Temple, near the Diamond Throne, was built by a king of the SÎNHALA country some time since for the use of priests of Ceylon. Going N.E. seven stages we come to the NĀLANDA Temple; this was built by an old king, Śri ŚAKRĀDITYA, for a Bhikshu of Northern India called RĀJA BHĀJA; after beginning it, he was much obstructed by other people, but his descendants finished it and made it by far the most magnificent establishment in Jambudwipa. This building is four square, like a city. There are four large gateways of three storeys each. Each storey is some ten feet in height. The whole covered on the outside with tiles.

Outside the western gate of the Great Hall of the Temple is a large Stûpa and various Chaityas, each erected over different sacred vestiges, and adorned with every kind of precious substance.

The Superior is a very old man; the Karmadana or Vihâraswâmi or Vihârapâla is the chief officer after the Superior, and to him the utmost deference is paid.

This is the only temple in which, by Imperial order, a water-clock is kept to determine the right time. The night is divided into three watches, during the first and last of which there are religious services; in the middle watch, as the priests may desire, they can watch or repose. The method in which this clock determines the time is fully described in the "*K'hi-kwei-ch'uen*."

The temple is called ŚRI NĀLANDA VIHĀRA, after the name of the Nâga called Nanda.

The great temple opens to the west; going about twenty paces from the gate there is a stûpa about 100 feet high.

This is where the Lord of the world (Lokanâtha) kept *Wass* (the season of the rains) for three months; the Sanskrit name is Mûlagandhakoti. Northwards, 50 paces is a great stûpa even higher than the other; this was built by BALÂDITYA—very much revered—in it is a figure of Buddha turning the wheel of the law. South-west is a little chaitya about ten feet high. This commemorates the place where the Brahman, with the bird in his hand, asked questions; the Chinese expression *Su-li-fau-to* means just the same as this.¹

To the west of the Mûlagandha Hall is the tooth-brush tree of Buddha (this is not the willow-tree).

On a raised space is the ground where Buddha walked. It is about two cubits wide, fourteen or fifteen long, and two high. There are lotus flowers carved out of the stone, a foot high, fourteen or fifteen in number, to denote his steps.

Going from the temple south to RÂJAGRIHA is thirty *li*. The Vulture Peak and the Bambu Garden are close to this city. Going S.W. to the Mahâbodhi is seven stages (*yojanas*). The same due south to the "Honoured Foot-print." To VESÂLI is twenty-five stages north. To the Deer Park twenty or so stages west. East to TAMRALIPTI is sixty or seventy stages. This is the place for embarking for China from Eastern India and close to the sea. There are about 3500 priests in the temple at NÂLANDA, which is supported by revenues derived from land (villages) given by a succession of kings to the monastery.²

So far I have followed the records of I-TSING. They show, at any rate, that India was visited by a succession of Chinese priests during the early part of the Tang dynasty. We may hope that the two inscriptions discovered at Buddha-Gayâ will not be the last to be found there (or in the neighbourhood), and that we may yet find some record relating to one or more of these devoted pilgrims.

¹ But here I-tsing is in error.

² A stage 騾 is equal to a *Yojana*.

ART. XXIV.—*A Sanskrit Ode Addressed to the Congress of Orientalists at Berlin.* By RĀMA DĀSA SENA, the Zemindar of Berhampore. With a Translation by Mr. SHYĀMAJI KRISHNAVARMĀ, of Balliol College.

RĀMA DĀSA SENA, the Zemindār of Berhampore, well known to Sanskrit scholars in Europe by his Aitihasika Rahasya or essays on Sanskrit literature (in Bengali), not being able to join the Oriental Congress, to which he had personally been invited, has sent the following verses to be read at the Congress. The English translation has been made by Mr. Shyāmaji Krishnavarmā, of Balliol College.—Ed. J.R.A.S.

आर्याणां शास्त्रगुर्वी विविधवुधगणैर्यापिनी विश्ववन्द्या

यासोदये दुरापा परनरपतिभिः चात्रवीरैः प्रपाज्या ।

सा दीना भूमिरेषा यवननृपहतैः शास्त्ररत्नैर्विहीना

भूत्वाऽप्यद्यैव विद्वद्गुणिगणगणनारम्भमुज्ज्या विभाति ॥ १ ॥

वाल्मीकिः कालिदासः कविकुलतिलको विश्वविख्यातकीर्तिः

श्रीश्रीव्यासोमहात्मा निखिलकविगुरुर्भारतेऽद्यापि भाति ।

येषां कीर्त्तिःपताका भुवनपरिसरे स्वेच्छयोड्डीयमाना

धन्यास्ति चौण्डिरेषा यदधिकरणका नीतजन्मान एते ॥ २ ॥

मातर्भारतमेदिनि क्षणमहो विश्रम्भतां साम्प्रतम्

मारोदीक्षव सूनवोऽमृतमिता व्यासादयः पण्डिताः ।

येषां कीर्त्तिकलापकीर्त्तितगुणा लोकेषु कर्णोत्पलम्

सप्ताम्भोनिधिपारिणामपि सतां पाण्डित्यजन्मस्थली ॥ ३ ॥

संसत्त्यादियुरोपबालिनभुवि प्राचार्यशास्त्रार्थिका
 कंग्रेस सा कथिता सतां शुभकरी विद्येव शास्त्रोज्ज्वला ।
 विद्योद्यानलतानुगा मुकुलिता वक्तृत्वमुक्ताफलै
 गुञ्जद्भृङ्गसुसभ्यसङ्घमिलिता प्रामोदपुष्पाकुला ॥ ४ ॥

योऽसौ धन्योविशेषः स्तुतगुणनिकरोवश्वविश्वोगुणैघैः
 श्रीलश्रीमोक्षमूलारूपहसितगुरुर्वेददृष्ट्या स्वभिन्नः ।
 श्रीवेन्फीवेबरो वा जगदखिलजनप्रोतिपारीणकर्मा
 सर्वे सभ्या भवेयुर्गवरनटिस्स्रटाः पण्डिता यत्र योज्याः ॥ ५ ॥

वार्त्तामेतां निपीयः श्रवणमधुमयीं भारतास्त्वार्थमिश्रां
 गाहन्तां प्रीतिधरा निजजनन्धुंलुप्तरागोदयान्धाः ।
 कुर्वीरन् धन्यवादं जगदुपकृतये प्रीतये कोविदानाम्
 वर्द्धन्तां ज्ञानवृक्षाः कृपणजनमनःसूषरेषु प्ररुद्धाः ॥ ६ ॥

गोष्ठी प्राचैर्गरिष्ठा सुरगुरुसदृशैः पण्डितैर्मण्डिता या
 तस्यामाह्वयमानोलधुरपि महतां मानमस्त्रि प्रयातः ।
 प्रत्यूहैर्याहता मे गतिरिति नितरां दुःखितं मां क्षमध्वं
 सेनः श्रीरामदासो विनयपरिणतो दूरतोयाचतेऽदः ॥ ७ ॥

1. The land of the Āryas was once remarkable for its learning, and abounded in sages of various kinds; it was worthy of universal respect, and, being protected by the valiant Kshatriyas, at first held its own against foreign invaders. That poor land stands first even to-day in the list of the learned and the virtuous, though it is deprived of its jewels of learning, which have been destroyed by Yavana kings.

2. Vālmiki, Kālidāsa, the best of poets, whose fame is universally known, and the great Vyāsa, the father of poetry, reign still predominant in the land of Bhārata. Happy is this land, which is the place of birth and residence of those whose fame is a banner unfurled by itself in all parts of the world.

3. O mother, O land of Bhārata, be now calm for a moment! Weep no more, for thy learned sons, Vyāsa and others, have attained immortality. Their great fame and good qualities are known to all people. The birthplace of the wisdom of those excellent men, who have even traversed the seven seas, is rich in virtues, celebrated by an abundance of fame in all the world.

4. May the assembly, which, like the embodiment of science, illuminates all learning, and which is called the Congress devoted to Eastern Learning, to be held at Berlin, in Europe, prove beneficial to good men! That assembly is surrounded by creeping plants of the garden of knowledge, blossoming with the pearls of eloquence, full of a host of eminent men, humming sweetly like bees, and laden with the flowers of delight.

5. May that gifted and eminent scholar Max Müller, who has subdued the whole world by his innumerable and duly celebrated qualities, and who in his knowledge of the Vedas has left far behind his teachers; may Benfey and Weber, together with Gubernatis and Roth, who have accomplished the task of delighting the world; and may all other distinguished scholars, take part in the proceedings of that assembly, where the learned are to be gathered together.

6. Let the natives of India, who were blind to the rise of the lost glory of their mother-country, plunge themselves into the ocean of joy on hearing this most pleasing and excellent piece of news. Let them express their gratitude for the benefit which is thus to be conferred upon the world,

and for the gratification afforded to the wise ; and let the trees of knowledge, grown on the barren minds of miserable men, incessantly increase.

7. Though a person of no importance myself, I have had the honour of being invited to attend the most eminent Congress, adorned by Oriental scholars who resemble Brihaspati. Please to dispense with my presence, for I, a most miserable man, am debarred by difficulties. This is what Râmadâsa Sena begs to say most humbly from a land far away.

ART. XXV.—*Supplement to a paper "On the Duty which Mohammedans in British India owe, on the Principles of their own Law, to the Government of the Country."* By N. B. E. BAILLIE, M.R.A.S.

WHEN the paper was read at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, some exceptions were taken to it by Lord Stanley of Alderley. A report of these has been added to the report of the paper in the pages of the Society's Journal, and may possibly give occasion for doubt on a subject which I think of much importance to Mohammedans in British India and even of some to the Government itself. I therefore propose to answer the exceptions in detail and at some length. But it seems necessary, for the better understanding of them, that I should first state briefly the principles on which the argument of the paper was founded.

They are thus set forth in the leading authorities of the Mohammedan law. When a Mussulman merchant enters a *Dar-ool-Hurb* or foreign country, and is allowed to reside in it, with the permission of the sovereign, he is prohibited by his own law from molesting the inhabitants of the country in any way, either in their persons or property. This prohibition is founded on an implied engagement to refrain from any such molestation, so long as due protection is afforded to him. The rule of course is not restricted to the case of one merchant, but extends equally to all persons of that description enjoying the protection of a foreign Government. The reason assigned for it admits of a still wider application; and the author of the paper, assuming as a general principle that what was the duty of one must, as a matter of conscience, be the duty of all, that is, of each individual of an aggregate of persons, proceeded to found on it the duty which the Mussulman population of British India owe to its Government. For this application he maintained that only two conditions were

required: one, that the Mussulmans were protected and justly treated by the Government; and the other, that the country had become *Dar-ool-Hurb* in the eye of the Mohammedan law, as it had long been in reality, by its subjection to foreigners. Believing that the first of these conditions could not be disputed, the author of the paper confined himself to the proof of the latter. On this point he quoted the opinions of the three great doctors of Mohammedan law, according to two of whom mere conquest by foreigners was held to be sufficient to convert a country from *Dar-ool-Islám* to *Dar-ool-Hurb*; and, though the third doctor required certain conditions for that end, they were all shown to be accomplished in the case of British India. Collateral to that issue, but not of less importance to the Mussulmans, the paper entered at some length on the relation of the question to the laws against usury contained in the Koran.

Lord Stanley's exceptions have reference to the general principle above stated, and to the fact of the country having become *Dar-ool-Hurb*. With regard to the Usury Law he has preserved an entire silence.

I. With regard to the question of *Dar-ool-Hurb*, the exception is stated as follows:—

“The author of this paper did not know or had not taken account of the fact that this question had been fully discussed in the ‘Pioneer,’ an Indian newspaper written in English, and much used by Indians. The Ulema had decided that British India was neither *Dar-ul-Islam* nor *Dar-ul-Harb*, but something between the two, and that the Mussulmans were bound to give their acquiescence to British Rule on account of three conditions: 1. That the British Government respected their law and religion; 2. That the British Government was in alliance with and supported the Sultan of Constantinople; 3. That the English Government was a government of Christians and not of infidels.”

No reason has been assigned throughout the whole of this passage for distinguishing British India from all other countries under the government of foreigners, nor has any authority been adduced, except that of an English news-

paper and of unknown persons who are termed Ulema, or learned in the Mohammedan Law, that there can be a country which is subject to any form of government, and is neither *Dar-ool-Islám* nor *Dar-ool-Hurb*, according to the meanings given to these expressions by the writers on that Law. Thus, *Dar-ool-Islám* is uniformly rendered by Mr. Hamilton in his translation of the Hidayah as a country subject to Mussulman government; while *Dar-ool-Hurb* is described by him in the same work as "any foreign country under the government of infidels"; and the sense in which he constantly uses the word "infidels" is that of persons who are unbelievers in the Mohammedan religion. To say, then, that a country is neither *Dar-ool-Islám* nor *Dar-ool-Hurb* is tantamount to saying that its government is neither Mussulman nor not Mussulman, which would be a contradiction in terms.

The only way in which the Ulema of the "Pioneer" escape from this dilemma is by taking advantage of a reproachful sense in which the word "infidels" is occasionally used in common parlance. But this sense is properly applicable only to unbelievers in Christianity; and to say that the English Government is not a government of infidels in the reproachful sense is a mere pleonasm, and shirks the only meaning the Ulema, if they are really what the name implies, can be supposed to attach to the word, that is, of unbelievers in the Mohammedan religion.

With regard to the conditions on which the Ulema had decided that the Mussulmans were bound to give their acquiescence to British rule, the first is a good moral reason why they should give their acquiescence to any Government. The second, instead of placing their acquiescence, as I proposed to do, on the sound basis of Mohammedan Law, which like that of the Medes and Persians changeth not, made it in a manner to depend on the good will of the Sultan of Constantinople, and liable to vary with every change in the relations between his Government and that of Great Britain. In so much that if in the course of events it should happen that the two Governments were ever opposed

to each other, the vast Mohammedan population of British India might fancy that they were released from their allegiance to the Government. The third condition, as I have shown, is dependent on an ambiguous meaning of the English word "infidels," and is the reverse of true in the sense of the corresponding term (*Kafir*¹) in the Mohammedan Law.

II. Lord Stanley has offered two exceptions with regard to certain conditions required by Abou Huneefa, for the complete conversion of a country by foreign conquest from *Dar-ool-Islam* to *Dar-ool-Harb*. The first of these exceptions is in the following terms:—The author of this paper has said, "There is not a trace of Muslim authority in the proceedings of the Government." "Lord Stanley did not think this statement was correct, or in accordance with the facts, for even if the Kazys had not the full position that they ought to have, still the affairs of the Mussulmans were governed in accordance with Mussulman Law, and Mussulman Law was administered by the British Law Courts." To this I answer, The only way in which I am aware that it can be said that the affairs of Mussulmans are governed in accordance with Mussulman Law is, that Mussulman Law is administered under regulations of the Government by the British Law Courts in matters relating to religion, marriage and inheritance. But the administration is by Judges, all of whom are appointed by and act under the sole authority of Her Majesty or her representatives. How this can be said to indicate the existence of Muslim authority in the proceedings of the Government, I am unable to comprehend, and must leave Lord Stanley in possession of any benefit to be derived from this argument *valeat quantum*.

The other of the two exceptions is as follows: "The author of the paper, also, in maintaining the second condition of a *Dar-ul-Harb*, of its being contiguous to another *Dar-ul-Harb*, without the interposition of any city or country of Islam, quite forgot the territory of the Nizam of Haiderabad, which was completely a *Dar-ul-Islam*, for the proclamation

¹ This term is expressly applied to Christians in works on Mohammedan Law, as for instance in the *Futawa Alumgeeree*, vol. ii. p. 273-4.

of the Queen as Empress of India had not in any way affected the status of Haiderabad." To this exception my answer is this: It is quite true that the territory of the Nizam is *Dar-ool-Islám*, and is not affected by Her Majesty's proclamation; but it is entirely surrounded by the British dominions, is distant about 150 miles at its nearest point from the sea-board, the whole of which, except Goa, is included in the Presidency of Bombay. It cannot, therefore, in any sense be said to be interposed between British India and Britain, so as to prevent their contiguity in the only way that is possible in the insular position of the latter.

Having now disposed of the only exceptions offered with respect to Aboo Huneefa's conditions, I now repeat the statement in the former paper, that they have all been fulfilled in the case of British India, and that on the general question there was no real difference between him and his two disciples or companions. All three were agreed that a country is converted by foreign conquest from *Dar-ool-Islám* to *Dar-ool-Hurb*, and though three conditions were superadded by the master *ex majore cautela*, it is obvious from their terms that they could have been intended only for the purpose of placing beyond controversy the fact of the completion of the conquest. Till that was completed, the country would, according to them all, retain its former condition of *Dar-ool-Islám*; but as soon as the completion was effected, it would at once become *Dar-ool-Hurb*, so that there could be no possibility of its slipping between the two in the process of transition, and becoming something that was neither, according to the theory of the Ulema of the "Pioneer." If it ceases to be the one, it must be the other; and as no person has ventured to say that British India is still *Dar-ool-Islám*, it follows as a matter of course that it must be *Dar-ool-Hurb*.

III. Exception has been taken to the principle on which I applied to the Mussulman population of British India that rule of their Law which enjoins on a Mussulman merchant, who is permitted to reside in a foreign country, the duty of behaving peaceably to the inhabitants so long as he is protected and justly treated by the Government.

The exception is expressed in these terms: "The author of this paper says that the body of Mussulmans in India, however large, is only an aggregate of individuals, and what is the duty of one must, on the same conditions, be the duty of all. This did not follow; for instance, thirty-nine Mussulmans cannot or need not hold the Friday congregational prayers, but forty must." Answer—The instance mentioned in the exception is no doubt a correct representation of the practice and notions of legality prevailing in some Mohammedan countries with regard to the duties of the Friday assembly; but it is not in accordance with the leading authorities on the subject in the Mohammedan Law. Thus, in those cited below, the duty of engaging in them is described as being of the most positive nature,¹ and is said to be incumbent on every male who is within hearing of the call, and is in health, and able to see and walk;² while the number required to constitute a meeting, instead of being forty, is only three besides the Imam, according to Aboo Huneefa, and so low as two besides the Imam, according to his disciples Aboo Yoosuf and Moohumud.³

Having now established, I hope beyond controversy, the fact that British India has entirely ceased to be *Dar-ool-Islâm*, and has become *Dar-ool-Hurb* in the full sense of the Mohammedan Law, I need not now insist on the principle objected to in the last exception. For, as a country can be converted by foreign conquest from *Dar-ool-Islâm* to *Dar-ool-Hurb*, according to all the authorities, it is obvious that they cannot have intended that its Mussulman inhabitants should continue a vain resistance to the conquerors; much less that, after having submitted to them, and being confirmed in their possessions, they should remain in a treacherous state of smothered rebellion until an opportunity should offer of getting rid of their subjection. The very least that could be expected from them in such circumstances is that they should refrain from every act of hostility to the other inhabi-

¹ Kifayah, vol. i. p. 397.

² Ibid. p. 398.

³ Hidayah, vol. i. p. 402; Futawa Alungeeree, vol. i. pp. 202, 207.

tants, and preserve a dutiful allegiance to the Government, so long as they are protected and justly treated by it. Now this is all that I inferred to be their duty, by the application of the principle excepted to. And I have to thank Lord Stanley for the opportunity afforded me by his exception of placing the whole of my argument on the firm basis of Mohammedan Law, without having to rely on an assumed principle, however sound I may consider it to be.

It only now remains for me to notice that no exception has been taken to what I deem to be, in the present circumstances of the Mussulman population of British India, the most important part of the paper, I mean all of it that relates to the subject of usury. I showed by quotations from the Koran, that Mohammedans are prohibited in the most stringent terms from taking usury—that is, from receiving any interest, however low in amount, on loans of money. But I also showed from authorities on the Law, that this prohibition is relaxed on certain conditions. First, that the interest is received from unbelievers in the Mussulman religion. Second, that the transaction takes place in a *Dar-ool-Hurb*. And here the theory of the Ulema or learned men of the “Pioneer” utterly fails, and would be of no use to the Mussulman who might be disposed to lay out his spare capital in loans at interest, or to show his loyalty to the Government by contributing to its loans. For it is not enough that the country should not be *Dar-ool-Islám*, or that it should be something that is neither that nor *Dar-ool-Hurb*. To legalize the taking of interest by a Mohammedan to any amount, and in any form, and to save him if he takes it from the doom reserved for the usurer in a future state, it is absolutely necessary that the country should be *Dar-ool-Hurb*.

CORRIGENDA

IN THE ARTICLE ON KAWI, IN JOURN. R.A.S. VOL. XIII. PART I.

p. 42, l. 8,	instead of	<i>nyuh</i>	read	<i>ñuh</i> .
ll. 19, 21, 23.	„	<i>Kidung</i>	„	<i>Kidung</i> .
p. 44, ll. 13,	„	is the Malay	„	is a foreign pronunciation of the Malay.
l. 17,	„	the kindred languages,	„	Balinese.
p. 46, ll. 17, 23, 25,	„	<i>ira</i>	„	<i>ngra</i> .
p. 47, l. 2,	„	at	„	of.
l. 3,	from below	<i>dele</i> of the <i>Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa</i> .		
p. 48, l. 11,	for	<i>taṅkula</i>	read	<i>tankulak</i> .
l. 16,	„	<i>linēnis</i>	„	<i>linēnis</i> .
l. 18,	„	<i>anlēnis</i>	„	<i>anlēnis</i> .
<i>note</i>	„	<i>kētambañ</i>	„	<i>kētan bah</i> .
p. 49, l. 14,	<i>dele</i> on	Bali and Lombok.		
p. 50, ll. 1, 8,	for	<i>Sohul</i>	„	<i>Suhul</i> .
l. 18,	„	Ochon	„	Achan.
l. 24,	„	črsanya and	„	črsanya or.
l. 25,	„	čr, see above	„	čr, see p. 51.
<i>last</i> l.	„	objects	„	persons.
l. 13,	„	<i>kīmbaṇi</i>	„	<i>kēmbaṇi</i> .
p. 52, l. 4,	„	Tamasah	„	Pañji Pamasah.
p. 54, l. 1,	„	man whom	„	name.
l. 22,	„	<i>mrētyanā</i>	„	<i>mrētyunā</i> .
l. 5 from below	„	<i>kiduñ</i>	„	<i>kiduh</i> .
p. 56, l. 7,	„	„	„	„
l. 17,	„	<i>paney</i>	„	<i>panay</i> .
l. 20,	„	<i>julū</i>	„	<i>gulū</i> .
	insert ancient before Javanese.			
l. 23, for v.r.	read or.			
l. 8 from below	read <i>çoṇita</i> .			
p. 57, l. 19,	read <i>Dharmapulih</i> .			

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OF
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